



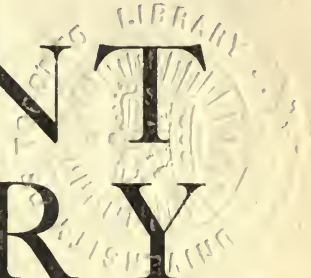
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CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

BY STEPHEN BONSAI

An expert analysis of the situation that will confront the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments and of the chief problems that will come up for settlement—The United States at the parting of the ways in regard to enforcing the Open-Door policy

BY a happy coincidence which is symbolic rather than fortuitous, on the 11th of November next, at the same hour, one of our nameless rather than unknown heroes, brought from the battle fields on the long-endangered frontier of humanity, will join the bivouac of our glorious dead in Arlington, and the World Disarmament Conference of broadened scope will assemble in Washington. The memory of the dead, the thought of those who live to mourn as well as of the generations unborn who should be spared such experiences, if it is in our power to prevent them, are, as they should be, associated with the date that closed the slaughter and the destruction of Armageddon, let us hope for all time.

I say conference of "broadened scope," I think advisedly, because the principal naval powers of the world, as well as those with special interests and responsibilities in Asia, are invited in the solemn words of President Harding's invitation "to participate in a conference on the subject of the limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions should also be discussed."

The formal program of the conference, in so far as Far Eastern problems are involved, is subject to future agreements and is to be shaped by "suggestions to be exchanged before the meeting of the conference."

Subject then to the accords that may be reached in the diplomatic exchanges now in progress between the powers, the scope of the conference and the tentative program as outlined in the President's call is as follows, expressed in the President's own words:

1. *The limitation of armaments, naval and others, which are a menace to the peace of the world.*

2. *The discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions.*

3. *To formulate proposals to control in the interests of humanity the new agencies of warfare.*

4. *By a common understanding with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern problems of unquestioned importance, to arrive at a solution through the conference that may serve to promote enduring friendship among the peoples.*

Prompt acceptance from all the powers was forthcoming, except from Japan. After some delay, however, and explanatory correspondence between Tokio and Washington, Japan has accepted, though advising that questions which may be regarded as accomplished facts, or "as more properly problems such as are of sole concern to certain particular powers, be scrupulously avoided." In other words, while it is couched in courteous diplomatic language, Japan makes a sweeping reservation and retains full liberty of action in case her suggestions as to the more profit-

able scope of the conference, now being received in Washington, are not followed. Without in the least seeking to minimize the force and the effect, since until they are adjusted that those far-seeing statesmen in Washington and elsewhere, who are seeking to establish a new world procedure enlightened by and open to the currents of aroused public opinion on the subject of war and armament, have secured an initial triumph and that a hopeful expectancy toward coming events is fully justified.

The pending questions awaiting solution and retarding the development of the countries across the Pacific, and, indeed, of world-wide effect, since until they are adjusted, all drastic disarmament proposals should be regarded as dangerous experiments, may be briefly enumerated as follows: First, the status of the Island of Yap, pivotal in world communications. Second, Japanese immigration to California, a *casus belli* whenever the will to war and conquest prevails. Third, the control of Shantung, from which is inseparable the policy of equal opportunity and the Open Door in China. Fourth, the scope of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, its renewal or discontinuance. This last question may be kept off the agenda, but it will and should figure in the real proceedings, as it is a very powerful factor in a situation which intelligent world opinion everywhere is seeking so to compose, that disarmament may be regarded as a sane policy.

THE OPEN DOOR

Great Britain, France, Belgium and the United States are all vitally interested in the Open Door to Chinese markets, but some of these powers, unfortunately, have other vital interests. For instance, France is vitally interested in the protection of her Indo-China possessions, and she has sought to safeguard them in a special treaty with Japan—imposing mutual obligations—that is still operative. Great Britain is, of course,

keenly interested in maintaining her possessions on and off the East Asian coast, and her sphere of influence in the Yangtse Valley, not formally renounced in favor of the later policy of equal opportunity. The leaders of the British Colonial Office are today embarrassed by a tie with Japan which is none the less binding because it is rarely emphasized. They know what would have happened in all human probability to British Malaysia but for the opportune arrival of the Japanese warships at Singapore in February, 1915, and the drastic way in which they suppressed the mutiny of the Indian troops with which the native Malays openly sympathized.

So perhaps it would be wise to admit that there are two categories in the ranks of the upholders of the Open Door: Those who think with us that it is a promise of peace and a guarantee of the salvation of China, and the others who see alternate measures a little way up-stage, by which, in certain contingencies, at least their commercial interests might be safeguarded.

England has generally maintained much the same attitude toward China as we have, but her financial affiliations are quite different from ours, and it is quite clear that there are certain British financial groups, powerful in the Far East, whatever their strength in Downing Street may be, of which I know nothing, who might be able to see with placid equanimity our attempt to internationalize Yap for cable purposes fail. For, if we succeed in our purpose as stated by Secretary Hughes, and President Wilson's contention as to what was agreed upon with respect to this infinitesimal speck of land at the council of the Big Four in Paris prevails, the present cable supremacy of the British in East Asia would be a thing of the past.

In business and in diplomatic circles it is not necessary to point out how imperative an all-American cable to China is in the present world situation. Without it, the Chinese

would continue to regard the Open Door as a delusion, perhaps as a snare. Our business circles, in the light of recent experience, not limited to this world quarter, are sufficiently enlightened as to the trade-getting qualities that a cable in the unrestricted hands of a commercial rival possesses. While other and more influential countries have acquiesced in our position, as so ably stated by Mr. Hughes, the warmest supporter of our policy in this regard is probably Holland, a country which was vitally interested and closely associated in the imperial German attempt to escape from the coils of the English cables during the ten years preceding the war. Indeed, the cables that Germany laid, and the connection with the Dutch cable from Java to Europe, constitute the present subject of contention: that, and the fact that the Japanese have transferred the former Yap-Shanghai cable to Japanese waters, and that American business to reach the Asiatic mainland must still pass over British or Japanese wires. Hope of reaching an agreement on this vital matter, before the formal conference, is widely held in Washington.

JAPANESE EXCLUSION ISSUE

The question of the status of the Japanese in California is really a petty domestic issue, but it is susceptible of being magnified into a grave question at the whim of political demagogues on either side of the Pacific. While little is printed to this effect, least of all in the Japanese press, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are much more drastic in their methods of excluding Japanese than we are, or than even the most ill-considered proposals of California legislation contemplate. When the real history of the Paris Conference is written, it will be plain that the Japanese plea of racial equality could and undoubtedly would have been accepted had the Japanese plenipotentiaries been willing to accept a stipulation insisted upon by Premier Hughes of

Australia expressly reserving the regulation of immigration matters as economic measures within the discretion of each State.

Although we did it with the best intentions, and were inspired by the most creditable motives, it was admittedly an initial mistake on our part to enter upon the "Gentlemen's Agreement" dealing with the immigration question. Both the Japanese and the American authorities have in an honorable spirit lived up to the terms of the agreement; nevertheless, since it came into operation the Japanese population of California has increased threefold, from thirty thousand to nearly a hundred thousand, largely through evasion of the terms of the agreement, by people who were not Japanese or American or gentlemen.

Japan has handled the same question as it arose in her ports in a commendably frank way, and frankness has proved to be the best policy. On this matter, all the world knows where Japan stands. By imperial ordinances and formal statutes, the immigration of laborers into Japan is forbidden, and foreigners cannot obtain individual landholdings. They cannot engage in agriculture or in fishing, and the introduction of Chinese or Korean farmers or laborers is expressly and specifically forbidden. And yet these races do mix when they meet in other countries. Intermarriage is frequent, and not unsuccessful. In Japan, only the economic necessity of protecting the native farmer and laborer exists, and Japan reacts to it as we do, as do the Canadians, the Australians and the New Zealanders, but she makes her decision in the open light of day, and no Chinese or Korean troublemaker can misrepresent her action and her attitude, as I am afraid our policy under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is frequently misrepresented by men of low standing, but who, none the less, at times are influential molders of public opinion in Japan.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

And now comes the far-reaching question of world-wide effect—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Today it is continued by common consent. The opinion of the Lord Chancellor of England, who holds that it is still binding, that it is not suspended or invalidated, was hardly required, because, according to the explicit terms of the instrument, the treaty cannot be abrogated at all; in wartime and in time of peace, twelve months' notice from one of the contracting parties is demanded.

Let us make this matter very plain. Should Great Britain give notice of her wish to discontinue the treaty on Dec. 1 next, she would yet be held by its terms even under peace conditions until Dec. 1, 1922, and if, in the course of these twelve months, Japan should enter upon a war, even with a single power, or be attacked by a single power, Great Britain would be committed by solemn treaty obligation to assist Japan with all her forces. It is further held, and by the highest authorities, that not until twelve months after the conclusion of these supposititious hostilities, and not until twelve months after notice to this effect had been given, could Great Britain escape from the obligations which this solemn pact imposes.

In view of these hard facts, which are well known, but not as well known as they should be, it is not surprising that public opinion in England and in the Dominions should be greatly exercised at the present status of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Now and again the comforting suggestion is launched that the agreement is in a state of suspended animation; that it will be carefully put away at an early opportunity, and that at present it is inoperative. But, unfortunately, these reassurances are not valid. The treaty is a public one, and it is duly filed and acknowledged before the Registrar of the League of Nations. It should prove at least as binding as the secret treaties of 1915-17 between the powers with regard to territories

on the Adriatic and on the Yellow Sea. And yet, while regretting the necessity, the powers involved held themselves in honor bound to live up to the terms of these treaties, world disturbing as they admittedly were.

Acknowledging as they do the important war services rendered by Japan—not in the least exaggerated by the recent eloquent speech of the Premier in the House of Commons—yet Englishmen and colonials alike are uneasy and indeed alarmed at the fact that the foreign policies of the empire are today not within their immediate control. England knew why the treaty was negotiated in 1902 and why it was renewed, but, with Russia and Germany having ceased to exist as militaristic powers, few see any justification for another renewal. To many—and this idea is not wholly exaggerated—Great Britain finds herself today a member of a "blind pool," with Japan the directing partner and Britain bound to an almost automatic obedience. Now, with all due respect to the strong pro-League of Nations sentiment in Japan, and to the growing sentiment in favor of a reduction of armament, with unquestioning belief in the sincerity of the criticisms of Japan's actions in China that have recently been made by such important and influential Japanese leaders as Mr. Takahashi, the present Minister of Finance, and of Mr. Ozaki, the recent Minister of Justice, this is indeed a strange position for an empire of free men composing free Commonwealths to be placed in, and still stranger if they should remain placed in it long.

But, after all, that is their predicament, and it is our own, to which we should devote our attention. For we, by our treaty commitments and the public pronouncements of our leaders in and out of Congress, are held to a policy of equal opportunities in China, without the suggestion that there is an alternative that would be agreeable to us, by which we could be placated. So far as I can see, we are the only power pledged to back the Oper-

Door policy, that is, the only power that stands today in this clear-cut, unequivocal position, without reservations or alternatives.

JAPAN'S AIMS IN CHINA

Japan's avowed aims, at least with respect to China, are widely held, and it seems to me that, as publicly stated, they are wholly creditable. They are inspired by a very natural desire on the part of the Tokio Government to obtain for the Japanese the fullest opportunity possible to develop China's natural resources and so secure at moderate cost the raw materials which are absolutely necessary to Japan's development as an industrial country. Japan wishes likewise to secure in China an important retail market for her manufactured articles, which, with the development of the country and the increasing wants of its inhabitants, might well become what it is so frequently called in enthusiastic anticipation — the "greatest market in the world."

When this has been said, undoubtedly some of the political aspects of the situation force themselves upon the attention of the ruling classes, and to a limited extent upon the commercial classes of the nation. When Japan as a result of her successful war with Russia obtained world-wide recognition as a great power, China was in swift political decay; her partition had begun, and its completion was daily threatened, nor was it an idle menace. The respective zones of the predatory powers had been carefully staked out, and almost all the conflicting claims to tidbits of territory had been more or less amicably adjusted. The successful completion of these plans would have meant commercial ruin to Japan, and, to put it mildly, political insecurity. Japan immediately attacked with energy the vital problem which this situation presented, but in the light of what has followed it is fair to say with little success.

And yet the difficulties were and are admittedly very great. To save

the situation, China was told she must abandon the philosophy she had clung to for ten thousand years and enter the very real world of today under the tutelage and in the leading strings of the long-despised "dwarfs" of the islands off the coast of the Middle Kingdom. The attempt was made to develop China's latent strength and inspire her with sympathy and understanding of the Japanese pro-Asian policy at one and the same time. In this task the Japanese have failed and the policy is abandoned. It is now admitted that a strong China might become an even greater danger to Japan than the annexed territories of the predatory powers on the East Asian shores. Hence the growing strength of the doctrine that is frequently, although not always, in the ascendant in Tokio and often expressed in these words: "What we need of China is to secure our military position, and our materials and our markets must be in our own safekeeping."

This doctrine has secured many adherents during the last ten years, and it was emphatically in the ascendant the last three years of the great war. Japan took advantage of the embarrassment of the West, just as the West had so frequently taken advantage of anarchic conditions in the East. If this attitude is maintained at the Pacific conference, the resulting steps toward disarmament will be short, and even these may prove dangerous. I do not ignore the voices that have been raised in Japan in favor of disarmament or of the League of Nations, or in criticism of recent Japanese policy in China. They are sincere and they are important, but as long as it is clear that the military party in Japan under the titular leadership of Yamagata, that aged bow-and-arrow soldier, is in actual control of the destinies of his country, disarmament might prove a costly experiment and invite burdens in comparison with which the present grievous load of armament might seem but a feather weight indeed.

The Japanese, without distinction of party or of caste, are convinced that they have as much right to a predominant position on the Asiatic shores of the North Pacific as we have to our claim of supremacy and control on our side of that ocean, and, as a people, they are inclined to underrate our military and naval power, although not to the extent they indulged in before the events of 1918. Suggestions from war-locks and war-mongers—they have them in Japan as well as elsewhere—creep into the columns even of influential papers from time to time, and the impression grows that, while the present Administration in Washington is alarmed at the outlook and proposes to “build a navy second to none in the world,” our people are war weary and are forcing Congress to scrap whatever instrumentalities for war we developed during the years of world danger.

DANGER OF ANOTHER WAR

The word goes forth—I admit not from very influential sources, but still it goes, and many converts to this point of view are secured—that in the East there is developing another “irrepressible conflict,” and that perhaps today or at latest tomorrow the inevitable issue should be faced, now that America is war weary and unprepared, and Japan is eager and relatively better prepared than her finances and her prospective income will permit her to be, say ten years hence.

The Japanese public and, I believe, the Japanese Government are watching the developments in the Philippine Islands as they have not watched them since the day when it looked as though American was to yield to German control—when Dewey with vague instructions, and Diederichs with very specific orders, lay face to face with ships cleared for action in Manila Bay. The Japanese hold that the people of our trans-pacific islands are somewhat disaffected as a result

of the sharp change from the Wilsonian promise of independence and the Jones bill, which gave it Congressional sanction, and of the attitude upon this question, as yet, however, only outlined by the Harding Administration. I was told in Berlin some months ago by a leading German republican and democrat whom I have frequently found to be well informed that when the pros and the cons were debated by the Imperial War Staff and the great councilors before Emperor William in “shining armor” that momentous afternoon in Potsdam, the justification or the pretext of the war decision there reached was a report from an Embassy Secretary upon the disloyal attitude of Ireland. Stranger things have happened then than that the state of the Philippine Islands should be the pretext of an equally momentous decision.

At such a juncture Japan, with an army of thirty-one divisions and a navy in some respects superior to our own and with a reserve of trained sailors greater than that of all the other naval powers taken together, would not only have to face a potentially great power, but actually a very disorganized one. Japan's war-tried ally, whatever else she might do, could not be expected to rule the seas in a spirit unfriendly to Japan. In this posture of affairs it might take us some time to mobilize once again our resources, which saved the world, but unfortunately were not permitted to lead it into a relatively safe haven. Perhaps then for a season we should have reason to regret that while the territorial integrity of Japan is guaranteed by the signers of the Covenant of the League our boundaries and our possessions, as belonging to a non-member, are outside the immediate sphere of the League's influence and activities. In a word, in the face of an always possible aggressive thrust on the part of Japan upon the Philippines or Guam or Hawaii, the powers with whom we were so lately asso-

ciated, and with whom our taxpayers and our treasury will probably be associated to the end of time, could act as they saw fit and as their interests dictated. They would be foot-loose and word free. There would be no scraps of paper to tear up.

In the confused appeals that are voiced in China today by the few, in the inertia of the great silent masses of the million-headed population, there is little promise of salvation. Admittedly there is a growing desire to save China, but, unfortunately, each graduate of a technical school insists upon saving China in his own way. The leaders do not lead, and the compromisers do not achieve even group solidarity. Racial pride is aroused, it is true, by the pitiful state of the Middle Kingdom, and this may grow into effective national consciousness; but the way to it is still long, and perhaps the time available is short.

POSSIBLE TRIPLE ENTENTE

Only one thing seems certain and stable in all the confusion—instability, and, above all, the world insecurity that is inherent in the present Far Eastern situation. If this thing can be shaped into a practical plan we should, perhaps, not grasp it unconditionally, but at least we should scrutinize it carefully, even if the source and inspiration of it should prove to be exclusively Japanese. Even should it be proved that Japan is solely responsible for the present conditions in China (in my judgment this is far from being the case), the rest of the world must share the consequences. Japan will not reap the whirlwind alone.

The present Premier of Japan, Mr. Takashi Hara, with his party, the Seiyukai, behind him, subject of course to the uncertainties of party supremacy, has publicly presented a plan to world scrutiny and examination, from which he confidently asserts that the salvation of China, world peace, and gradual disarmament

may be expected. He has declared with his great authority that Japan would welcome an Anglo-American-Japanese understanding for the purpose of formulating and enforcing a reconstruction policy in China. There is, of course, nothing new under the sun, least of all in China; and even superficial observers of the trend of affairs in the East will recognize in this project a revival of the old plan of an international stewardship in a more limited and more concrete form than it has been presented before. Premier Hughes of Australia has publicly approved of the plan, and he joins with Mr. Hara in expressing the belief that the execution of such a project will require the good-will, the cordial approval and perhaps the active co-operation of the United States. Hara and his followers are the men, it should be recalled, who in 1915 and since have combated always the twenty-one demands of the Japanese military party. They have given guarantees of good faith.

Clearly, then, public opinion in the United States should be prepared to face very definite proposals on these lines at the world conference, which is admittedly convened to discuss Far Eastern problems intimately, indeed inextricably, involved in all sane plans of world disarmament. We may well be asked at an early day with what grace we can insist upon the maintenance of the Open Door if we refuse to share in the guardianship of the gates or to make any move to assist in the establishment of a stable government in those regions which, when the Open-Door policy was enunciated, constituted the greatest potential market in the world. But today how changed the situation! Conditions in China no longer border on anarchy; they overstep it. And the troubles are no longer localized. Murder, rapine and lawlessness are endemic in practically all the Chinese provinces today.

It is a grave decision however we make it. If we assume the share of

responsibility which will probably be assigned to us, how can we hope to make our action palatable to our Chinese friends, who are well-nigh unanimous in denouncing a scheme in which they think they have discovered another drive, more carefully cloaked, however, than previous ones, of a group of Japanese imperialists who seek to secure in this indirect way what they failed to achieve by frontal attacks?

Here again we are at the parting of the ways. Here again the situation in which we are involved must be carefully considered. One thing and one only in this connection is certain: Until a stable government emerges from the present anarchy and disorder, world disarmament would be premature; and for Japan, just outside the gate—from which there is no telling what will emerge, perhaps a White Wolf of world vision, a modern Kublai Khan—it would be suicidal.

We must recognize that a change has come over China. The pacifist victim of the predatory powers has at last become inoculated with the virus of militarism. After all, the handling of the situation in China will be the acid test of the conference in Washington, as the treatment of Russia tipped the scales of world judgment in Paris. It is perhaps not too soon to say with some insistence that the Chinese situation cannot be measurably improved unless the American people is prepared to take a grave step fraught with far-reaching consequences, and entailing an abrupt departure from principles long honored and undeviatingly pursued.

JAPAN'S ENERGETIC ATTITUDE

At this point the question presents itself, unavoidably, What are the basic terms in which Japan's present foreign policy, admittedly, until quite recently, disturbing to all plans for world peace and disarmament, can be expressed? I think I find something approaching a clear keynote in Japan's recent plea to the members of

the Four Powers Consortium. In this important and, as I think, revealing document Japan appears to waive her specific claims to the independent construction of railways in Manchuria and in other districts comprised in her claimed spheres of influence. She subscribes once more to the principle of co-operation and mutuality—that is, to the Open Door—but with the understanding, I take it, to be a clear reservation, recorded in Lord Curzon's covering dispatches, that the Governments behind the financiers of the consortium will not permit any activities or operations "inimical to the security of the economic life and the national defense of Japan."

This may mean peace or war in the Far East. Such pronouncements generally are ambiguous. Interpretation depends upon the viewpoint. Is insistence upon the twenty-one demands of 1915 indicated here? Does Japan, as a measure indispensable to her national defense, insist upon the recognition of her secret military agreement with China, which was literally forced from the Peking Government in 1918? The terms of this agreement, which is said to be operative in the eighteen provinces of China proper, have never been made public. It has never been submitted to the Registrar of the League of Nations, as required by the covenant binding upon all subscribing members, including Japan and China. It may be harmless, and it may be justified by existing conditions in China, as the few Japanese who admit its existence assert. It may also mean the knell of China's independence and her appearance on the Far Eastern stage as a vassal State. This is what the war mongers of Shanghai assert it is, and they will never be silenced until the document is produced; and the conference in Washington, which it is so widely hoped will make smooth the path toward disarmament, would seem to be a most appropriate occasion for it to be brought into the light of day.

The expression as to steps "inimical to the security of the economic life of Japan" is a large and comprehensive reservation. Is it to be applied locally or to the Continent of Asia? It may well be interpreted as demanding a favored, even an exclusive position in the markets of China, both as to the sale of manufactured articles and as to the procurement of raw materials. Such an exclusive interpretation has been made time and again, but unofficially, in Japan, where many economists, and not always of the frankly jingo school, assert that Japan's survival as a great power is dependent upon her dominant position in the Chinese field. Should this principle be asserted as a national policy, openly and officially, just as it is secretly but most efficiently enforced in Manchuria today, it would mean the closing of the Open Door in China at least as far as the powers other than Japan are concerned.

ISSUE MOMENTOUS FOR US

Do we intend to acquiesce in any such decision? How far do we mean to go in the defense of the Open-Door policy? Since 1915 it has been infringed upon or ignored, and the issue will be presented in unmistakable terms at the Washington conference. True, we have time and again served notice upon all concerned—and no less recently than last June—that we cannot "recognize any agreement or undertaking impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China." Now, do we mean this? Are we aware where this policy may lead us, and are we prepared to face whatever may be the consequences of such a policy—and are we determined to enforce it? Is the Open Door a cardinal principle of our polity and foreign policy, or was it the whim of an hour or of an Administration which died with John Hay and is not binding on the nation? I have no doubt that the Department of State is fully

prepared to defend the interests of the United States in this matter, as well as in other important questions, as far as its powers extend, but without the keen support of an awakened and an enlightened public opinion its powers do not extend very far.

The second series of solutions which Japan announces that she will not accede to are those "inimical to the national defense of Japan." Certainly the return of Korea to an independent status falls in this category. The whole trouble in the Far East of recent years is due—as many have said who love to put problems in a nutshell, if not quite correctly—to the fact that the Korean coast, two hours' sail away across the Tshushima Strait, was in weak, unfriendly hands and was coveted in turn by the relatively strong hands of China and of Russia. Admittedly, Korea was not so much to be feared as the masterful invader her weakness seemed to invite. A change in the present control of South Korea would undoubtedly weaken the national defenses of Japan and would require extensive armament expenditures. Japan, of course, would fight any proposition of this nature, and the friends of Korea are ill-advised in advancing it. Japan will defend her dearly bought rights in the Peninsula with all her force and all her strength, and in the present posture of world affairs she is wise in assuming this uncompromising attitude. The hope of the Koreans lies in other solutions.

Then comes the status of the Philippine Islands, always a minor problem with us, since it has practically passed out of campaign literature; but it looms with increasing potential importance once you have the Pacific behind you. There is no reason to believe that Japan covets these islands now. The sad lesson of the cost of tropical possessions inhabited by uncertain and probably unruly races, as illustrated by her experience in Formosa, has sunk it. But Japan was keenly interested in the

Philippines when, in 1899, it looked as though we meant to abandon them and Germany was on hand eager to step into our shoes. Now, of course, the Philippines, in the hands of a strong naval power or as the football of an unprepared democracy, such as many think the islands will reveal when abandoned by us, is an important and direct concern of Japan. She cannot and should not be expected to be wholly disinterested as to the possible changes in the political complexion and control of the archipelago. But Japan's attitude toward the present phase of the Philippine problem, while it has not been formulated in any public document or declaration of policy, is not concealed in the secret archives. Undoubtedly it is very much like our policy or attitude toward the Spanish occupancy of Cuba, which we maintained undeviatingly down to the Spanish-American War of 1898.

As long as Spain lived upon terms of neighborliness with us and maintained comparative peace and law and order throughout the islands, or at least prevented her West Indian possessions from becoming an international nuisance, we would not and did not interfere. But, as indicated in the exchange of notes with Lord Malmesbury and the French Foreign Minister of his day, and in many others, we would not sanction any change that might be made in the status of Cuba without consulting us. This is a natural position for Japan to assume, and there is some reason to believe that she will shortly state it in a public manner. Japan has, of course, the same right as we have always had, and generally exercised, to keep at arm's length undesirable imposed Governments or the development of unruly and inefficient ones in her sphere of interest and immediate concern.

If this natural anxiety and indirect responsibility of Japan in the Philippine solution, yet to be found, were recognized, many thorny developments of the future would be entirely

obviated or smoothed over. I personally do not expect a breakdown of efficient government in the Philippines in the event of our withdrawal, but I know that many Americans and quite a few Japanese have this apprehension. Certain it is, however, that upon our departure the responsibility for the good behavior of one of Japan's closest neighbors will pass from strong, tried hands into hands that have not been tried and that are steadied by but little experience.

In conclusion, let us try to resume in a few words the fundamentals of a situation which I have but outlined. China's weakness and Japan's strength, coupled with our sincere desire, in the words of the Department of State, "to supplant the present intense spirit of competition by a spirit of mutuality and co-operation," are the pivotal factors of the Far Eastern problems today pressing for adjustment. It is, then, high time to ask, and if possible ascertain, if China's present weakness and disorganization are beyond revival and recall; to learn if possible how long and in what directions Japan will continue to use her giant strength as a giant. Then we should have something as authoritative as a silent plebiscite in regard to our own purpose. Are we prepared to safeguard China in its present great extremity? Are we resolutely determined to keep open the greatest market in the world for our merchants, our manufacturers and our wares, or are our pleas in this regard merely academic or platonic?

To make even progressive disarmament possible, all these vital questions will have to be answered unequivocally at the Pacific Conference, and upon the tenor of these answers will depend the peace of the world for the next generation, the prosperity of the United States for many decades to come—in fact, the course of history, for as long as short-sighted man should dare to cast its horoscope in a world filled with grim realities and flooded with dark shadows as well as promising rays of light.

TWO BILLION DOLLARS FOR FARMERS

BY JULIAN PIERCE

Meaning and operation of the new law which authorizes the Government to finance the farmers of the United States in their present emergency, enabling them to hold their crops for a better market—Terms on which the loans will be made

PRESIDENT HARDING, on Aug. 24, 1921, approved a law which empowers the Government to lend \$2,000,000,000 to finance the farmers of the United States and the dealers in farm products. The loans are designed to be used for two broad purposes: To enable farmers and dealers in farm products to withhold them from the market until prices reach a profitable point, and to enable farmers who have borrowed money for "agricultural purposes" on short term notes to renew their notes and borrow more money.

The \$2,000,000,000 of "relief" do not reach the producers and dealers directly. The Government, through the War Finance Corporation, will lend the money to the banks and similar institutions. The banks, in turn, will relend the \$2,000,000,000 to the producers of farm products and the middlemen who deal in them. In the term "farm products" is included everything, animate and inanimate, whose habitat is land, from peanuts to watermelons and pumpkins, from day-old chickens to ostriches, from veal calves to fat steers and breeding stock.

This Government adventure is a serious attempt of the Congress of the United States to meet and ameliorate a crisis in American agriculture more severe and threatening than any known in recent years. It is the major measure of the special session

of the Sixty-seventh Congress to restore national prosperity. Congress has a basic theory concerning national prosperity and its causes. That theory rests upon the assumption that the prosperity of all the rest of the people depends upon and starts from the prosperity of the farmers.

It is a rather unusual method—to stimulate prosperity by encouraging debt. Yet, claiming to understand the farmers' condition thoroughly, Congress decides to start the cycle of agricultural good times by enabling the farmers to increase their mortgages by a round two billions of dollars. To understand the plan it is first necessary to get a vision of the present plight of American agriculture.

Present world conditions and industrial farming militate against the farming industry. With modern machine production the farmers produce annually a large surplus of agricultural products—a surplus in excess of the purchasing power of the American people. This surplus of staple farm products, which is chronic in present-day agriculture, must be sold in foreign countries if our agriculture is to thrive.

But the 1920 surplus was larger than usual. There are vast accumulated supplies of cotton, rice, corn, hides, barley, oats and meatstuffs. With the 1920 surplus unsold, the sunshine and the rain and the other

fructifying forces of nature keep rapidly at work producing new crops. The prospects for the 1921 crops are "fair to good." Consequently, an addition to the last year's surplus is visioned.

CAUSE OF THE EMERGENCY

During the war the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration urged the farmers to produce and produce and then produce. It was their patriotic duty to see how much of every farm product they could raise. Increased production was necessary to feed ourselves and our allies. After the war, increased production was held to be necessary to assist in the economic reconstruction of Europe. Under these influences the farmers acquired the habit of a large output, relying on European demands to take the surplus in excess of American needs at fair prices.

Trade experts predicted that, after the war, commerce with Europe would not only be large and ever larger, due to reconstruction conditions, but they expected that trade would be resumed on the same basis as existed prior to the war. The experts went wrong. After the war Europe did not buy our agricultural products in the quantities which she was accustomed to purchase before the war. Nor did Europe buy those products in the short period of time during which she formerly satisfied her requirements.

Take cotton. Cotton is our leading export commodity. The cotton situation is a fair example of what European conditions have done to the American farmer. In pre-war times European textile manufacturers bought nearly a year's supply of cotton in the Fall; at least 80 per cent. of our cotton exports went abroad in the six months beginning with September, that is, during the first six months of the cotton year. Now it is different. Due to the exchange situation and the general financial situation abroad, European

cotton buyers are buying "from hand to mouth," buying as they need the cotton for immediate use, so that but 40 or 45 per cent. of the cotton crop is marketed during the first six months of the cotton year. The rest of the crop has to be carried over. If it didn't have to be carried over, the present two-billion-dollar Government loan would not have been provided.

The same condition applies in varying degrees to all other agricultural staples. There is a large exportable surplus, *and it has to be carried over.* To accentuate the agricultural depression came the industrial depression. From the railroads down and up manufacturers and other employers dismissed some 6,000,000 workers. Ordinarily, discharged employees do not have cash reserves to draw on. Their purchasing power is limited by the contents of the weekly pay envelope. If their wages are reduced, their purchasing power is diminished. If their wages are stopped, their purchasing power is reduced to nothing. And inasmuch as the workers' wages are largely spent for necessities produced either by the farmers themselves or from farm products, the unemployed army raised the farm products surplus still higher and at the same time reduced the price still lower for what was marketed.

Then, too, in the cost of production the liquidation of prices has hit the farmers harder than any other industrial group. Price adjustment stuck fast when it reached the agriculturalists. They were unable to resist the conditions which forced down the prices of their staple crops. On the other hand, they were insufficiently organized to beat down the prices of the raw materials which they had to have in order to produce those crops.

As the inevitable result of this one-sided price adjustment, the most reliable statistics reveal that hides, cattle, cotton and corn, making up a considerable part of the farmers' output, are selling at less than pre-war prices, while many of the commodities they

are compelled to buy to operate their business still stand at from 50 to 100 per cent. above the pre-war level.

Moreover, in many instances the prices for which they sell their products, if they are compelled to sell, do not meet their costs of production. The farmers declare that they should not be compelled to sell their crops below the cost of production. They go further. They insist that they should be able to secure prices that will give them a reasonable profit. They see but one course to take, and that is to hold their crops until the law of supply and demand raises prices.

Hold their crops! But they have been operating on a credit basis. Their bills are due. Their creditors are clamoring for the settlement of their accounts. Their bankers are "calling" notes. Their credit is exhausted. And unless they can obtain an extension of credit, unless they can obtain more credit, unless they can borrow more money, unless they can run still further into debt, they must sell, and sell at bankrupting prices. With renewed credit, with more credit, they can hold their crops for higher prices. And it is the judgment of Congress and the President that \$2,000,000,000 of Government money should be used for this purpose.

THE FARM CREDIT SYSTEM

Now we come to the farm credit question itself, which in turn must be understood; for, in spite of the huge surplus of farm products and low prices, if farm credit as operated under the private initiative of the banks had functioned adequately the Government would never have intervened with Government credit. Due to the wide extent of tenant farming and to the specialized agriculture of the South, the farm credit system there is complex, and consequently more disorganizing. The credit system exists in a similar form throughout the United States. A picture of

the complex will lead to a clear knowledge of the entire system.

In the South the agricultural credit supply stores are found in every town. Landlord farmers and tenant farmers, commercial farmers and self-employed or "dirt" farmers, all buy their farm supplies on credit during the crop growing season with the understanding that the notes will be paid when the crops are harvested and sold. The farm implement dealer, the fertilizer dealer, the horse and mule dealer, and all the other dealers, load up during the crop growing season with farm paper, which signifies chattel mortgages on the growing crops. But none of these dealers are able to carry these credits. They sell the farm paper to the local banks. The farmers usually settle with the banks at the end of the crop year. And the cycle continues normally. But last year the price of cotton was so low that even the cotton farmers who sold their entire crop were unable to liquidate their chattel mortgages.

In the meantime the bankers had to finance this year's crop, taking the same sort of short-term farm paper. In business and commercial life the Federal Reserve Banks would come to this sort of business distress by loaning Federal Reserve Bank money on short-time commercial paper. But the Federal Reserve Board ruled that it would not make loans on farm paper held by Federal Reserve member banks. Consequently the member banks could not make loans on the farm paper held by the local banks. The local banks were tied down to loaning merely their own resources, which quickly brought the cycle to an end. They have gone as far as they can. The burden is too great for them. Agricultural credit by private initiative does not adequately function. And wholesale bankruptcy is impending in many sections unless the credit situation is relieved.

Extensive selling of staple crops at present prices would menace the entire farming industry. Therefore the

crops must be held until the price situation improves. And to the organized farmers and Congress two billions of Government credit appeared to be the only solution of an impending national calamity. In the language of Senator Simmons of North Carolina:

We are unable to find a present market for our surplus products. The owners of these surplus products, unless they obtain such relief as is now proposed, will be forced to sell that surplus in the markets of this country for whatever it will bring—and that will be whatever speculators in these products wish to pay for them.

If we are to escape this disaster, we must provide some means by which the owners of these surplus products may hold them and carry them over, not for a day or a month, but as long as is reasonably necessary in order to enable Europe and other markets of the world to take them as they are needed and can be purchased for consumption.

What we need to relieve the situation is a provision to advance money to enable the producer of agricultural products to carry those products until they can be marketed in an orderly way.

In short, the farmer's money, with which he buys a living for himself and family and operates his farming business, comes from the sale of his crops. If he holds one crop, or a portion of one crop, while he is growing another crop, he must borrow the money required to keep the food flowing and the new crops growing. The loanable money supply of the local banks is exhausted. And the only other source of supply is the money fund of the Government of the United States. And Congress starts the adventure with an authorization for \$2,000,000,000 of Government money for the "relief" of producers of and dealers in agricultural products.

The language of the law is clear as to the purposes for which the Government money is to be loaned. The Government's agent is the War Finance Corporation. And the law declares that whenever the Board of Directors of the War Finance Corporation is of the opinion that economic conditions "have resulted in or may result in an abnormal surplus ac-

cumulation of any staple agricultural product of the United States or lack of a market for the sale of same or that ordinary banking facilities are inadequate to enable producers of or dealers in such products to *carry them until they can be exported or sold for export in an orderly manner*," then the corporation is empowered to loan \$2,000,000,000 to enable the producers and dealers to hold staple farm products until the increased demand enables them to be sold in an "orderly manner," which, of course, means in a manner that will result in a profit.

HOW LOANS ARE MADE

The War Finance Corporation is empowered to make loans to various classes of people associated with the farming industry, usually through the medium of banks or similar money loaning institutions. To relieve the persons whom Senator Simmons had specifically in mind the corporation is authorized to make loans to "any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States, or to any co-operative association of producers in the United States which may have made advances for *agricultural purposes*, including the breeding, raising, fattening, and marketing of live stock." Note the breadth of the term "agricultural purposes." Inasmuch as the Secretary of Agriculture, who is a farmer, is a member of the Board of Directors of the War Finance Corporation, while the rest of the members, including Eugene Meyer Jr., the Managing Director, are bankers, there promises to be some interesting board discussions as to the interpretation and inclusiveness of "agricultural purposes."

The corporation is also authorized to make loans to the so-called Edge law banks; to any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States which has made or makes loans to any concern, individual or association engaged in dealing in or marketing or producing staple agricultural export commodities,

provided such loans have been made or are made to enable the borrowers to carry such products until they are exported or sold for export in an orderly manner; to any concern in the United States dealing in or marketing the products; to any association of persons engaged in producing such products; and to any individual engaged either in producing, dealing in, or marketing the products.

Outside of the United States, the corporation may loan money to any concern purchasing exportable products in the United States. This provision will enable us to finance foreign concerns which wish to purchase agricultural products on long-time negotiable securities.

The Edge law banks were authorized by the Edge law and given certain privileges to finance our export trade. The idea underlying the law was that the banks would sell American commodities in foreign countries on long-time payments, issue Edge law bank bonds in the United States with the European notes as security and sell them to the American investors, use the funds so acquired to finance more exports sold on the same terms, sell more Edge law bank bonds to more investors, and continue the process indefinitely.

Actual experience under existing conditions indicated that the investment market was a little chary of the foreign securities which were the basis of the Edge banks' activities. So the two Edge law banks already organized have not undertaken to sell their debentures. But now the present law bill for "agricultural relief" is to extend to the Edge law banks. In his testimony before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Eugene Meyer Jr., Managing Director of the War Finance Corporation, made it clear that it is the intention of the corporation to use a portion of the \$2,000,000,000 to put the Edge law banks on their feet and sustain them while they are endeavoring to acquire the ability to navigate with safety the troublesome waters

of international finance. Mr. Meyer said:

We thought that by giving the War Finance Corporation authority to purchase some of these debentures (debentures of the Edge law banks), thus co-operating in the marketing of them in the public investment market, we might accelerate the coming into usefulness of the Edge law banks, which Congress hoped would add materially to the banking resources of the country in our foreign trade.

In order that every money loaning institution in the United States may participate in the distribution of the \$2,000,000,000 of Government money to the farmers and dealers, the law specifically declares that the words "bank, banker, or trust company" shall be held to include "any reputable and responsible financing institution incorporated under the laws of any State or of the United States with resources adequate to the undertaking contemplated."

This definition lets in national banks, State banks, private banks, savings banks, in fact, any reputable person or persons engaged in the money loaning business, provided the loans which they have made or make are for "agricultural purposes," and especially if the loans are made to assist people to hold farm products for higher prices; or, to use the language of the act, to assist people to hold the products until they can be marketed in an "orderly manner." It is estimated that something over 31,000 banks will qualify as go-betweens in passing the money from the War Finance Corporation to the farmers and dealers in farm products.

But the banks and similar institutions are not permitted to profiteer with the Government funds. They are prohibited from charging more than 2 per cent. per annum in excess of the interest which the corporation charges them. It is expected that the corporation will fix 6 per cent. as its rate. It is also expected that the bankers will add the maximum differential. So that the people who wish to hold farm products for higher

prices will pay at least 8 per cent. for the privilege.

Should the War Finance Corporation make the maximum loans authorized by the law, namely, \$2,000,000,000, the farmers' and dealers' annual interest charge at 8 per cent. will amount to \$160,000,000, of which the banks will take \$40,000,000 as their 2 per cent.

The impression has gone abroad that individual farmers and dealers will be able to borrow money from the War Finance Corporation. There is a provision in the law which permits the corporation to make loans to individuals. But it was inserted for psychological effect. It is what is called a legislative "joker," which will be eliminated by administrative processes.

Lastly, the agrarians responsible for the law saw to it that its time terms are flexible enough to accommodate even such a long turnover agricultural business as stock raising. It is provided that the notes given by the farmers may be extended to a

maximum period of three years from the date of the original loan.

The "agricultural relief" law makes no appropriation to provide the funds from which the loans may be made. How is the War Finance Corporation going to get the money? Mostly by selling the credit of the United States Government. The corporation is capitalized at \$500,000,000, fully paid up. The Secretary of the Treasury bought all the capital stock for the Government, paying cash for it. This was during the war. The corporation loaned considerable money, and has got the most of it back with interest. At present it has about \$500,000,000 in cash in its Treasury, which will keep it going for a few weeks. As for the remaining \$1,500,000,000, Congress authorized the corporation to raise that by borrowing it from the investing public by issuing War Finance Corporation bonds at an attractive rate of interest, made more attractive by the usual tax-exempt provision inherent in Government bonds.

THE HALL OF THE LAST SUPPER

THE Italian press has recently published several articles claiming from the British Government the possession of the famous Coenaculum, or Chamber of the Last Supper, at Jerusalem. The ground of this claim is historical. King Robert the Wise of Naples, the patron of "il gran Petrarca," in 1333 purchased the Coenaculum from the Sultan of Egypt, then ruler over the Holy Land. Granted by him to the Franciscans as a permanent abode, it remained in their possession until 1449. It was again given to the monkish fraternity in 1470, and it remained in their custody until 1547, when the Moslems expelled them on the ground that the subterranean chambers held the tomb of David, especially revered by the Moslems. From that date down to 1918 the Coenaculum remained under continuous Moslem control.

Shortly after the armistice the Italian Government made a separate arrangement, without the assent of the Allies, with the

Sultan of Turkey. Under this agreement the Coenaculum was ceded to the King of Italy as heir of the Angevin Kings of Naples. Italy, as the chief Catholic country of Europe, feels that not only by historical, but also by religious right, this holy place should be hers. The beautiful frescoes at Milan depicting the Last Supper are but a part of her artistic claim. It is understood, however, that another Catholic country—Spain—also claims the custody of the Coenaculum.

The British position is very simple. The Government merely points to Article 95 of the Treaty of Sèvres, under which a special commission was appointed "to study and regulate all claims relating to the different religious communities" in Palestine. The Italian claim obviously falls within this category. As the mandatory power over Palestine, Great Britain, of course, has now a strong claim of its own to possession of the hall sacred to all Christianity.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Fate of German property seized by the Alien Property Custodian during the war finally determined—Overthrow of the New York Soldiers' Bonus act—Tax Revision bill passed—Serious labor troubles in West Virginia

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

IN a conference on Aug. 31 between President Harding and Colonel Thomas W. Miller, the Alien Property Custodian, questions were discussed dealing with the formation of a policy governing the ultimate disposition of German and Austrian property seized during the war. Colonel Miller said that, under the provisions of the peace treaty with Germany, it was indicated that property now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian would be held by this Government until arrangements had been made by Germany and Austria for the satisfaction of claims of American citizens against those Governments arising before the United States entered the war, the most outstanding examples of which were those for the Lusitania sinking. It is understood that such claims total about \$400,000,000.

The property holdings in this country consist not only of industrial establishments, which are being operated by the Alien Property Custodian, but many million dollars' worth of securities, which in the present state of the market are at a low figure, but which will increase in value if the security market advances.

WAR LAW STATUS

Attorney General Daugherty, it was stated on Aug. 27, had been requested by President Harding to have the Department of Justice make a

report on the war and emergency legislation that will be affected by the new peace treaty between this country and Germany.

Considerable uncertainty existed respecting the time the various unreppealed wartime laws and joint resolutions have to run, and this had caused some trouble to legal officers in the different executive branches of the Government. One reason for the puzzle was the fact that Congress proceeded with no uniformity in the enactment of its wartime legislation. Some of the acts were to terminate at "the end of the present war," others were enacted for the "period of the war," or until after "the existing state of war between the United States and its enemies shall have terminated"; and still other phraseological forms were used.

THE BERGDOLL SCANDAL

The special Congressional committee which investigated the escape of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, the draft deserter, who fled while on a journey leading to an as yet unfound "pot of gold," rendered its report to the House of Representatives on Aug. 18. There were actually two reports, one a majority report signed by Representatives Johnson of Kentucky and Flood of Virginia, both Democrats, and Representative Luhring of Indiana, a Republican; the other a minority report signed by Representatives

Peters of Maine, Chairman of the committee, and McArthur of Oregon, both Republicans.

The majority report charged that while "there are many who participated in the conspiracy leading to Bergdoll's escape and the acquittal of those who brought it about, there are three who are more culpable than the rest," and named in this connection Samuel T. Ansell, formerly Brigadier General in the army and one of Bergdoll's counsel; Colonel John E. Hunt, Commander of Fort Jay, where Bergdoll was confined, and Colonel Charles C. Cresson, who did not come into the case until after the escape, but who prosecuted Colonel Hunt when that officer was court-martialed. Respecting General Ansell, the majority report said:

He is now out of the army. He is beyond the jurisdiction of court-martial proceedings, but provision should be made against his future practice before any of the departments, before any court-martial or in the courts of the District of Columbia or the nation, above whose safety and integrity he has placed gold. Anybody who has seen and heard all of those associated, directly or indirectly, with the plan and manner of Bergdoll's escape, not only must recognize Ansell as the master mind of them all, but as their dominating and controlling spirit.

Colonel Hunt was charged with having participated "criminally" in the escape and Colonel Cresson was accused of laxity in Hunt's prosecution.

The minority report severely criticized Ansell, but held that the evidence did not support the charge that his motives were improper. It held Major Gen. Peter C. Harris, Adjutant General of the army, primarily responsible for the escape, though it absolved him from improper motives. It accused no one directly of conspiracy except Bergdoll, D. Clarence Gibboney, a Bergdoll lawyer; "Judge" Romig, the Bergdoll agent and friend; Joe Stecher, Bergdoll's chauffeur, and "possibly" Mrs. Bergdoll. The report specifically said that no commissioned or non-commissioned officer in the army knowingly participated in a conspiracy or

received or was approached in connection with a bribe.

Both Ansell and Cresson issued vigorous denials of the charges contained in the majority report. The latest news regarding Bergdoll was that he had gone from Germany to Switzerland.

BONUS ACT OVERTHROWN

The New York Court of Appeals ruled on Aug. 31 that the State law providing for the payment of a soldier bonus was unconstitutional, on the ground that it lent the credit of the State for the benefit of individuals. Five Judges concurred in the decision and two dissented. The action was brought to the court on an appeal from the decision of the Appellate Division, which upheld the constitutionality of the State bonus bond issue for \$45,000,000. New York was the first State to declare soldiers' bonus legislation unconstitutional. Nine of the States have sold issues totaling \$69,500,000, and in some of them the bonuses have been paid. In eight other States bond issues totaling \$191,500,000 await referenda to make them effective, and in twenty-one other States \$370,939,200 has been provided in legislation now pending.

BATTLESHIP NOT OBSOLETE

The battleship has not been rendered obsolete by the airplane, in the opinion of the Joint Army and Navy Board, whose report on the recent aerial bombing tests off the Virginia Capes was made public Aug. 19. The opinion of the board, as approved by the Secretaries of War and the Navy, was thus summarized:

(a) The mission of the navy is to control vital lines of transportation upon the sea. If no opposition is met from enemy naval vessels, this mission can be accomplished without entering an enemy's coast zone within which aircraft bases on shore or in sheltered harbors are effective.

(b) Without an effective navy in time of war, a nation must submit to an economic blockade fatal to its trade and the importation of necessary materials for the production of war supplies.

(c) If heavier-than-air craft are to be effective in naval warfare they must have great mobility, and since their radius of action is not great, additional mobility must be obtained by providing mobile bases—i. e., aircraft carriers.

(d) So far as known, no planes large enough to carry a bomb effective against a major ship have been flown from or landed on an airplane carrier at sea. It is probable, however, that future development will make such operations practicable.

(e) Even in the present state of development the aircraft carrier, as exemplified by the *Argus* of the British Navy, is a type essential to the highest efficiency of the fleet.

(f) Aircraft carriers are subject to attack by vessels carrying guns, torpedoes or bombs and will require, as all other types of vessels require, the eventual support of the battleship.

(g) The battleship is still the backbone of the fleet and the bulwark of the nation's sea defense, and will so remain so long as the safe navigation of the sea for purposes of trade or transportation is vital to success in war.

(h) The airplane, like the submarine, destroyer and mine, has added to the dangers to which battleships are exposed, but has not made the battleship obsolete. The battleship still remains the greatest factor of naval strength.

(i) The development of aircraft, instead of furnishing an economical instrument of war leading to the abolition of the battleship, has but added to the complexity of naval warfare.

(j) The aviation and ordnance experiments conducted with the ex-German vessels as targets have proved that it has become imperative as a matter of national defense to provide for the maximum possible development of aviation in both the army and navy. They have proved also the necessity for aircraft carriers of the maximum size and speed to supply our fleet with the offensive and defensive power which aircraft provide, within their radius of action, as an effective adjunct of the fleet. It is likewise essential that effective anti-aircraft armament be developed.

TAX REVISION BILL PASSED

The House of Representatives on Aug. 20, by a vote of 274 to 125, passed the revenue bill, which revised the war revenue laws to raise in taxation about \$3,366,000,000 so as to reduce taxes \$818,000,000 by 1923. Representative Garner, on behalf of the Democrats, moved to recommit the bill in order to cut out the provision repealing the present

surtaxes, which range as high as 76 per cent. The motion was rejected by a vote of 230 to 169. Fifty Republicans deserted their party and joined with the Democrats on this motion, while only one Democrat, Campbell of Pennsylvania, refused to follow his party. On final passage three Democrats voted for the bill and nine Republicans opposed it.

The only important departure from the original intentions of the Ways and Means Committee and the Republican leaders was the decision to repeal the excess profits taxes and reduce the income surtaxes next January. The original bill provided that these should become effective as of Jan. 1 last, but a Republican caucus forced the committee to make the repeal and reduction begin next January, when it is planned to have a 12½ per cent. corporation tax substituted for the repeal of the excess profits tax.

RAIL RELIEF BILL

On Aug. 22 the House, acceding to President Harding's request for railroad relief legislation before taking a recess, passed the Administration bill by a vote of 214 to 123. It was sent to the Senate without substantial amendment. While there was some opposition to the bill, especially against the section which prohibited any of the funds being used to pay the railroads for the alleged inefficiency of labor during Government control, it was not strong enough to force an amendment. Representative Webster of Washington, a Republican member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, offered a motion to strike this section from the bill, which was rejected by a vote of 145 to 17.

ONE LIQUOR BAN LIFTED

Temporary suspension of the customs ban prohibiting intoxicating liquors which are shipped from one foreign country to another from being moved across the United States

was announced by Secretary Mellon on Aug. 17. Mr. Mellon said:

In view of the injunctions granted at Detroit and at New York requiring the Collector of Customs to continue to permit the transportation and exportation entries for liquors in bond, the Treasury Department has deemed it advisable temporarily to suspend its order regarding such shipments. Accordingly, and until otherwise advised, the Collectors of Customs will permit intoxicating liquors shipped from a foreign country to move over the territory of the United States when the destination of such liquors is another foreign country. This has been done so as to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of litigation, and in order that the important questions involved may, if possible, be speedily and finally determined by the court.

Shipments of liquor from a foreign point of origin by way of this country to a foreign destination were held by former Attorney General Palmer in an opinion to be in violation of the prohibition laws. After hearing protests by Canadian shippers against the ruling, Attorney General Daugherty upheld the opinion and early in July customs regulations were promulgated by the Treasury forbidding the in transit shipment of intoxicating beverages across the country.

WEST VIRGINIA "INSURRECTION"

An uprising that proved serious enough to call forth a proclamation from President Harding took place in the latter days of August and the early part of September in Kanawha, Boone, Fayette, Logan and Mingo Counties, W. Va. The outbreak came as a climax to the labor troubles that had convulsed Mingo County for two years past. A struggle had been going on there to unionize the coal fields, and great bitterness had developed between the miners on one hand and the operators, supported by bands of hired detectives, on the other. The avowed purpose of the miners and adventurers who gathered in neighboring countries about Aug. 20 was to march into Mingo County and forcibly unionize the field. Armed bands that were rapidly augmented until they were said to number from 10,000

to 15,000 set out on the march and citizens and State forces were hastily marshaled to oppose them. Desultory warfare ensued, largely of the guerilla or "sniping" variety, and the uprising assumed such alarming proportions that the Governor of the State called upon the Federal Government for help. President Harding issued a proclamation on Aug. 30 ordering the insurrectionists to disperse by noon Sept. 1, and stating that if the order were not obeyed troops would be sent to enforce it.

The proclamation was disregarded, and in consequence a comparatively small force of soldiers under the command of Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz was sent to the troubled area. The effect was almost instantaneous. There was practically no fighting, and large numbers of the miners yielded up their arms, while the bulk of the others dispersed to their homes. By Sept. 10 the troubles were under control and most of the troops were ordered back to their depots. The number of casualties in the fighting was undetermined, but was believed to be small.

REDUCTION OF WAGES

The United States Steel Corporation on Aug. 19 announced another adjustment in the wages of its employes, the third to be put into effect since the decline in steel prices began. It became effective on Aug. 29 and amounted to a reduction of 7 cents an hour for unskilled labor, bringing the wage down to 30 cents an hour, or the level which prevailed on May 1, 1917. Other wages and salaries, it was said, would be equitably adjusted.

On the basis of the ten-hour day, unskilled labor will receive \$3 a day, which is 50 per cent. above the wage paid at the beginning of 1915, but about 40 per cent. below the wages paid on Feb. 1, 1920, when laborers were receiving \$5.06 for a ten-hour day. The high rate was 153 per cent. above the 1915 level.

Judge Landis, sitting as arbiter in

the building trades wage controversy at Chicago, handed down a decision on Sept. 7 which made wage cuts varying from 10 to 33 per cent. from the old uniform rate of \$1.25 an hour for skilled workers.

• Workmen on eight of the forty-four building trades ruled upon by Judge Landis will receive less than 85 cents an hour and those in ten crafts which are in the laboring class will receive 70 cents. Considering the elimination of all restrictions on labor-saving machinery and materials, Judge Landis estimated the saving in actual cost of building would be about 20 per cent. The decision opened the Chicago territory to all contracting firms and, according to contractors and union men, prepared the way to renewal of millions of dollars' worth of construction.

The average weekly earnings of factory workers in New York State decreased 13 per cent. from last October to Aug. 1 of this year, according to a statement from the office of Industrial Commissioner Henry D. Sayer, issued Aug. 7.

The State Department of Labor made a special inquiry to ascertain the extent to which reductions in wages had been put into effect in factories, the statement said. Replies were received from nearly 700 plants, which normally employ more than 300,000 workers. About 500 factories with more than 230,000 workers reported having made wage reductions in wage rates of various amounts, while 200 factories with about 75,000 workers reported no reductions.

RETAIL FOOD PRICES RISING

Statistics prepared by the Department of Labor for fifteen principal cities of the United States were issued Sept. 9, and showed that for the month from July 15 to Aug. 15 there was an increase in the retail price of food in all of the cities over the previous thirty days.

The greatest increase, 8 per cent., was in Rochester. Buffalo showed an

increase of 7 per cent.; New York City and Baltimore, 6 per cent.; Milwaukee, Newark and Norfolk, 5 per cent.; Charleston, S. C., Louisville, Manchester and Portland, Me., 4 per cent.; Houston, 3 per cent.; Butte and Dallas, 2 per cent., and Minneapolis, 1 per cent.

For the year period, Aug. 15, 1920, to Aug. 15, 1921, there was a decrease of 30 per cent. in Butte; 28 per cent. in Louisville; 26 per cent. in Baltimore, Charleston, Dallas, Milwaukee and Minneapolis; 25 per cent. in Buffalo, Manchester and Norfolk; 24 per cent. in Houston, Newark, Portland, Me., and Rochester, and 22 per cent. in New York.

As compared with the average cost in the year 1913, the retail cost of food on Aug. 15, 1921, showed an increase of 62 per cent. in Manchester; 60 per cent. in Milwaukee; 50 per cent. in Baltimore and Charleston, S. C.; 50 per cent. in Minneapolis and Newark; 47 per cent. in Dallas, and 43 per cent. in Louisville. Prices were not obtained from Butte, Houston, Norfolk, Portland, Me., or Rochester in 1913.

"REASONABLE" RENT DEFINED

The problem of defining "reasonable rent," which had been the subject of great controversy in the municipal courts of New York, was settled on Aug. 31 by the Appellate Term of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn, N. Y., which ruled that a reasonable rent was a return of 10 per cent. on the present value of a house.

In the opinion, written by Justice Shelby and concurred in by Justices Cropsey and Lazansky, five rules intended for the guidance of municipal courts, landlords and tenants, were promulgated. These involved determining the present fair market value of the premises, the gross rentals demanded by the landlords, the allowable operating expenses for the previous year. Deducting from the gross rental the operating expenses would give the net rental. If this net

rental should not exceed 10 per cent. of the present value of the property, the rent demanded, in the opinion of the judges, would not be unreasonable.

NEW SECRET SERVICE HEAD

Attorney General Daugherty, on Aug. 18, announced the appointment of William J. Burns, head of a private detective agency, whom he had known for years, to be Director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice. Mr. Burns was sworn in Aug. 22, succeeding William J. Flynn. In response to questions, Mr. Daugherty said the appointment of Burns did not necessarily mean that the investigation agencies of the Government would be co-ordinated under the Department of Justice, though there would be some housecleaning. "I have known Mr. Burns

personally for thirty years and have watched him develop in his specialty," Mr. Daugherty said. "The bureau will be reorganized as expeditiously as possible and brought to the highest point of efficiency."

The State Department received on Sept. 3 a telegram from the American Minister at Bangkok announcing that exchange of ratifications of the new treaty of commerce between the United States and Siam was effected on Sept. 1. The document followed in large part the usual lines of such treaties between the United States and other countries. Full fiscal autonomy was accorded to Siam and a protocol was annexed under which the United States surrendered extra-territorial jurisdiction over American citizens in Siam, reserving the right of revocation for a period of five years from the date of the treaty.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARMS CONFERENCE

*Acceptance of President Harding's invitation by the nations concerned—
Messrs. Hughes, Lodge, Root and Underwood, our representatives in the
conference—Preparations for the great event*

THE British Government's formal acceptance of President Harding's invitation to the Washington conference of Nov. 11 on limitation of armaments and for a discussion of international problems presented by the Pacific and the Far East, was received on Aug. 22 by Secretary Hughes and made public at the State Department. It took the form of a note from Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, to Colonel George Harvey, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, expressive of the British Government's "ready" acceptance of the invitation, with the "earnest and confident hope that the conference might achieve far-reach-

ing results conducive to the prosperity and peace of the world." The text of the British note follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation proffered to his Majesty's Government by the Government of the United States to participate in a conference at Washington, beginning on the 11th of November next, for the discussion of the limitation of armaments and in connection therewith of the international problems presented by the Pacific and Far East.

It is with sincere gratification that I have the honor on behalf of his Majesty's Government to request your Excellency to convey to the United States Government our ready acceptance of their invitation to take part in this auspicious meeting, with the object of which his Majesty's Government and the British nation are in whole-hearted sympathy. It is the earnest and con-

fidant hope of his Majesty's Government that this conference approached, as it will be, by all concerned in a spirit of courage, friendliness and mutual understanding, may achieve far-reaching results that will be conducive to the prosperity and peace of the world.

The Japanese reply to the invitation was communicated to the American Government on Aug. 24, and, apart from one modification, was a hearty acceptance. Reciting that the peace and welfare of the world had long been an object of solicitude to the Japanese Government and people, the note asserted that the Japanese Government warmly welcomed the idea of the limitation of armaments as a means of removing from industry and cultural development the deadening burden created by competitive armaments.

Japan had a pre-eminently vital interest in the preservation of the peace of the Pacific and the Far East, the note declared, and she regarded the discussion and removal of any causes of misunderstanding that might exist and the arrival at an eventual agreement with regard to general principles and their application which would insure friendship, as of great value and importance. The part of the note bearing on the proposed modification read as follows:

The Japanese Government gladly concurs in the proposal of the United States that the scope of the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems shall be made the subjects of a free exchange of views prior to the assembly of the conference. They hope that the agenda of the conference will in this way be arranged in harmony with the suggestion made in the memorandum of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 26, 1921, bearing on the same subject, in order that the labors of the conference may meet speedily with the fullest measure of successful achievement.

In the memorandum referred to (the full text of which was published in September CURRENT HISTORY, p. 920), the Japanese Government expressed as an implied condition of acceptance the opinion that the agenda should be arranged prior to the assembly of the conference, and that "introduction therein of prob-

lems such as are of sole concern to certain particular powers, or matters that may be regarded as accomplished facts, should be scrupulously avoided."

China also, on Aug. 18, accepted the invitation to take part in the conference, as far as its discussions might bear upon Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and expressed satisfaction that she had been put on a footing of equality with other Governments in "this beneficent movement."

Because of the opposition of Senator Lodge, one of the American delegates to the conference for the limitation of armaments, Senator Harrison, Democrat, of Mississippi, withdrew on Aug. 23, before a vote could be had, his amendment to the Shipping Board Deficiency Appropriation bill directing the American delegates "to use every effort and exert every influence to have the sessions of the conference held in public and not behind closed doors." Senator Lodge declared that the adoption of the amendment would be an exhibition of "futile bad manners" and an "incivility" to the great nations invited by the President to participate in the conference.

In withdrawing his amendment, Senator Harrison announced that this did not mean the abandonment of the fight to have the sessions held in the open. When the Congress reconvened, following the thirty days' recess, he would reintroduce the amendment, he stated, in the form of an independent joint resolution, and would make an effort to bring it to a vote before the conference convened on Armistice Day.

It was determined on Aug. 26 that the conference for the limitation of armaments would be held in the Hall of the Americas of the Pan American Union Building in Washington. On that date, Senor Don Beltram Mathieu, the Chilean Ambassador to the United States, who is also Vice President of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, sent a let-

ter to Secretary Hughes, offering the use of the building for the conference. The Secretary hastened to reply, accepting the offer and expressing the sincere thanks of the American Government for the action taken. The building stands at the corner of Seventeenth and B Streets, N. W., about three blocks south of the State Department Building, and is in the midst of a group which will also be utilized in connection with the Washington conference.

It was announced at the State Department on Aug. 27 that the United States, as host at the conference, would provide the machinery of the sessions and bear the expense of the Secretariat General, the corps of translators and stenographers and all bills for official printing.

The White House on Sept. 9 stated that the main American delegation to the conference would consist of four members. These would be Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts, Chairman of

the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Republican floor leader in the Senate; Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, also former Secretary of War, ex-Senator from New York and member of The Hague Tribunal; and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, former Democratic floor leader in the House, father of the Underwood Tariff law and present leader of the Democratic minority in the Senate.

The statement also was authorized from the White House that the main delegation from each country participating in the conference would comprise four members, who would sit in the sessions, although each delegation would be assisted by an advisory group of indefinite number, the members of which would be designated as "advisory members." The advisory council to be appointed to assist the main American delegation would consist of twelve persons, and these would be chosen for their expert qualifications in military, naval, aeronautic, political and economic knowledge.

HISTORIC RUNNYMEDE NOT FOR SALE

RUNNYMEDE is a name which to every Englishman and American spells liberty, for it was on that quiet meadow by the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, that the embattled armies of the English barons, on June 15, 1215, after defeating King John, wrested from him the priceless Magna Charta, on which the liberties of all English-speaking peoples are founded. Yet that historic meadow was recently put up for sale as an ordinary bit of grazing land by the Commissioner of Woods and Forests, who was getting only \$660 a year from the three tenant farmers who were using it. Instantly all England rang with an outcry of protest. The Government quickly realized that these ninety-nine acres of former Crown land in the Parish of Egham were

more than so much sheep pasture in the esteem of the nation—that the people still regarded it with an almost religious devotion, and would not tolerate its being sold into private hands. So the Minister of Agriculture, Sir Arthur Boscawen, decided to withdraw "Lot 8" from sale, and so informed the House of Commons on Aug. 10, 1921. His announcement was made in reply to an interpellation which inquired whether he was aware that this historic property was not only "one of the beauty spots of England," but was also looked upon with feelings of the utmost veneration "by all the English-speaking democracies in the world." His announcement that Runnymede would be retained as Crown property was hailed with universal approval.

ITALY'S CRIMINALS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY TOMMASO SASSONE

The facts regarding the high percentage of violent crimes committed in American cities by men of South Italian birth or parentage—Evil methods and ideals of the Camorra and Mafia transplanted from Italy to this country

[The writer of this article has made careful researches, and his statements are authentic. The better element of Italians in this country, who comprise the overwhelming majority, deplore the carnival of crime due to groups transplanted from Southern Italy, and are sympathetic with all efforts to bring the criminals to justice.—Editor Current History.]

CRIMES of violence in our larger cities have recently become an increasingly ominous feature of current news, and no careful observer can have failed to notice the preponderance of Italian names in this evil record.

A part of the prevailing lawlessness, no doubt, is due to the extraordinary conditions following the World War. After all wars the disbanding of armies causes social irregularities, but the circumstances in this case have been intensified. When the men were called to the army, great numbers of women were engaged in their places, and often in employments never before filled by women. After the armistice there was a disposition to restore soldiers to their jobs, but in many cases the men have found themselves permanently displaced. Some of these, destitute and confronted by an abnormal cost of living, took to crime to supply their living need. A world-wide industrial depression has come, throwing vast numbers of men and women out of work. These conditions have been responsible for a share of the prevailing crimes, especially those against property.

But there is a criminal class that

comes under an entirely different category. This class is not a fortuitous product of great social disturbances. It is a transplanted product. To this class crime is not a makeshift, but a trade and a cult. Its crimes are not solitary or sporadic, but deliberate and organized.

In the list of recent crimes the operations of what are popularly called the "Black Hand" have been markedly prominent. Robbery, blackmail and murder are its inevitable handiwork. A short time ago 5-year-old Giuseppe Verotta was kidnapped in New York City, and, because his father would not or could not pay a ransom of \$2,500, was thrown into the river and drowned. Reports from other cities constantly tell of the murderous activities of the "Black Hand." With alarming frequency murder succeeds murder, and, as if protected by some mysterious, powerful influence, the murderers usually succeed in escaping.

Only last year the United States Government sent Captain Michael Fiaschetti of the New York police force to Italy to demand of its Government the capture of thirty-two murderers who had returned there from America. On the very day that Captain Fiaschetti disembarked at Naples Lieutenant Giuseppe Monda, who, after amassing wealth in America, had returned to Italy for war service, was waylaid, shot and

killed by two masked persons a few yards away from his house. While in Italy Captain Fiaschetti arrested a murderer who two years previously had killed two persons on Brooklyn Bridge. In August, 1921, confessions were obtained in New York City from members of an Italian "murder syndicate" believed to have been responsible for more than 125 assassinations in New York City, Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Bridgeport during the last four years.

Of the foreign-born inhabitants of New York City the greatest proportionate number of convictions in the courts are those of Italians. Leading New York's foreign-born population of 1,991,547 are people from Russia totaling 479,765, and next come 388,978 Italians, but the percentage of crime is greater among the Italians. The latest available report of the Department of Correction—that of 1919—shows that 4,392 Italian prisoners were committed to the workhouse, penitentiary and other city penal institutions, while the number of Russian-born persons sentenced was 5,046. Russian prisoners were numerically greater, but proportionately less, than Italian, the percentage of Italians to their total number being 1.13, Russians 1.05. The crimes for which Italians were imprisoned were generally of a more serious nature than those of other nationalities. Assaults, burglary, robbery, blackmail, extortion, carrying dangerous weapons, and other such offenses were common grounds for convictions of Italians.

The greatest number of foreign-born convicts in New York State's prisons—Auburn, Clinton, Great Meadow and Sing Sing—are Italians. Of a total of 928 foreign-born convicts in these prisons the 1920 report of the New York State Commissioner of Prisons states that 378 were Italians—about 40 per cent.—whereas their percentage of the total should be 19. The foreign nationality having the next largest number was the Russian, of which there were 171 convicts.

Assaults, robbery, abduction, kidnapping and homicide were among the chief crimes committed by Italians, and larceny figured prominently among those by Russians. The New York State penitentiaries have fewer Italian prisoners than Irish, Russian, or Austrian, but their offenses are usually grave. In the New York State reformatories Italians lead all other foreign-born prisoners.

How does it happen that the Italian nationality has become so conspicuously identified in America with blackmail, kidnapping, murder and bomb outrages? What, furthermore, is the "Black Hand"? Is it a myth or a reality?

To get a clear understanding of the addiction of certain sections of Italians to crime it is necessary to go far back and describe antecedents. Northern Italians have different traits and characteristics from those of the South, and again the Sicilians have dispositions and traditions different from the mainland peoples. In Southern Italy for years homicide has been five times and assault three times more frequent than in Northern Italy, while in Southern Italy five robberies occur for every one in the North. The Sicilian records have shown seven times the homicide, four times the brigandage and four times the obscene crimes committed by Northern Italians. Manslaughter and murder have been fourteen times more frequent in Sardinia than in Lombardy.

It is from Southern Italy that 80 per cent. of Italian emigrants to the United States have come, and 70 per cent. of these have been illiterate. But illiteracy has not been the worst evil brought over. The most vicious and malignant influence transplanted here has been that of two powerful and dreaded secret societies—the Camorra, with headquarters at Naples, and the Mafia of Sicily. A description of the origin and development of these will tend to explain how it was that brigandage and mur-

der became recognized industries in Southern Italy.

THE CAMORRA

The Camorra is both a society and a system. Writers disagree as to the derivation of the name, as the word is not taken either from the Italian language or the Neapolitan dialect. The usual assumption is that it comes from the name of a Spaniard, Gamurra. Saturated with the old ideas of chivalry, he conceived the idea of founding at Naples, in the sixteenth century, a society for the suppression of robbers and bandits on the highways. At that period Naples was under Spanish domination and was a haven for the worst element of Spanish cutthroats. Gamurra's organization gradually became known as the "Onorata Società della Camorra"—the Honorable Society of the Camorra. It became a notable power. As the roads between Naples and other cities were infested by highwaymen, the aid of the members of the Camorra was abundantly sought as escorts, for which service they were paid.

It was not long before adventurers saw a fertile opportunity to avail themselves of the Camorra's functions to enrich themselves. Under the mask of disinterested service they entered the society, and when assigned to protect travelers would, after they had set out on escort, refuse to do their part unless lavishly rewarded. If their demands were not complied with they would send word to the highwaymen, and when the traveler was attacked contrive to be absent from the scene. The robbers would share the proceeds with the confederate escorts, and, in fact, the two became a kind of union. By successive stages the Camorra degenerated into a society of extortioners, blackmailers and bandits who did not scruple to commit murder when thought necessary.

But the Camorra was something more than a criminal organization. It professed to have a patriotic side,

warring secretly against political domination of Naples and the adjacent country by foreigners. To assault or slay a foreign official was esteemed a praiseworthy act, and to give information to the authorities was scorned as the deed of a traitor. It was this patriotic phase that enlisted the support of many influential natives who would not have entered a criminal organization. The leaders of the Camorra became rich, and when the feudal and later the ecclesiastical estates were broken up and sold, many of them bought land and became great landlords, respectable to all appearances. Their power in the Camorra, like their estates, frequently descended from father to son.

After the consolidation of the various Italian States into the Kingdom of Italy the patriotic phase vanished, and the Camorra became and has remained a politico-criminal organization. Its ramifications have extended from the highest to the lowest strata of society. Under its two executive heads—the Capo, or Chief, and the Treasurer—the Camorra has a corps of twenty-four leaders, two for each district of Naples. In turn each of these leaders has forty-eight picciotti, or probationers—men who have already served an apprenticeship in crime. Assisting the picciotti are the "honorary members," usually men of shady careers masking their activities under the cloak of some semi-respectable business.

The whole society is divided traditionally, although not actually, into two classes—the Alta, or Higher, Camorra and the Bassa, or Lower. The Alta has concerned itself with the more important affairs, such as political intrigues, corruption of officials, large robberies and assassinations. To the Bassa has been given the function of levying blackmail on petty gamblers, pickpockets, sneak thieves and other violators of the laws and seeing that they are completely subservient to the political and other designs of the Alta. Assassinations decreed by the inner circle or court

of the Camorra have usually been carried out by means of what is called the "*dichiamento*," or picked quarrel. The intended victim has been isolated from his friends in some restaurant, surrounded by his enemies, drawn into a quarrel and finally stabbed as though the act were done in self-defense.

THE MAFIA

The Mafia is distinct from the Camorra and is peculiar to Sicily. It originated as a secret political society, the object of which was to rid the island of foreign rule. But it also has been aptly described as a mixture of felony and patriotism. As in the case of Ireland's attitude toward England, Sicily has long nursed grievances against the Italian mainland, accusing it of both exploiting and neglecting it. Centuries of foreign domination and oppressive government long ago bred in the people of Sicily a contempt for law and a hatred for authority.

Any Sicilian who applied to the authorities for help, or gave them any kind of information, was condemned as acting in bad faith toward his fellow-Sicilians. Long insistence on this code gave criminals practical immunity. Like the Camorra, the Mafia has two branches, a high and a low. The members of the low Mafia are the instruments used by the high Mafia in attending to the slanders, persecutions, perjuries, conspiracies, blackmailing, robberies and murders ordered by the high Mafia. Controlling the high Mafia have been men of social and administrative rank who have unhesitatingly destroyed the career or life of any foe. Everywhere in Sicily there has long been a dread of the Mafia, and no Sicilian, under peril of death, has dared to divulge its crimes to the authorities.

Powerful Sicilian politicians have supported and protected the Mafia as a necessary league for the defense of Sicilian interests. During the reign of King Humbert, Senator Count Condonchi was personally appointed

by that King as High Commissioner for Sicily for the express purpose of stamping out the Mafia there. He tried hard to suppress it, but failed. "It exercises its baleful influence all over Sicily," he said; "all fear it, and in order to secure their property and persons, people are compelled to submit to its behests. Its power knows no obstacles, not even at the hands of the Government." The Mafia, in fact, drove Condonchi into retirement.

Two codes persist in Sicily. One is the vendetta; the other is "*onestà*." The highest national virtue in Sicily is "*onesta*" (literally, honestly), meaning that one must never in any way assist the authorities by giving information of crimes within one's knowledge, even if he himself is the victim. So strong is the hold of this code that if a man has been badly or even fatally wounded he will stanchly deny all knowledge of the identity of his assailant. Should he recover, he will make it his life mission to avenge himself; but nothing will induce him to turn informer or "*cascittuno*," which is considered the most opprobrious term in the Sicilian dialect. "If I live, I shall kill you; if I die, I forgive you," runs the old Sicilian saying, which is the keynote of Sicilian action.

The vendetta originally was caused by retaliation against foreign officials sent to rule the island. Finding it impossible to have them removed or punished for oppression, the natives often disposed of them by assassination, which became exalted as a laudable act. In the course of time the idea was elaborated into the doctrine that clans, families or individuals had the right to take private vengeance. Sometimes the grievance was personal, sometimes economic, and often both.

At least two-thirds of the owners of proprietary estates in Sicily have long been absentee landlords. Salviola, in his book on the subject, describes them as descended from bandits and extortioners, and Alongi, in his treatise, traces their beginnings to organized robbery. The men, he says, who

became proprietary landlords "were energetic, audacious characters and masters of that robber class from which they sprung and which even then were called Mafia." Their descendants were often unscrupulous. They violated families and forced agricultural laborers to work for the poorest kind of pay, frequently as low as a few cents a day. Against their outrages and tyrannies the people felt that they had no legal way of striking back. So the vendetta became the established method, and the stiletto or pistol was used to obtain a satisfaction denied by law itself. The vendetta requires an implacable memory and a vigilant noting of the auspicious moment to strike. For ten, perhaps twenty years, the marked victim may go his way confidently and unsuspectingly. Suddenly he is murdered, and so mysteriously that there is not a clue to the motive or perpetrator.

TRANSPLANTED TO AMERICA

It was not until recent decades that the activities of the Camorra and Mafia were transplanted to America. In 1879 the total immigration from Italy was only 5,791. In 1880 to 1890 it ranged from 12,000 to 52,000 a year, chiefly from the south of Italy. The police in different cities noted the increasing number of murders among Italians, but there was then not an Italian member of any police force, and the sources and causes of the murders remained mysteries.

A succession of dramatic events in New Orleans first fixed the attention of the American people upon the fact that a new and dangerous criminal element had fastened itself here. For years secret murders had baffled the New Orleans police. Witnesses always knew nothing, and invariably the victim would refuse to identify the murderer. The source of these outrages, it transpired later, was a secret society with 300 members who would kill any one standing in the way of their designs.

There were two factions of Italian

stevedores, one of which had supplanted the other in the profitable business of unloading fruit. On the night of May 5, 1890, the ousted party ambushed and attacked seven of their successful competitors on the street and riddled three with slugs from shotguns. The victims recovered; but as the Louisiana law defined shooting with intent to murder while lying in wait as a capital offense, the six Italians convicted were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Later in the same year—though as a separate episode—came the assassination of Chief of Police David C. Hennessy. About a dozen years previously Hennessy had incurred the hostility of the lawless Italian element in New Orleans. He had arrested and shipped to New York the notorious bandit Esposito, who was then deported to Italy, tried and convicted. Hennessy had also learned certain secrets of Italian societies transplanted from Italy. A vendetta was proclaimed, and the Chief of Police was marked for death. Year after year assassins grimly waited, until on the evening of Oct. 16, 1890, he was shot down as he was entering his house.

This was the first instance of an American victim of the vendetta. Some persons unfamiliar with Italian conditions declared it to be the work of the Camorra, but this was unlikely, for a traditional rule of the Camorra was never to take revenge on a police official. It was the work of the Mafia. There was great excitement in New Orleans. A Committee of Fifty was organized, arrests were made, and the prosecution pushed. When on March 13, 1891, the verdict was given, a great multitude surrounded the Court House. It expected conviction of the six prisoners, for the evidence was strong against them. But, to the surprise of every one, they were acquitted. Charges were made alleging bribery. "It is known," said a dispatch from New Orleans, "that large sums of money have been received and expended by the defense.

The amount is estimated as high as \$75,000 or \$100,000. Italians all over the country are made to contribute \$2 apiece. Thousands of dollars have come from New York and Chicago, and every day brings in more collections."

Prominent New Orleans citizens issued a call for a mass meeting the next day at Clay Statue. A big crowd attended. "The law has proved a farce and a mockery," said Mr. Parkerson, one of the speakers. "Are we to tolerate organized assassination?" The crowd went to the prison, forced the doors and shot down eleven Italian murderers. Italian Consul Corte admitted that the Mafia society was strong in New Orleans and that he and Father Manoritta had been warned to keep out of the Hennessy case. Father Manoritta had been told by a friend that more than 360 bandits in New Orleans were being protected by the Mafia society. They had managed to escape from Italy, where many had been convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned or hanged.

The Italian Government made an international issue of the matter, professing horror at the incident, although no one knew better than it did the appalling frequency of murder in Italy. After capital punishment had been abolished in Italy, in 1875, murders had greatly increased. In 1890 and following years Italy exceeded all other countries in the number of its murders; its annual list was about 2,470, a ratio of 29.4 per 10,000 deaths; Spain followed with 1,200 annual murders, a ratio of 23.8 per 10,000 deaths.

American public sentiment supported the action of the New Orleans citizens, and even English publicists such as Moreton Frewen approved it. Whatever the abstract considerations of the affair, it had one notable practical effect. Criminal Italians thereafter were more careful to respect the lives of American officials. The long roll of their lawless acts continued,

but it was mostly a case of Italian against Italian.

INRUSH OF SOUTH ITALIANS.

Immigration of Italians annually increased, reaching the 100,000 mark in 1900. Its proportions grew yearly, going to 285,731 in 1907, falling off somewhat in each of the succeeding years and then swelling to 265,542 in 1913 and 283,738 in 1914. From 1901 to 1910 there were 2,045,877, and from 1911 to 1918 a further 1,012,495 Italian immigrants were admitted. The bulk of this inrush was composed of people from South Italy. Thus in 1909 there were 165,248 from South Italy and only 25,150 from North Italy, and the same proportion was generally true of the Italian immigration of each following year.

Great numbers of these immigrants had not the slightest intention of becoming American citizens. Their sole aim was to amass some money as quickly as possible and return to Italy. The standards and influences of their home regions followed them here, dominated them, and impelled them to go back. In 1905 fully 31 per cent. returned; the next year 38 per cent., and in 1907 the rush back to Italy reached 62 per cent. From 1908 to 1910 at least 30 to 42 per cent. of Italian immigrants went back to Italy. Many later returned to America, but it was with a renewed infusion of the spirit, ways and methods of their native land, chiefly South Italy.

A change now came in some American cities. It was welcomed by honest, law-abiding Italians and equally resented by the criminal Italian element. In cities where there were large Italian colonies administrations began to put officers of Italian extraction on their detective forces. These policemen knew how to deal with their countrymen.

One of the ablest of these detectives was Police Lieutenant Joseph Petrosini, on the New York City force. He

arrested many Italian criminals who had committed crimes both in America and Italy. One of his noted arrests was that of Errico Alfana. Early in 1906, members of the Camorra attended a banquet in Naples and decided on the execution of Gennaro Cuocolo and his wife. He was a Camorrist with a long criminal record; both he and his wife, Marie Cutinelli, a woman of a much tarnished past, had somehow incurred the enmity of various Camorra members. The Cuocolos were murdered in May, 1906. The Naples police made a show of investigation, but that was all. Finally one of the King's relatives, reported to be the Duke of the Abruzzi, complained to the King of the inactivity of the regular police. Thereupon the military police were put vigorously at work upon the case.

Errico Alfana, one of the Camorra leaders, fled to New York City. Petrosini located him. One afternoon Petrosini approached and said, "Errico, do you want to submit right away, or shall we have to extradite you?" "I am a gentleman," Alfana replied, "and this is hard on my nerves. But I will go back to Italy, as you say." When, in 1909, Petrosini was sent to Italy to bring back some criminals wanted for murder, he was shot and killed in Palermo. The perpetrators of this crime have never been discovered.

The Italian Government did seriously try to break up the Camorra and punish those of its members accused of the murder of the Cuocolo couple. The Camorra called into action every possible influence to delay the trial, hoping meanwhile to get rid of witnesses who had turned State's evidence. The trial of eight accused Camorrists, however, was at last begun at Viterbo in 1911 and lasted sixteen months. The official report of its proceedings occupied 40,000 pages and filled sixty-three volumes. Former Mayor George B. McClellan of New York City, who had formerly resided in Italy, attended the trial, and it was to him that Abatemaggio,

one of the chief witnesses, thus described the Camorra: "It will do anything you hire it to do. It will kill your enemy or carry you an election or bring you your heart's desire."

In July, 1912, the eight Camorrist chiefs on trial were found guilty and each sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment at hard labor. On hearing this sentence Dr. Marinas, one of the prisoners, cut his throat in court. But later a rehearing of the case was granted on the allegation that seven principal witnesses had committed perjury. Then came the war and the hearing was delayed because of the absence at the front of important witnesses. There has been no recent cable dispatch as to the final disposition of the case.

IN AMERICAN CITIES.

The enormous increase of crimes in the United States, especially those of personal violence, led to an investigation of immigration and crime by a joint committee of Congress. This committee reported (United States Senate Document No. 750, 1911), that in gainful offenses, such as burglary and robbery, Americans exceeded. Of immigrants the Russians led in larceny, the French in prostitution, and the Greeks in violations of city ordinances. Then the report went on:

The Italians have the highest percentages of the aggregate of offenses of personal violence shown by the data. * * * The Chicago police records alone show a different condition; in them the Italian percentage is exceeded by the Lithuanians and Slovenians. Certain specific crimes of personal violence also belong distinctively to Italian criminality. Abduction and kidnapping * * * form a larger percentage of the crimes of Italians than of those of any other groups of offenders. In the Chicago figures the Italians rank second in percentage of these crimes, being slightly exceeded by Greeks.

Of blackmail and extortion the Italians also have the highest percentage in the four sets of data having a sufficient number of cases to make comparison possible. In all five sets of data the Italians have the highest percentage of homicide. Rape likewise forms a higher percentage of the crimes of Italians than those of any other nationality in the statistics of the New York City

magistrates' courts, the New York Court of General Sessions and the penal institutions of Massachusetts. * * * Of the aggregate of offenses against public policy, the Italian percentage exceeds all others in two sets of data. * * * Of violations of city ordinances shown in the records of the city magistrates' courts of Greater New York, the Italian percentage is greatest, while of the same offenses shown in the records of arrests by the Chicago police, the Italian percentage ranks third.

The report then described the tendency of the Italian of the second generation to break away from the criminal methods of the immigrant generation and to take up those of the American native-born criminals. Court figures showed that the Italian of the second generation committed many more gainful offenses than the Italian immigrant and fewer crimes of personal violence and offenses against public policy.

Recent reports of various State prison boards confirm the findings of that Government inquiry. The 1920 report of the California Prison Director shows that of 659 foreign-born convicts there were—of European immigrants—more than twice as many Italians as members of any other nationality. The 1920 report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Prisons shows that the largest number of prisoners in jails and houses of correction were Irish, but their offenses were mostly minor transgressions; of the 1,094 Irish prisoners 845 were sentenced for drunkenness. On the other hand, the 169 Italian prisoners were largely convicted of serious crimes, ranging from carrying weapons and assault to rape and manslaughter. In Newark, N. J., the record of arrests shows that of the foreign population Italians supply the greatest number of prisoners. The same is true in Rochester, New York, New Orleans and various other cities. Chicago is one of the few cities having considerable Italian populations where more of other European nationalities than Italians are arrested, although the offenses committed by Italians are usually more serious.

ACTIVITIES IN DETROIT

The earnest energy with which the police departments of American cities are trying to grapple with organized Italian criminality is shown by the attention given to the problem in the 1920 annual report of the Detroit Police Department. How thoroughly South Italians have transplanted their peculiar standards is shown by these extracts from the report:

Every once in a while an Italian or Sicilian is shot or stabbed, but seldom are the police able to learn who has committed the crime. The victim will tell his father, or his brother, or some other relative or friends who his assailants were, so that he can be avenged. But the police—never! That, according to his standard and belief, would not avenge him. And so the quarrels have been carried on among the families, each one gathering to itself all the available male strength, and the quarrel never ends until every male member of at least one side has been exterminated. Several have already been ended that way in Detroit.

But the killing of one another often becomes dull as a pastime. Then the members of the different clans are employed to kill the enemies of others, to bomb houses, kidnap children and hold them for ransom or to thief. This is the way they earn their daily bread. * * * Yet the police, though they may know who has committed the crime, are seldom able to obtain a conviction in court. Witnesses afraid of the power of the "Black Hand" refuse to testify.

The Black Hand is an offshoot or extension of the Mafia. When in Milan last year, Captain Michael Fiaschetti of the New York City police force said that his mission was directly connected with a new campaign "for the extermination of that tremendous network of dangerous criminals who constitute the Black Hand gang and who come to us principally from the Sicilian provinces of Trapani, Girgenti and Palermo." Captain Fiaschetti further said:

It is a sad fact that some of these Black Hand daredevils are recruited from the professional classes. In a dramatic raid on a country inn in the suburbs of New York I had the good luck to find thirty famous Black Handers in conclave in underground vaults. Three of them were Italian medical men, specialists in the department of the Black Hand concerned with the fabrication of false dollars.

Shortly afterward two brothers were done to death in their own dwelling, their bodies being riddled through and through with revolver shots. Within a month I succeeded in capturing the four authors of the crime. They confessed that the murders were wrought with their own hands in the execution of a mandate from the Black Hand, or *La Mano Nera*, as they call it, because the victims had been judged guilty of having betrayed to me the subterranean meeting place of several chiefs of the organization.

While Captain Fiaschetti was in Naples he received a cable from Police Commissioner Enright of New York City warning him that two desperadoes were on their way to Italy and that it was believed their errand was to kill him.

ITALIAN "BOOTLEGGERS"

Since prohibition of liquor came into force in the United States, Italian criminals have turned to bootlegging as a quick means of illicitly acquiring wealth. One of their leaders was Albert Altieri. For years, from his quarters in New York City, he had directed the operations of a Camorra gang in New England who blackmailed and also ran chains of gambling houses and other unlawful resorts. They murdered other Italians venturing to encroach upon their self-assigned monopoly. According to the police, many of these murderers were

sheltered by Altieri and his aids, provided with funds and hurried to Italy. Altieri and his crew expanded their operations to include bootlegging.

Having accumulated a fortune of several hundred thousand dollars, Altieri retired from the criminal business. Later, however, members of his old gang in Providence, R. I., demanded his assistance in some trouble. He refused to give it, and an agent was sent to New York City to kill him as an ingrate and a renegade. Several attempts upon Altieri's life were fruitless, and Altieri was about to leave for Italy. At last, at noon on Feb. 10, 1921, Altieri was caught off guard at Mulberry and Grand Streets, New York City, and shot. Characteristically, he refused before dying to tell the police the name of his murderer. His body was embalmed and sent to Italy for burial.

The Italian record of criminality is a gory one. But this is not because all Italian immigrants are criminally disposed. Herded in cities, out of contact with American ways, they are preyed upon and dominated, as Villari says in his book on the Italian immigrant, by a horde of adventurers and camorristi, who maintain in the new country the factions, superstitions and methods of the old. There is an orderly Italian element which applauds every effort to exterminate these destructive influences.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF "JAPAN"

BOTH the name "Japan" and the sobriquet, "Land of the Rising Sun," come from the same source—two Chinese ideographs, "Yih-pen," or "Sun-origin." This name was given by the Chinese to their Mongolian neighbors across the Yellow Sea because of the geographical position of the Japanese archipelago on China's east. From "Yih-pen," the Japanese themselves, following the laws of their own phonetics, developed a native form, "Nihon." The familiar name Nippon is a corruption of this. The form Nihon was officially adopted by the Japanese in the year A. D. 670. Before

that time the name used was "Yamato," properly the name of one of the central provinces, an example of the well-known rhetorical principle of using a part as the designation of the whole. Japanese poetry and belles-lettres still prefer to use the name "Yamato" today. The English name, Japan, comes to us through the Portuguese, who spelled "Yih-pen" as "Japon," the "J" in Portuguese being silent or pronounced as aspirate "h." Spanish, Portuguese and French have all crystallized this form. The English form, Japan, represents only a slight modification.

THE PASSING OF TURKEY

BY ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of the Greek Daily, Atlantis

Narrative of the successful campaign of the Greek Armies against the Turkish Nationalist forces under Mustapha Kemal—Facts about the strength of each side and summary of the chief battles—Why the Turkish Empire is gone forever

WITH the triumphal advance of the Greek armies in Anatolia, with the fortresses and cities of Kutahia, Afioun-Karahissar, Eski-shehr and Ismid fallen in quick succession to the victors, and with Angora itself threatened, one may attempt to write the closing chapter of the passing of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire, which was created by the sword, is being ended by the sword, and the nation which is dealing the coup de grace to the once mighty horde of Osman is, as if by some strange decree of fate, the one on whose ruins five hundred years ago Turkish power was founded. It is not only, however, as a military force that Turkey is dying; bad as her military plight is, it is further complicated by the debacle of Turanian nationalism, for which there was no room in a twentieth century Europe.

The Young Turk revolution of 1908, the starting point of the Turkish collapse, was encouraged by all those who calculated that its success would bring about the overthrow of Teuton influence in the Ottoman Empire. That influence, beginning in the late '80s, had acquired a new impetus after the famous pilgrimage of Wilhelm II. to Constantinople and the Holy Land in 1897.

The Young Turk revolution was launched in the small Macedonian town of Resna, by two young officers, Enver and Niazi Beys, with whom, later on, such leaders as Shevket Pasha, Djemal Pasha and Talaat Bey were associated.

It was then thought that the object of the movement was to bring about the federalization of the empire in a way that would give equal rights and opportunities, as well as an equal share in the government of the country, to all the different native races of the Turkish Imperial State, and this fact alone explains the sincere and undisguised enthusiasm with which such racial elements as the Greeks, Armenians and Arabs, as well as the Albanians, Bulgars, Serbs, Syrians and Kurds, came together fully prepared to help in the reconstruction of their common country. For a time the United States of Turkey was the slogan of all those people.

Now, indeed, that plan, honestly and sincerely applied, would have saved the Ottoman Empire, and in all probability would have prevented the World War. But it soon became apparent that what Enver and his party were scheming for was not the liberalization of Turkey, but the complete Turkification of an empire four-fifths of which was non-Turkish. The Young Turks feared that by giving equal rights to all the former subject peoples of the Sultan they were running the risk of entirely changing the racial and national character of the empire, and, extremely nationalistic as they certainly were, no sooner had they established their regime than they raised the banner of "Turkey for the Turks alone."

To fight these tendencies the Balkan countries for the first time in their long history buried the hatchet

of racial differences and formed that famous coalition of 1912 which was to finish the Sultan's hold over nine-tenths of his European possessions, and over all the Greek Archipelago.

On the other hand, such events as the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the definite amalgamation of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria, in 1908, and finally the Italian war in Tripoli in 1911, although not directly due to the nationalist character of the Young Turks, nevertheless indicated the desire of Austria, Bulgaria and Italy to take advantage of the weakness of Turkey before her new regime succeeded in strengthening the decrepit empire; the same psychology actuated, partly at least, the policy of the Balkan States when they decided to put an end to Turkey's hold on Near Eastern Europe before the Young Turks got a chance to galvanize into life the crumbling Ottoman State.

After her Balkan defeats, Turkey threw herself into the arms of Ger-

many. She did so, first, because Enver and his party believed that Turkish Nationalism was not compatible with the interests of the Western Powers, and, second, because an alliance with Russia was out of the question at that time, and the only alternative left was co-operation with the Central Empires of Europe.

The great war ended for Turkey in the last days of October, 1918, and with her defeat the first phase of her nationalist revival, initiated ten years earlier, was closed.

Enver Pasha was overthrown with his entire party, and the victorious Entente, occupying the whole Turkish Empire with the exception of portions of Asia Minor, and being master in Constantinople, forced the formation of a Turkish Ministry diametrically opposed to the ideas and the policies of the Young Turks. Thus the work of Enver Pasha was undone.



SCENE OF THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF THE GREEK ARMIES AGAINST THE
TURKISH NATIONALISTS

SECOND NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

We come now to the second phase of the Young Turkish Nationalist movement, the utter debacle of which we are witnessing today. It may appear as a paradox, but it is nevertheless a fact that the second revival of Young Turk Nationalism was the indirect, but none the less actual, result of the mistaken allied policy pursued in Turkey immediately after the armistice. And this is how it all happened:

When the war ended with the coming of the allied fleet to Constantinople and the shattering of every Turkish front from Mesopotamia to Palestine and Thrace, an immeasurable fear seized the entire population that still remained under the more or less nominal control of the Sultan. The victorious alliance was still too strong and too compact to permit the Turks any indulgence in hopes they considered vain. The whole universe seemed to be crumbling on Turkey's head, and those who up to that time sat in the seats of the mighty were more dazed than the others by the sudden and unexpected turn of events.

At that time General Allenby in Asiatic Turkey and General Franchet d'Esperey in Thrace had under their command ten times as many troops as would have been needed to occupy and disarm the whole of Turkey. The state of mind of the population was such that an international gendarmerie could have put the whole country in order. It was then, however, that the old Turkish *deus ex machina* appeared in the shape of allied discord; because, no sooner was the Turk defeated than the various allied diplomats resumed their ante-bellum courtship for Turkish favors. French diplomacy began to suspect Britain, British policy began to distrust France, while Italy more openly than either came out in favor of the Turk.

Discussions of the different "mandates" were then going on in full pressure all over Europe and

America, and during those discussions each power interested in securing the mandate over some section of Turkey had its organization working overtime in the localities concerned, and in Constantinople. This condition was so propitious for the Turkish interests that an old and accomplished diplomat, the Grand Vizier Damad Shereef Pasha, was quick to understand all its portent and to act accordingly. Damad, who had been appointed to his position by the Entente, succeeded so skillfully in playing one allied diplomat against the other that he was enabled to create a double political and diplomatic Turkish front, the one loyalist in Constantinople, and the other revolutionary in Asia Minor, with the object of winning by one or the other way the diplomatic victory which alone could save Turkey from the consequences of her military defeat.

With this object in mind he dispatched, early in February, 1919, first to Samsun and then to Amasseia and finally to Angora, Brig. Gen. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, whom he placed at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Turkish Nationalists. Mustapha Kemal hails from Larissa, in Thessaly, and has studied in the Imperial Turkish Military School in Constantinople. Contrary to what is commonly said, he is not a graduate of the Berlin Kriegsakademie. He was formerly an officer of the Turkish General Staff, where he was known as an able but very eccentric militarist. During the war he was Divisional Commander in Gallipoli Peninsula, but he soon disagreed with his German chief, General Liman von Sanders, and with Vehib Pasha, after which he was sent to Syria. There, however, he became objectionable to General Djemal Pasha, who sent him to the chief of the Eastern armies, Izzet Pasha, with headquarters in Mosul. Shortly afterward he was recalled to Constantinople and accompanied the heir apparent to the Turkish throne—now Sultan Mehmet VI.—to

Berlin. On their return from Germany he remained in Constantinople until he was sent to Asia Minor to organize the Nationalist movement.

CREATING THE KEMALIST ARMY.

The Turkish Army being demobilized soon after the armistice, Kemal was from the first confronted with the difficulty of raising a new body of troops. Nevertheless, he succeeded in rallying to him a number of officers, and through them he incorporated various irregular bands into a more solid organization. These bands were made up of all sorts of adventurers and the riffraff of the Turkish prisons, who had been released during the war by Talaat Pasha with the special mission of exterminating the Armenian and Greek populations of the Pontus and the interior of Anatolia. Kemal appointed the local leaders as Military Governors of the provinces in which their bands were operating, and to each he attached a prominent Young Turk civilian as counselor and personal representative of the supreme chief, which meant himself. In order to give an idea of the elements that Kemal used in the formation of his army, it is enough to say that an ex-boatman of Kerassund was appointed Governor of the Pontus and was instrumental in annihilating two-thirds of the entire Greek and Armenian population of that province. The original Kemalist organizations contained twenty to fifty men each, but when the prospects of loot increased their strength was soon trebled and quadrupled.

In the course of his organizing activities Kemal Pasha made use of his bands for the forcible conscription of the Turkish peasantry, the collection of all kinds of taxes from the population, and the service of his commissariat. Finally Kemal completed his organization with numerous Lazian pirates, who proved their worth by smuggling in arms and ammunition to Samsun from Batum and Constantinople.

EXTENT OF KEMALIST STATE

In the whole territory subject to Kemal's control the genuine Turkish population has never amounted to more than 1,500,000, scattered over a wide territory with primitive communications. On the other hand during the ten years of almost continuous war and conscription, that part of the population which was capable of bearing arms was reduced by half, so that, considering the circumstances, Kemal could not expect to raise more than 50,000 or 75,000 men if everything went well. According to the best information obtainable, the forces of Kemal from the central and northern part of Anatolia last April reached the figure of 60,000 men.

The Turkish Nationalist leader, however, had another source of strength in the vast number of former officers of the imperial army whom the armistice had released in idleness and left starving in the streets of Constantinople and other cities of the empire. It is calculated that the Ottoman army employed over 25,000 officers, a considerable proportion of whom were not Turks, but men drawn from the Albanian, Khurdish, Arabian and other elements of the country that do not sympathize particularly with Nationalist Turkey. It is safe to say that at least 5,000 officers of the former army joined the forces of Kemal as the only open way to a decent livelihood. To these forces must be added the men that the southern provinces of Anatolia contributed to the Nationalist movement after it was well under way. These may be estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Finally comes the assistance given more or less openly by the Constantinople Government and the territory under the Sultan's jurisdiction. This is an unknown factor, but on the whole it is safe to assume that when Kemal took the field early in the Spring he had between 180,000 and 200,000

troops for use against the Greek armies.

In order to equip this army Mustapha Kemal had to depend on the following supplies: First, he had at his disposal the military stores of the Turkish eastern armies, chiefly located in Sou-Shehri, about a hundred miles inland from Kerassund. This was the base of the Turkish Third Army, which, after the armistice, ought to have been turned over to the Allies, but which remained in the hands of the Kemalists. In addition there were other smaller depots in Angora and Sivas, and these also fell to the Kemalists. It must be added that at the time of the demobilization of the army the soldiers and officers as a rule took with them their rifles and revolvers, with all the ammunition they could carry, while a large amount of war material was freely distributed to the peasantry to be used "should the need arise."

The Russians in their retreat from Trebizond had abandoned no less than two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, with two large dumps of ammunition. General Denikin made an attempt to get this material, but the Turks got wind of the plan and blew up one dump, keeping the other. The Kemalists also found a good deal of artillery in Kars and Batum, although in both cases the Armenians and the Georgians had appropriated the best pieces for their own armies. Finally the Kemalist Turks got their best artillery from Erzerum, because the Russian retreat there was so precipitate that the newest and largest guns were abandoned. These weapons, together with those smuggled from Constantinople, Bulgaria, Russia and certain countries of western Europe, helped arm the Kemalist troops.

Mustapha Kemal solved his financial problem partly by levying all the taxes and surtaxes previously paid to the Constantinople Government, and mostly by getting hold of all money that came in sight. The Greek and Armenian element, the backbone of the economic strength of the empire,

was stripped of its last penny, while remittances from Constantinople and Moscow and from other more opulent sympathizers of the Kemalist movement soon filled the coffers of the organization. To send troops to the assistance of Kemal was not an easy task, but monetary help was more convenient to get to him from all parts of Islam, and especially from the neighboring States.

KEMAL TAKES THE FIELD

From March, 1919, to March, 1921, Mustapha Kemal continued his preparations, entirely undisturbed by what was going on among European statesmen and the diplomats. His main idea seems to have been that success depended rather on the moral effect that his organization would have on the Entente than on an actual victory on the battlefield. He made no serious attempt to engage the Greek Army in Asia Minor during the two years following the occupation of Smyrna, because he had not the necessary forces for such an undertaking, and because he was convinced that European diplomacy could succeed in driving the Greeks out of Smyrna much better than force of arms. All the information that the Nationalist leader was getting from Paris and Rome, by way of Constantinople, was in sympathy with this view.

What Kemal aimed at was the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, and this was almost accomplished when his own representatives were accepted by the allied Governments to discuss in London the details of the Near Eastern settlement, during that memorable conference of last March, when Premier Briand of France came out openly in favor of their claims: Italy had been clamoring for the revision of the Turkish treaty ever since the day of its first inception in San Remo, a year before. Greece unanimously rejected the proposal to modify the Turkish treaty, and shortly afterward she launched her

first offensive against Eskişehir. The story of that operation is briefly as follows:

The offensive started March 23, 1921, the Greek troops of the southern group advancing toward Afion-Karahissar, which was their objective, while the northern group advanced toward Eskişehir. Incidentally the two groups were to destroy the Turkish railroad leading from Afion-Karahissar to Konia, and also the line that connected Eskişehir with Angora. Both groups reached their objectives, but the connecting group of Kutahia, forming the centre of the Greek advance, failed to march in connection with the others; and thus the whole operation was frustrated, the Greeks falling back on their bases of Oushak and Brusa. The Greek Army lost almost four thousand men in killed and wounded, while the Turkish losses must have been equal if not more. The railroad remained in the hands of Mustapha Kemal, as well as the moral advantage of that battle, which Turkish diplomacy endeavored to use by every means.

It has remained for a distinguished French military critic, General De Lacroix, writing in *Le Temps* of Paris, to appreciate fully the Greek military effort of that first offensive. Says the General:

For the attack on Eskişehir the Greeks assembled the equivalent of four divisions between Brusa and Ismid, while two others operated from Oushak against Afion-Karahissar in the direction of Angora. Following the ill-success of the Greek attack against the Turkish positions of Eskişehir, the northern group returned to its starting point in the neighborhood of Brusa, followed, but not pursued, by the victorious Turkish corps, which were exhausted by the preceding struggles. At the moment of this retreat the southern Greek group, more successful than the northern, had passed beyond Afion-Karahissar, and was too much exposed. The Turkish troops, taking advantage of this situation, left the neighborhood of Eskişehir, and by way of Kutahia attacked Guediz, northwest of Oushak. This attack the Turks made with a cavalry division, whose orders were to advance up to the railroad and cut the communication of the Greek column with Smyrna. The stub-

born resistance of the Thirty-second Greek Regiment on the heights of Mourad Dag (7,000 feet high) enabled General Contoulis to bring back his forces of the southern group very quickly and to frustrate a movement that presented a real danger. The chief of the Thirty-second Regiment had a very clear notion of the general situation, and he must be commended for this comprehension of the solidarity and the necessity of liaison. The two divisions of General Contoulis, notwithstanding their forced marches in a difficult country, not only came in time to extricate the Thirty-second Regiment, but even launched a counter-attack. A violent battle took place, lasting three days. The Turkish divisions, probably on account of their shortage of ammunition, withdrew toward Kutahia, after recalling in that region their cavalry division, which they had abandoned right in the centre of the Greek communications. This prolonged action, carried by the Greek side with great vigor and great manoeuvring ability, called attention to the ground between Kutahia-Guediz, Tulou-Bounar, and Afion-Karahissar, which dominates all the country west of the Bagdad Railway.

SECOND GREEK OFFENSIVE.

From King Constantine down, every Greek felt that it was his duty to help wipe off the memory of this first Eskişehir failure. In vain did the Entente address to Athens a solemn note offering mediation with Turkey. Greece arose with a single mind and a single resolve. Constantine soon went to Smyrna, and the flower of the Greek Army, the veterans of the Balkan wars, the classes of 1912 (which had served almost ten years under the colors) and 1913 and 1914 were recalled for the supreme effort, and the second great offensive was launched exactly three months and seventeen days after the retreat of April.

At the time of the first offensive Greece had an army of 150,000 men in the field. Three classes were added in May, bringing the effectives to 198,000 men. At the same time eleven classes were mobilized in Thrace, giving an additional force of 20,000 men. Smyrna alone gave 10,000 volunteers, and other volunteers to the number of 5,000 helped swell the total to 233,000 troops. With the calling of three more additional

classes, the grand total of the Greek Army reached close to 300,000 troops, while another hundred thousand were left in the reserve, subject to service on the first notice.

The Greek General Staff has refrained from giving a detailed statement as to the disposition of the Greek Army at the time of the launching of the second offensive; but the Turkish newspaper *Ikdam* of Constantinople, claiming to have its information from the Turkish General Staff, gave the following list, which seems to have been substantiated by events:

On the northern, or Brusa, front, the Greeks had their Second, Seventh, and Tenth Divisions with one cavalry brigade. On the southern front, known as that of Oushak, the Greek forces comprised the Third, Fourth, Fifth, First, Ninth, and Thirteenth Divisions, with one cavalry brigade. The Eleventh Division was somewhere in the neighborhood of Ismid and the Twelfth in Thrace.

The Greek offensive was launched this time from Brusa in the north and Oushak in the south, on June 10, and advanced in three directions, namely, toward Kutahia, Afion-Karahissar and Eskishehr. In addition to these forces carrying a frontal attack against the Turkish positions, a new column descended from the western slopes of Mount Olympus of Bithynia (not to be confused with the Olympus of Thessaly) and attacked the Turkish positions in Adranos, successively occupying the towns Beidjikioi, Harmanjik, and Yenikioi, which is nearly twenty miles to the east of Kutahia. At the same time the column coming from Oushak advanced successfully to Guediz, which was occupied on the third day of the offensive, and which put Kutahia between two fires.

The battle of Kutahia was the first great encounter. The Greeks surrounded the Turks from three directions, and the Turks desperately fought to escape to Eskishehr. The encircling movement was carried on by five Greek divisions, starting from

Oushak, and assisted by the troops coming down from the north. The whole attack was made with such speed that, when the Turks became aware of the magnitude of the danger threatening them, they fiercely counter-attacked the right wing of the central group of the Greek Army with the entire strength of four divisions; these the Greeks repulsed and put to rout after a most sanguinary battle before Kutahia.

The success of the Greek strategy consisted in the fact that, instead of attacking the almost impregnable positions of the Turks frontally, they outflanked them and attacked from the rear, thus rendering useless the splendidly organized position. Nevertheless, the Turks, having still at their disposal the railway to Eskishehr, succeeded in extricating themselves from Kutahia and in saving a large part of their material, thanks to a great concentration of rolling stock and engines in that city, which proved very useful to them in their hasty retreat. The battle of Kutahia lasted all day the 16th of July, and continued throughout the night up to the dawn of the 17th, when the last Turkish forces withdrew under the constant fire of the victors. Kutahia was occupied at 3 P. M. on that day.

The task now confronting the Greek troops was to pursue the beaten enemy toward Eskishehr; this was done very systematically, the Hellenic forces fighting their way on both sides of the railway and fighting continuously against six retreating enemy divisions, namely, the Third (Caucasian), Fourth, Seventh, Eighth, Twenty-third and Fifty-seventh. At the same time the northern group of the Greek armies, coming down from Brusa, was in continuous action, the greatest encounter being at Biledjik, where the Greeks routed a Turkish force of 5,000 men and captured a large number of prisoners, together with the regimental flag of a crack cavalry corps. The two Greek groups met on either side of Eskishehr on July 21, when the Turkish command, apprehensive of

the situation, counter-attacked with a total force of fourteen divisions and two cavalry brigades; this Turkish attack was of a most fierce character, seven divisions being launched against the Greek centre. It was then that Greek artillery came into play, magnificently assisting the large forces of infantry attacking the Turks from all sides. The Greeks soon afterward took the initiative, and literally stormed their way into the Turkish position. The two Greek groups joined, and General Polymenakos, commanding the northern group, entered Eskishehr on the evening of July 21, occupying the city in the name of King Constantine.

The Turkish debacle in Eskishehr eclipsed the defeat before Kutahia, and the Greeks stopped the pursuit of the fleeing enemy only after they had pushed him fully thirty miles to the east of that city.

Having consolidated their positions in Eskishehr and established their communications from Ismid clear down to Afion-Karahissar, the Greeks resumed their march toward Angora on Aug. 14, taking in succession the historic towns of Sivri-Hissar, the ancient Claudianopolis and Gordium, famous for its knot, cut by Alexander's sword. Finally, on the 25th, the Greek forces established contact with the Kemalist army on the banks of the River Sangarios, forming the last barrier before Angora, and a great battle began, which is still undecided as these lines are written.

WINNING DESPITE HANDICAPS

During this triumphal progress of their armies the Greek people at home were in a delirium of enthusiasm. Their emotion was deepened by the fact that ever since the 14th of last November, when for reasons of their own they overthrew a regime for which they had no sympathy, they had found themselves abused and boycotted in a way seldom equaled in the annals of recent European history. Why should other countries take so much to heart the Greek vote on a

Greek issue? Yet the allied Governments refused to recognize King Constantine when he was recalled by 98 per cent. of his people, and, for reasons still unexplained, even the Government of the United States joined in a policy so contrary to American ideals of popular government. In the second place, an economic boycott was declared against Greece, whose national loans could no more be floated in Europe or America. Finally the Greek people were abandoned in their struggle against the Turks, with every political and diplomatic influence in Europe working overtime for Mustapha Kemal.

In the face of such universal opposition, Greece took the field against Mustapha Kemal; she mobilized her 300,000 troops; she borrowed money from the National Bank of Greece; she appealed to the Hellenic nation for support, and thus the Greek soldier, abandoned by all, crossed himself, as he does before the charge, and with God's help dashed forth and won the greatest triumph in his history. The pride and self-reliance of a nation were never more fully vindicated. The Greek people at that moment knew they had sealed the fate of the Ottoman Empire; they knew that they were the masters of the Near East.

WHAT TURKEY HAS LOST

The old Ottoman Empire has fallen definitively; out of the twenty-odd millions of population subject to the Sultan in 1914, less than seven millions remain under Mustapha Kemal. The others are irretrievably lost, as follows: Arabia, with 3,500,000 population, is independent; Syria, with 2,000,000, is under France; Palestine, with 600,000, is under Britain, along with Mesopotamia with its 1,000,000 people. Kurdistan, with 500,000, is in open revolt against Kemal; Armenia, with 300,000—the remnants of a people massacred wholesale—is definitely separated from the Turkish State; the vilayet of Smyrna, with 2,000,000, and that of Constantinople, with another 2,000,000, are under

Greek and allied control. The killed and wounded, and those disabled during the Turkish participation in the European war, with those who left the country after the armistice, amount to more than 2,000,000 people. Kemal represents barely 7,000,000 people, and if he meets final disaster at Angora he will represent even fewer. [For later details of the month's fighting, see "Turkey" in Table of Contents.]

Turkey has lost her prestige forever, and there is no power on earth that can restore it; both as an autocratic State and as a nationalistic experiment Turkey has been a ghastly failure, because she lacks vitality and will never adapt herself to the ideals of democracy and civilization. A Turkish State in Anatolia may live and prosper in peace. No one wants to exterminate the Turkish people,

but no one will tolerate the reconstitution of the Ottoman Empire, now that its destruction is an accomplished fact.

The Greek people are today the only guarantors of law and order in what was the Ottoman Empire. More than that, they are the only ones who can revive that whole country nationally, politically, commercially, financially and socially. They are the ones who always held the keys of business, shipping and industry in the Ottoman Empire. They are the only elements in the Balkans and in the Near East who have absorbed American ideals of democracy and business efficiency. Half a million Americanized Greeks from the United States are ready to help re-establish the old Byzantine homestead; and with these Greeks risking their all to see Greece succeed in Constantinople, America should join in the enterprise.

SPAIN'S NATIONAL HERO REINTERRED

AN impressive ceremony took place in Spain on July 21, 1921, when the remains of the Cid Campeador, supreme protagonist of innumerable Spanish epics, only a few of which, notably the Poema del Cid, have survived the erosion of time, were removed from the Town Hall of Burgos to the transept in Burgos Cathedral. From 1070, when the great champion died after a noted victory over the Moors at Valencia, until 1809, when they were transferred by the French invaders to Burgos, the bones of the Cid had lain in the Convent San Pedro de Cardena. There they had been transferred to other parts of the convent, but not removed. The ceremony of July 21 was planned to reinter them in Burgos Cathedral amid scenes of deep national homage. A nineteenth century Spanish writer had said that it was time to bury the Cid and forget him. But Spain cannot forget the Cid, who bids fair to be immortal. "Long live the dead Cid!" said Cardinal

Benilech, the present Archbishop of Burgos, in his inspiring address on this occasion.

After 822 years, the remains of the great hero, together with those of his wife, Doña Jimena, whom Corneille immortalized as Chimene in his tragedy of "Le Cid," were removed from the Town Hall and carried in solemn procession to the great medieval cathedral. King Alfonso XIII. walked behind the coffin, and in the presence of the King and Queen and a brilliant throng of high officials and spectators it was lowered into the transept floor, while the great guns of Burgos thundered a last greeting of farewell. The epitaph on the coffin, in Latin, was composed by Spain's greatest modern scholar, Professor Ramon Menéndez Pidal. In thus honoring the Cid, King Alfonso has shown once more how fundamental is his Spanish national feeling. The Cid, with his deeds of prowess, his great soul and his fanatic chivalry, lives in the very heart of modern Spain.

FACTS ABOUT NAVAL DISARMAMENT

BY GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

A helpful analysis of the comparative sea forces of the nations that are to take part in the Washington conference—How each stands in actual fighting efficiency—Difficulty of finding a common unit of power for limitation purposes

WHAT is popularly called the "disarmament conference" is in reality to be an international conference for the reduction of naval armaments. Its scope is limited almost entirely to dealing with the sea forces of the represented powers. This was made quite clear by President Harding's note to the Imperial Japanese Government in answer to the question as to its limits. Before one can understand, therefore, what is to be accomplished at Washington in November, one must know the cards each nation has to play. The fleets of England, Japan, France and Italy and the United States will come under consideration.

In the last seven years the range of naval power has been so expanded as to require almost a complete revision of types. The battleship of today is three times as powerful as was the dreadnought of 1914. All the other types have progressed in the same manner, and entirely new forces have made themselves felt. Thus, when the war started, the British possessed a naval aviation force of only a few unarmed planes; today it consists of hundreds of armed planes, with some airships, and is supported by great aircraft carriers and large coastal establishments. In 1914 the submarine was in its infancy; today it has reached the height of its power and seems to be holding to a rather set standard.

In order to understand what each nation has in ships, a new set of definite rules has been brought forward, serving for classification. All battleships and battle cruisers are of dreadnought types; that is, their main batteries consist of at least six large guns of a single calibre. The battleship of former days, with its mixed battery of 12-inch and smaller guns, has disappeared from the lists as entirely obsolete, and the same may be said of the armored cruiser type. To a great extent the light cruiser of other days has been retained for supplementary purposes in almost every navy. True, its lack of speed and other modern features makes it impossible for line of battle purposes, but even today it remains a fairly fast ship for gunboat and auxiliary uses.

The capital ships carrying 12-inch guns are rated as third-class; those carrying less than 15-inch, but greater than 12-inch guns, are rated as second-class, and those carrying 15-inch guns or greater, as first-class. The division between the battleship and the battle cruiser is quite apparent in their respective speeds. A speed of twenty-six knots or more is necessary to obtain any real manoeuvring advantage over the modern battleship; and this excess speed can be gained only at the sacrifice of some other element, such as gun power, armor, cruising radius or some other factor. And so it is to be seen that

the battle cruiser is inferior to the battleship in the same class.

In cruisers the dividing lines are far more indistinct. The first-class cruiser may be considered one of over 8,000 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty knots or better; the second-class cruiser, a vessel of more than 3,800 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty knots or better, and the third-class cruiser, a vessel having a speed of less than thirty knots, but more than twenty-five knots on a displacement of 6,000 tons or less.

The war saw the building of about a thousand or more destroyers of types which were great improvements on the pre-war ones, rendering obsolete almost all coming before them. A third-class destroyer may be considered as one of better than 600 tons displacement, having a speed of twenty-seven knots or better. A second-class destroyer must have a displacement of from 800 to 1,100 tons, with a speed of thirty knots or better. The first-class destroyer must be of more than 1,100 tons displacement, having a speed of thirty-three knots or better.

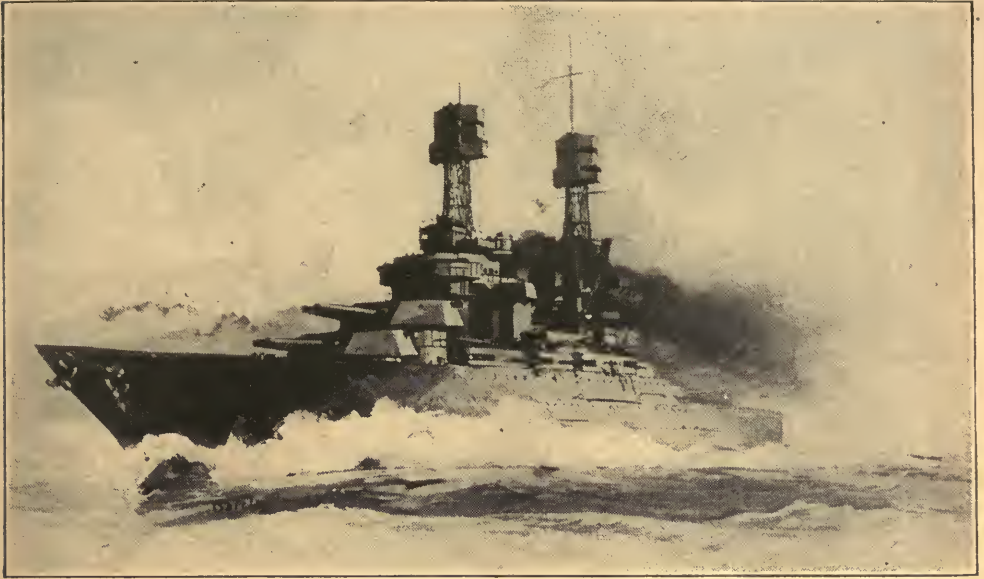
Submarines are almost impossible to classify. They range from the small 200-ton boat to the new 2,500-ton mastodons; from the gasoline-driven boat to the steam-driven British "K" class, and back to the Diesel-driven type. In surface speed they range from twelve to twenty-five knots, and in armament from the machine to the 12-inch gun on the surface, and submerged from the 14-inch to the 23.6-inch torpedo tubes. Only the most modern boats can be considered efficient, and, as stated above, some of them have proved to be entirely unreliable.

Of course, as it has been through the centuries, the battleship is the backbone of a nation's sea defense; and the reduction of this most expensive force to its lowest degree will be attempted at the conference. Britain has ten first-class battleships in the five Queen Elizabeths and the five Royal Sovereigns. They carry a

main battery of eight 15-inch guns but their displacements are small in comparison with the ships now building. The Queen Elizabeths, however, are the world's fastest battleships, with their speed of twenty-five knots. Neither France nor Italy possesses a first-class battleship, though Japan has two very fine vessels complete and others building. On the other hand, the United States has but one first-class battleship complete—the Maryland—and another 75 per cent. complete; the other eight, which are supposed to be building, are put down as "date of completion indefinite" in the latest report of the Bureau of Construction and Repair. The Colorado, the battleship mentioned as 75 per cent. complete, is also on this list, so it is to be seen that actually we will possess but one first-class battleship at the time of the conference.

Japan has just completed the battleships Negato and Mutsu. They are the world's most powerful warships. True, their main batteries consist of eight 16-inch guns, as does the main battery of our Maryland, but the Japanese guns fire a heavier shell than do ours, and the ships upon which they are mounted are larger, faster and probably better protected. And so it is evident that the Japanese advantage is greater than just two to one.

From an American viewpoint, the battle cruiser question hardly exists. There is not a single battle cruiser in our navy today, and the six vessels we are supposed to be building have been marked as "completion indefinite" by the Bureau of Construction and Repair. Japan has four huge battle cruisers at sea today, which are the most powerful ships of their type in the world, next to the single British Hood. Also, Japan has four battle cruisers building which will be nearly twice as powerful as the Hood when complete, and at least 25 per cent. more powerful than our battle cruisers, if ours are ever completed. In addition to these last ships Japan intends to lay down four further bat-



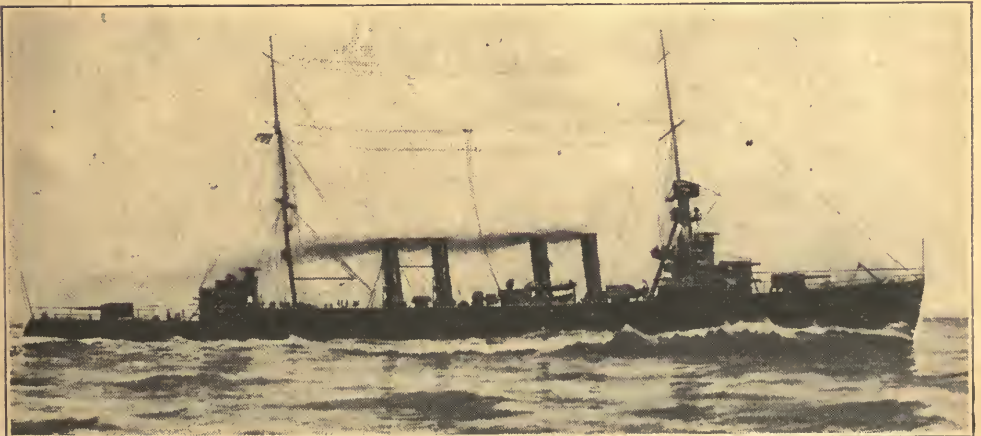
(From a Westinghouse Photograph)

United States superdreadnought Washington, launched Sept. 1, 1921; a sister ship of the Maryland and Colorado, and one of the mightiest sea fighters in the world. It is 624 feet long, electrically propelled, displaces 33,000 tons, and will have a speed of 21 knots

the cruisers as soon as the slips are available.

The British battle cruiser forces are led by the Hood, with its main battery of eight 15-inch guns, and followed by the Renown and the Repulse, each carrying six 15-inch guns. These ships are followed by three second-class battle cruisers, carrying eight 13.5-inch guns. Also, there are a few other old third-class

battle cruisers carrying eight 12-inch guns, which can scarcely be regarded as effective in these days of high speeds, extreme protection and great gun power. From this statement of things it is evident that the battle cruiser power of the world lies between England and Japan, and that Japan has entirely the best of the situation according to the latest figures.



United States scout cruiser Cincinnati—not yet completed—from an official naval drawing. The Omaha will be of the same size and design

America's main strength lies in her 14-inch-gun, second-class battleships. She has eleven vessels of this type. The California, the last of our 14-inch-gun ships, will hardly be complete before the conference is assembled. Japan possesses four 14-inch-gun dreadnoughts carrying twelve guns, like our California. Two further Japanese first-class battleships will be afloat by the time the conference is assembled. They are the Kaga and the Tosa, and with their ten 16-inch guns will be the most powerful warships the world has ever known. These ships, coupled with the Negato and Mutsu, will be a match for the whole ten of England's first-class battleships, as their protection is the last word and their guns are far more powerful than the British.

France possesses three second-class battleships carrying ten 13.4-inch guns, and England has twelve ships of the type carrying ten 13.5-inch guns. Italy has no second-class battleships.

What shall I say of the third-class battleship power of the nations? The 12-inch-gun battleships are out-weighted and outranged in battery power by the newer vessels. They are but poorly protected, in almost every case they are slower, and always are they the oldest ships. The British consider them to be almost entirely useless and so are scrapping them for economy's sake. As they are almost useless, would it not be possible for the conference to scrap the lot without bothering with too much detail? It would save trouble at the conference, and probably some misunderstandings. The cost of keeping these ships up is very great, and every nation would save by cutting away this accumulated deadwood exactly as England is doing without any disarmament conference. In this Japan would lose the least, as she possesses only one third-class battleship, and that one vessel, the Settsu, is of extremely doubtful value, even for a third-class ship. England and

the United States would each lose six ships, Italy five and France four.

The old-time battleship of the pre-dreadnought type could be entirely done away with. England has already scrapped her lot, and France is following her lead. In America, we are using some for test purposes. The Indiana was bombarded by aircraft a short time ago, and the Alabama was about to follow when these pages went to press. The Massachusetts was quickly sunk by the fire of our coastal fortifications recently, and the Oregon has been given to the State after which she was named, and will be used as a naval museum. The Iowa has been disarmed and converted for radio control tests, and the Kearsarge is being converted to a crane ship. The Ohio has been fitted as a wireless controlling ship and other vessels of the Maine and Illinois classes are soon to meet their fate.

Japan, on the other hand, keeps all her old battleships and cruisers in full commission. Only lately has she retired a few of the oldest of them from active service. Among them was the Iwami, formerly the Russian Orel, captured after the battle of the Sea of Japan and a fine specimen of obsolescence. However, the Japanese are keeping other vessels, almost equally useless, in full commission, and it is certain that this is not done to spend money when all the world is attempting to cut expenses. Not a single pre-dreadnought is maintained in full commission in the United States Navy.

America today is undoubtedly the third naval power, England and Japan ranking first and second respectively. While it is entirely true that we have tremendous power in the eleven second-class battleships mentioned before, we are and we will be lacking in first-class battleships, in all classes of battle cruisers and other cruisers, as well as in the new types brought about by the war. Japan is rapidly building first-class battle power, and England will begin to do so shortly, while the United



British aircraft carrier Vindictive, as seen in camouflage dress during the war. The British navy now has six of these vessels for use as airplane bases at sea, while we have none

States, because of the reduction in naval appropriations, will continue to see the ships which would give her power relegated to the realm of "indefinites" and non-entities. Under the 1916 naval program we were to build ten fine, fast cruisers, of which only one is listed for completion at present. England has about seventy such vessels, and Japan will shortly have about thirty, and, it is said, will increase this number by a dozen or fifteen in the future.

England has six aircraft carriers in commission today. Japan has one, the Hoshio, almost complete. America has not a single vessel of that type in her fleet, nor is she building any, Congress having refused the appropriations. Some critics may wish to contradict this by saying that we have two vessels under construction. We have two "vessels" under construction, but not aircraft carriers. True, they will carry planes, but they will not be available in a fleet action, because of their extremely low speed of fifteen knots. All the British and Japanese vessels mentioned have

speeds of from twenty-one to thirty-one knots, and so will be available in any action. Warships must be built to fight, and these so-called aircraft carriers of ours would never be able to fight or cruise with the fleet. The highest naval officers admit that these ships will be useful only for experimental work—yet they are all we have.

Another type, which is most conspicuous in our navy by its absence, is the destroyer flotilla leader. It was found during the war that destroyer flotillas must be led by a large destroyer, capable of forcing her way through a line of enemy destroyers. England, Japan, Italy and France have built and are building vessels of this type, but America neither has built nor is building a single one. Next to England, America possesses the greatest number of destroyers. Our destroyer service would be one of the best in the world, if not entirely the best, if it had flotilla leaders, but without them it must rank with Japan and France.

It is common knowledge that our



Official United States Navy silhouette of the Lexington class of six battle cruisers, which cannot now be completed on account of lack of appropriations

submarines are not of the best, that we haven't a single real fleet submarine in our service, and that new boats embodying the war's experience have not been provided for.

These are the cards the nations have to lay upon the conference table. America goes to conference as the third naval power, entirely lacking in the most important types of ships. The fault cannot be laid at the door of the Navy Department, for the General Board has asked for ships of proper types ever since the end of the war, only to have them refused almost point blank. Instead of being the first naval power, as the average American seems to believe, America is quite a bit behind other nations to be represented, both in actual and in future power.

Each nation will certainly demand that a unit of power be decided upon before agreeing to reduce its fleet. This will be an extremely difficult figure to arrive at. Never before has there been any attempt to establish a ratio of power. Should each nation individually arrive at a figure for its own fleet, again will there be trouble, because all the nations have different reasons and different problems to consider when building a warship of any type. Therefore, the warships of

each nation are entirely different from those of its neighbors, both in conception and in construction.

In addition to these questions, tactics and strategy will play important parts. Bases will count. Every naval advantage, geographical or otherwise, will count. As the Japanese have pointed out, if the diplomats are allowed to cloud the situation still further there is not a hope for success. Complete disarmament, of course, is not thought of by any nation; but it would seem that an entirely reasonable reduction of armaments in lesser ships could be and should be reached. Also, it may be possible to provide against future expenditures on the part of every nation. A great deal depends upon the presence of the right spirit at the conference.

The Washington conference was brought about not by moral reasons entirely, but by business reasons—armaments are costing too much, and this cost must be and can be reduced. And that will be the aim of the conference—to cut down the naval expenditures of each nation. Sea forces will continue to be necessary, but they must be maintained without competition and at the least possible expense if the world is to derive any real benefit from the conference.

"ROCK OF AGES, CLEFT FOR ME"

NO other hymn in Christendom, perhaps, has stirred the souls of believers with such power of emotion as the famous "Rock of Ages." Wherever the English language is spoken—in England, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—this great hymn is sung in childhood and old age, and its deep, organ-like harmonies linger on in the hearts of many whose church attendance has become a negligible quantity. Thousands of those who have sung it have given little thought to the man in whose brain the deeply stirring words, so simple, yet invested with such a universal religious appeal, first originated. On Aug. 1, 1921, an event occurred which served as a reminder. On that date thousands of English churchmen

and Non-conformists joined in a holy pilgrimage to Burrington Combe, Somersetshire. Here, before a towering cliff, fissured by a deep cleft in its centre, they stood, gazing upward, and sang fervently Toplady's "Rock of Ages." In the minds of all was the event which led Augustus Montague Toplady, an Anglican divine, Wesleyan and Calvinist, whose life fell between the years 1740-1778, to conceive this great religious song. While wandering in the open, Toplady was caught in a storm. He reached the cliff of Burrington Combe, saw the deep cleft, and took shelter there. Standing here in its protection, the first lines of the hymn came to him:

Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR AIRPLANE RECORD

BY H. M. HICKAM
Major in the United States Air Service

An authoritative account of our achievements and failures in aircraft production during the war—Revelation of the obstacles encountered and of how most of them were overcome—Inside story of actual accomplishment

IT is doubtful if any phase of our part in the war has been more before the public than our "air program." Extravagant claims, bitter denunciations, investigations and reports of accomplishment, coming in rapid succession, have created a great confusion in the mind of the public and a general desire to know just what happened to the \$640,000,000 and subsequent sums that Congress appropriated without question.

When the United States entered the war the "supremacy of the air" had become of vital importance. France and England were in desperate need of aircraft of all kinds and of personnel for their operation and maintenance. Their confidence in our ability to meet their requirements was great and apparently well founded, and they lost little time in making known what was required of us. *Our air program was dictated by the necessity of our allies*, and that necessity was fully impressed upon us.

Before the war ended there were many programs, each dictated by changing conditions, but the only one which is generally known and the one upon which our production is judged is the program of June 1, 1917, upon which the appropriation of \$640,000,000 was based. On May 24, 1917, the French Government requested that we co-operate to form a corps equipped with 4,500 airplanes with the neces-

sary personnel for operation and maintenance. As a result of this request, and realizing its importance, the Joint Army and Navy Technical Aircraft Board met on May 25, 1917, and reported to the Secretaries of War and Navy a program for carrying it into effect. The members present were:

Major B. D. Foulois, U. S. A.
Lieutenant J. W. Towers, U. S. N.
Captain V. E. Clark, U. S. A.
Asst. Naval Constructor J. C. Hunsaker, U. S. N.
Captain E. S. Gorrell, U. S. A.

This report estimated that to meet the needs of the United States Army alone, until July 1, 1918, the following numbers of training planes would be required, and it recommended that a building program to meet these needs be started at once:

Type of Airplane	Number Required.	Type of Engine.	Number Required.
JN-4	3,500	OX-5	7,000
DH-4	1,750	R-R or equivalent	3,500
SE-5	600	H-S	1,200
Spad	600	H-S	1,200
Sopwith	600	Clerget 130	1,200
JN-4	0	Hall	1,000
(Stop gas order)		Scott A7a	
R-4	200	V-2-3	400
R-6	350	V-2-3	700
Farmair Seaplanes.	175	H-S	350

The same report also recommended that the Aircraft Production Board of the Council of National Defense take steps immediately toward obtaining from Europe—as working models—two each of the following airplanes (including engines), with

the right to manufacture them in this country:

DH-4	Marcinsyde
SE-5	Sopwith 1½ Strutter
Spad	Handley-Page
Sopwith	Caproni
BE-20 Farman	Savoia
Farman Seaplane	

For the navy—in order to equip the coast stations and to train 330 pilots—the Joint Board estimated that the following would be needed, not including service airplanes:

300 School seaplanes with 100 H. P. engines.
200 Service seaplanes with 150-250 engines.
100 Speed scouts with 100-150 engines.
100 Large seaplanes with 200-400 engines.

To meet the request of France for co-operation in a flying corps of 4,500 airplanes—to be available for active service at the front during the Spring of 1918—the further needs of the United States Army were stated thus:

SERVICE AIRPLANES AND ENGINES (LATEST TYPES)

(To be produced between Jan. 1, 1918, and June 30, 1918)

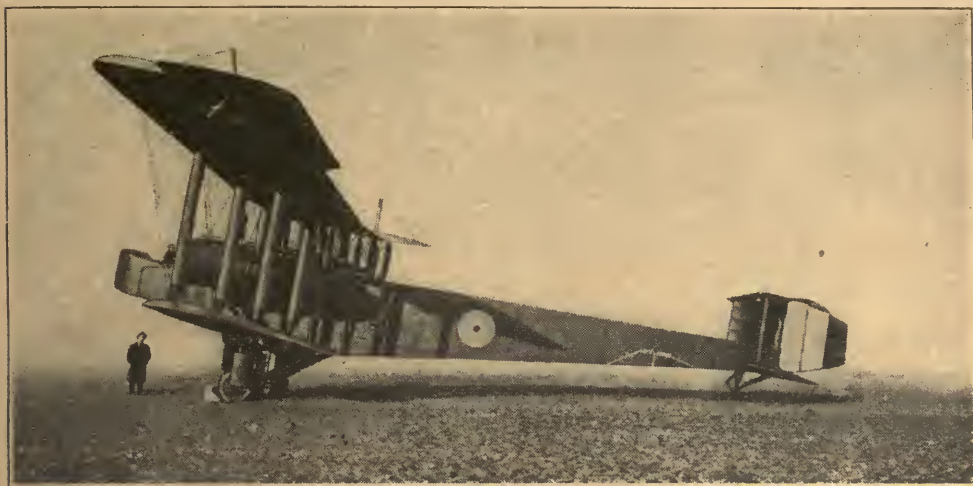
Types.	Airplanes.		Engines.	
	Fighting Line.	Reserve.	Fighting Line.	Reserve.
Reconnaissance and artillery control.	3,000	1,000	6,000	2,000
Fighting	5,000	1,667	10,000	3,334
Bombing	1,000	333	2,000	666
Total	9,000	3,000	18,000	6,000
Grand total ...	12,000		24,000	

The recommendation of the Joint Army and Navy Technical Aircraft Board covering this service plane program was approved by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy about the same time as the recommendation covering training planes. The entire program then called for 8,075 training planes, 12,400 service planes, of which 300 of the training planes and 400 of the combat planes were for the navy, making the production as outlined for the army 20,475 planes in twelve months. The engine production estimate accompanying this plane program called for 41,810 engines in the year, with a maximum production of 6,150 per month.

Estimates were prepared after consultation with the French and British, and the total estimated cost for the program was \$640,000,000. In the light of recent statements of the cost of the war that sum is not so impressive as it was when its appropriation was announced in headlines of every paper in the country. No such sum had ever been appropriated for any one purpose in the history of Congress, and it is small wonder that an admiring public pictured a sky darkened by airplanes. Congress had certainly done its duty. That sum was necessary, and it was appropriated without question and with no delay. The money was available, and it remained but to turn it into airplanes and to train the personnel for their operation.

ESTIMATE OF OUR SITUATION

On May 12, 1917, the Signal Corps had on order 334 airplanes of thirty-two designs placed with sixteen firms or persons, *not more than six of which had ever manufactured more than ten planes*. There were not more than forty officers and civilians who were capable of instructing in primary flying, and none of them had ever seen a modern fighting or service type airplane. No firm had ever produced anything but an elementary training plane, and there were not more than ten men capable of designing them. The situation with respect to engines was little better, although several far-sighted automobile manufacturers had experimented with aeronautical engines with some success. Most of the instruments and accessories of aircraft had never been heard of, and it was necessary to create a new order of instrument manufacturers capable of producing in great quantity, barometers, compasses, tachometers, speed indicators, angles of incidence indicators, thermometers, synchronizing mechanism, bombing sights, bomb release mechanisms, electrical gun and clothing heaters, automatic long range cameras, special radio ap-



One hundred of these Handley-Page airplanes were produced in the United States and shipped to England for assembly before the signing of the armistice

paratus and other super-sensitive instruments, the skill to make which did not exist in this country.

The program had been approved, the money appropriated, and the crying necessity for its accomplishment was only too apparent. The best of those whose previous experience seemed to fit them for the gigantic task were assembled and the fulfillment of our promises intrusted to them. These were men accustomed to success. No proposition had ever been too big for them, and they were determined to succeed. After a careful survey of the situation they were convinced that the program, huge as

it was, was not impossible of accomplishment, and in their enthusiasm and determination they announced that they would carry it through. That announcement was transmitted through the press to every citizen of the country in such glowing terms that it can never be forgotten.

There is a popular impression that our air program was a failure, and that the money so generously and trustingly appropriated was squandered without adequate return. It is certain that if our accomplishment be measured by what we in our enthusiasm and ignorance announced we were going to do, then we failed, in-



Martin Bomber, ready for quantity production in the Fall of 1918. This plane was used by Colonel Hartz in his "Round-the-Rim" flight of 10,000 miles. It was also the bombing plane that sank the Ostfriesland in the recent naval tests

deed; but if it be measured by the accomplishment of other countries under similar conditions, then even the most critical can find much cause for satisfaction.

AS IT LOOKED IN 1917

The possible aircraft production facilities of the United States, as they appeared to thoughtful men at that time, were set forth on June 13, 1917, in a long letter written by Howard Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Board, to Brig. Gen. Kuhn, Chief of the War College Division. Though this letter is too long to print here in full, any one who will consult it in the War Office files will find it very illuminating. It shows that the early statements of what we could do were no vainglorious boasts, but were the result of a very careful analysis of the situation, based on all available information. Mr. Coffin outlined, item by item, how we apparently could and should go about the building of 5,000 training machines, 2,500 DH-4s for reconnaissance, 800 of each of three types of pursuit planes, and 12,000 fighting, bombing, artillery control and reconnaissance machines. He specified the airplane and automobile factories to which each type was to be assigned, and gave a complete list of thirty or forty others that could be enlisted in the work. The following passages show just how the situation looked and what was planned:

We will concentrate on the reconnaissance and artillery control types, relieving French factories of the heavy production of these types. This will permit them to concentrate on fighting types utilizing the rotary engines. In the meantime, the rotary engine production will be materially increased in this country. With the U. S. 8 A and U. S. 12 A in quantity production before Jan 1, and the Lorraine-Dietrich by March 1, 1918, we can meet the increased reconnaissance and artillery control program. With designs from Europe on or before Aug. 1, it will be possible to have planes in November from Curtiss and in December and January from sources of supply established to make training machines, but switched over to these as training orders are transferred to other new sources of supply. The output of these planes will temporarily exceed that of engines.

It is estimated that production of these types will have to reach and hold 1,800 per month by March, 1918. The Curtiss Company has estimated they can reach an output of 30 per day, or 750 per month, of pursuit or fighting machines by Jan. 1, 1918. We expect to have at least two other sources of supply equal in size and capacity to the Curtiss Company and to mobilize the productive capacities for wood working of some centres like Grand Rapids, Amesburg, Philadelphia and Camden, Cincinnati, Syracuse, Kansas City and St. Louis. * * *

The automobile industry is producing 100,000 engines per month, while the maximum required by the airplane engine program is 6,000 per month.

We firmly believe the airplane program can be met. We believe that the Aircraft Production Board can arrange for the production during the next twelve months of an engine for every plane and at least a spare engine for every five planes. The deficit in spare engines for training machines will be made up during the Spring and the deficit in engines for combat machines will be made up during the Summer of 1918.

The problem of increasing the production of French and English factories has been suggested, but there are so many questions involved in the transportation of all kinds of material, men, food, clothing, &c., that it seems best to defer an opinion on this point until our board has made an investigation of the subject abroad.

The program as submitted to the Aircraft Production Board is a gigantic one, but capable of accomplishment as outlined, provided funds are quickly appropriated and no delays permitted.

CAUSES OF PARTIAL FAILURE

Why did fulfillment in some respects fall so far short of these expectations? The reason is that, careful as was the Aircraft Board's estimate, it was based in part on premises which afterward proved to be false. Chief among these were (1) the idea that engine production was harder to build up than plane production; (2) that the quantities of raw material needed were comparatively small and would not conflict with demands in other lines, and (3) that the manufacture of airplanes presented no special difficulties which existing factories could not easily meet. The rapidity with which planes and engines were becoming obsolete on the front also was not known, nor was it realized that difficulty would be experi-

PILOTS COCKPIT D-H-4-B FULLY EQUIPPED.

APPARATUS WHICH MUST BE HANDLED
OR WATCHED BY THE PILOT.



- 1 ALTIMETER
- 2 AIR ADJUSTMENT FOR ALTITUDE
- 3 CLOCK
- 4 TACHOMETER
- 5 AIR PRESSURE GAGE
- 6 PRIMING LEVER
- 7 AIR SPEED INDICATOR
- 8 RADIATOR TEMPERATURE GAGE
- 9 AIR CONTROL VALVE
- 10 IGNITION CURRENT GAGE
- 11 OIL PRESSURE GAGE
- 12 COMPASS
- 13 RADIO TELEPHONE TRANSMITTER
- 14 SWITCH CONTROLLING RIGHT IGNITION
- 15 SWITCH CONTROLLING LEFT IGNITION
- 16 RADIO RECEIVING TUNER
- 17 RADIO AMPLIFYING SWITCH
- 18 HAND AIR PUMP
- 19 GAS CONTROL FOR DIFFERENT TANKS
- 20 RADIO TUNING CONDENSER
- 21 RADIO TRANSMIT-RECEIVE SWITCH
- 22 OIL PUMP FOR SYNCHRONIZING GEAR
- 23 RUDDER BAR
- 24 RADIO RECEIVING HELMET
- 25 THROTTLE
- 26 RADIATOR SHUTTER LEVER
- 27 SPARK LEVER
- 28 TRIGGER FOR MACHINE GUNS
- 29 CONTROL STICK
- 30 HAND WHEEL STABILIZER ADJUSTMENT
- 31 ELECTRIC HEATING & LIGHTING CONTROL

NOT SHOWN { 32 TURN INDICATOR 33 OXYGEN CONTROLS 34 INCLINOMETER 35 MAP CASE
36 TELEGRAPH KEY 37 BOMB RELEASE 38 CAMERA CONTROL 39 PARACHUTE RELEASE
40 RADIO DIRECTION FINDER

Diagram showing the pilot's cockpit of the De Havilland-4 and the enormous amount of apparatus that must be watched while flying

enced in getting the Allies to furnish sample planes and drawings for purposes of reproduction in this country.

The comprehensive inexperience of the United States in the manufacture of aircraft when we entered the war undoubtedly accounts for our overconfidence and for the heartbreaking delay in getting under way. The source of knowledge was 3,000 miles away, and development there was so rapid that it became necessary to go to the scene of actual conflict to gain our knowledge of what to produce. Perhaps it was fortunate that the difficulties which were soon to appear were not anticipated. Our advent into the war was at a time when the development of special types of aircraft for specific purposes was at its height. Planes which were considered adequate one month were inadequate the next, and the combatants were striving to outdo each other in design as well as quantity production.

Foreign aeronautical engines are mostly hand-made; all our engines are machine made. It is readily seen that all the advantage in changing design lies with the hand-made engine. If we were to go into quantity production it was necessary to select engines that would not become obsolete before they could be produced. The same thing applied in a lesser degree to plane manufacture. Our lack of aeronautical engineers with the necessary experience made it necessary to make "Chinese copies" of both planes and engines. Great care must be exercised, therefore, in the selection of what we were to duplicate. Early in the war the Bolling Commission was sent abroad to confer on the ground with our allies and to select and ship back the planes and engines that were to serve as patterns. This could not be done in a day. In the meantime we could not sit idle.

In the Curtiss JN-4 we had an ele-

mentary training plane which had given satisfaction, and except that many important shop practices were not of record but existed only in the minds of certain operatives of the Curtiss Company, the knowledge for production was at hand. Our program required large quantities of training planes at once, but after the initial supply had been produced only a small part of the industry would be required to replace wastage. The experience gained and the industry built up could then be turned to the production of service planes. Orders were placed with eleven different contractors, and production started.

THE LIBERTY MOTOR

Early in 1916 the Simplex Company had obtained the design and rights for manufacture of the Hispano-Suiza motor. This engine was further advanced in standardization than any other foreign motor, and the Simplex Company had the advantage of the assistance of a group of foreign experts. It was not until Feb. 6, 1917, thirteen months later, that the first motor turned over under its own power, notwithstanding the company had every inducement for rapid delivery. The General Vehicle Company had had a similar experience in the manufacture of the Gnome 110 H. P. Here were two significant examples of the time required to put standardized foreign engines into production. Both these engines were considered to be of the best when they were selected for production, but both were inadequate for anything but training before they could be got into quantity production.

With these examples before us it was evident that we could design and build an engine suitable to American manufacturing methods long before we could receive and duplicate any foreign engine. The idea of the Liberty motor was the result. Much criticism of the Liberty has been indulged in, but the wisdom of producing it is now so apparent as to make any comment unnecessary.

The Liberty motor is a combination of the best elements of American motor manufacture. Every secret of the industry was offered without reservation, and the Liberty, as its name indicates, is an enduring tribute to the patriotic spirit of American manufacturers. That everything that was offered could not be used detracts in no way from the splendid spirit that was shown.

As the development of types progressed, engines with increasing horse power were demanded. In May, 1917, our foreign advisers agreed that we should concentrate on an engine of about 225 horse power, and the Liberty-8 was designed to meet this demand. In less than three months development had been so rapid that all agreed that a horsepower of 330 at least would be required. Fortunately, the development of the Liberty-12 had kept pace with that of the 8; and as a consequence the Liberty-12 went into production. The first type developed the required power, but before quantity production had well begun this was considered inadequate, and a redesigning of parts and many improvements resulted in an increase of over 100 horse power. The Liberty-12 today develops 440 horse power, and the end is not yet in sight.

Experience has shown that at least six months' service on the front is necessary to "get the bugs out of any new engine," but the foresight of our air service in the A. E. F. in preparing for the examination and test of the first engine to reach the zone of the advance, and the promptness with which suggestions for improvement were cabled home, shortened the expected time by months. These necessary and anticipated criticisms were given undue publicity, which resulted in much loss of faith on the part of those inexperienced in gas engine development.

The difficulties encountered in going into quantity production were of a very serious nature. Existing motor building plants did not have machin-

ery of sufficient size to handle the parts of a motor as large as the Liberty, and it was necessary to build and design tools for the purpose. Some 300 jigs, tools, and fixtures are required to produce the necessary parts, and these had to be duplicated many times for quantity production. Thousands of men and women had to be trained and educated before they could be intrusted with the manufacture of parts which required a degree of skill they did not possess, and many of these were requisitioned for other necessary governmental activities as soon as they were trained.

Modern warfare demands the co-ordination of every phase of human activity, and all activities must be speeded up to the limit, notwithstanding the fact that many of the best and most efficient producers must be withdrawn for service with combatant troops. The draft, therefore, took many machinists and mechanics at a time when their services were vitally important, and fuel, transportation and materials had to be shared with those engaged in other phases of our military program.

FIRST DELIVERIES OF ENGINES

Production, however, started with the delivery, during December, 1917, of 22 engines of 330 horse power. After about 300 of these engines were in production the horse power was stepped up to 375. This required a strengthening of many parts and a change in many tools. Information from abroad indicated that if an engine of 300 horse power could be produced, the United States would lead the world in size and power of engines for 1918-19.

After changes which necessitated a redesign of many jigs, tools, &c., and metallurgical changes in some of the parts which required the development of new and better methods of making steel, the Liberty went into final production with the enormous horse power of 440. So rapidly were these changes made that by May 29, 1918, one year after the date design was be-

gun, 1,243 Liberty engines had been produced and delivered for service. Six months later the rate of production had reached the sum of 46,500 per year, and was increasing by leaps and bounds. On Oct. 30, 1918, our production rate of Liberty engines alone was far greater than England's rate of production for *all* her aeronautical engines.

Up to Nov. 29, 1918, a total of 15,572 Liberty engines had been produced, but that by no means represents the accomplishment in motor production, for the production of engines for primary and advanced training was over 16,800. In the month of October, 1918, America produced 3,878 Liberty 12s, 753 Hispano-Suizas, 309 Le Rhones, 357 other program types (OX-5, Lawrence, Gnome and Bugatti) and 32 experimental engines, a total of 5,329. The rate of production was increasing daily, and by Nov. 1, after eighteen months of war, we had reached a rate of 64,000 engines per year. A comparison with English and French production reports is illuminating. From the best available data, it is as follows:

	ENGINES PRODUCED			
	France.	Italy.	England.	U. S.
1914.....	1,065	....	99	11
1915.....	7,089	600	1,721	20
1916.....	16,785	2,400	5,363	134
1917.....	23,092	6,300	11,536	2,431
1918.....	44,563	15,000	22,102	34,241
1919.....	....	....	....	5,486
Total.....	92,594	24,300	40,821	42,323

During the years 1914-16, inclusive, the combined engine production of the Allies was only 35,122, yet they did not hesitate to demand that we produce 6,000 more than that number in one year, nor did we hesitate to promise to do so. During 1918 we actually did produce 34,241, and had we maintained the October production rate after the signing of the armistice we would have exceeded the demand made upon us. This is hardly a record of failure.

"FIGHTING PLANES"

Probably the most bitter criticism of our air program is that "not one American-made fighting plane ever

reached the front." It is small wonder that disappointment should be centred on this point. We entered the war to fight, and no small part of our effort was to be in the air. It is a fact that no American-made pursuit planes did reach the front. Acting on the advice of our allies, and finally realizing our inability to design and produce a pursuit plane capable of holding its own, we decided to leave the production of pursuit planes to the French until American engineers could master the new and intricate problems of design and production. In the meantime, we were to produce, for training purposes, American copies of the best models available anywhere.

The wisdom of this decision may be questioned by some, now that all the facts are available for study, but it is doubtful if even the most ardent critic would have decided otherwise had he been placed in the position of those who had to determine the policy.

No one except those who were actually engaged in the attempt to determine what to produce can ever realize the lack of definite information upon which to base a decision. Our source of information was 3,000 miles away, and the means of communication a cable choked with other essential business. During the six months from June to December, 1917, plans were made on information that afterward proved to be inadequate, necessitating change after change.

Signal Corps records show that from 1908 to 1916 the total number of planes delivered to the army was 54, while in 1916, due to requirements of the punitive expedition into Mexico, 366 had been ordered, of which only 64 were ever delivered. These were of the most elementary type. With this record of achievement of a starved and struggling industry, we were called upon to embark on a program calling for over 20,000 planes in a year. Of these, less than 25 per cent. were of a type then known to our industry. Of the remainder, we were without practical knowledge,

drawings or designs. *In fact, we never at any time received a complete model or set of drawings.* "Millions may be appropriated in a day, but money cannot turn back the hands of the clock and permit the gaining of the experience and ability which make aeronautical engineers competent to undertake the vitally important problems which confronted us." (Letter of Colonel Waldron to Dr. Walcott.)

It was obvious that our only hope was to select the best of each type and to produce that until something better had been developed abroad or in the United States. Development, particularly in "fighting planes" or pursuit planes, was very rapid. Even those who had all the front-line experience available could not look far enough ahead to determine future requirements. Planes representing the latest and best thought were often obsolescent before they reached the front. Confusion has resulted from the fact that planes such as the Spad, Nieuport, Sopwith and others retained their original name no matter how many changes or improvements were made in them. Critics demanded to know why we didn't select the Spad and turn it out in large quantities. It takes even a highly organized and well-trained industrial concern a long time to reproduce a perfect model, and longer to get into quantity production on it. Certainly we had no such concern available. The plane produced under conditions existing in 1917 would have been obsolete long before it left the United States.

USING FRANCE'S EXPERIENCE

The decision, therefore, was to furnish the French with raw materials and to have our pursuit aviation equipped with the latest and best plane that French engineers of long experience could produce with a highly trained, experienced and well-equipped industry behind them; an industry, by the way, that could not have continued in production without our raw materials. In no other way

could our fighting pilots have the latest and best equipment during the year 1918.

A pursuit plane is very complicated in design. It must operate at sea level or at an altitude of over 20,000 feet; it must be fast and must climb rapidly, characteristics which are opposed to each other in design. A very delicate compromise is required to give the necessary performance. It must be very manoeuvrable, have good visibility and be well armed. Even today, development continues very rapidly with no end in sight. No American engineer had ever seen one, to say nothing of having designed one. Yet there is still criticism because we turned over the production, in those early days of uncertainty and inexperience, of such planes to experts who unfortunately were French rather than American, but who, nevertheless, were allies fighting and working side by side with our pilots in a common cause.

We actually did bend every effort toward the design of an American-built pursuit plane, with the result that the first design of the MB-3, now recognized as one of the best in the world, was turned out and tested early in 1919. There were others just as promising in sight, but, while there was American ability in plenty, there was no *time*.

There are two general classes of planes required—elementary training planes, in which pilots are taught flying, and service planes, in which they operate over the front lines. There are, again, two general classes of service planes—air force, i. e., pursuit, bombardment and attack, which apply force from the air, and air service planes, which serve the different elements of the army by reconnaissance, liaison, spotting artillery fire, &c. The duty of the first class is to fight; the second class fights only for self-protection, to enable its mission to be carried out in spite of attack.

The Bolling commission reported that the British DH-9, which was just emerging from the experimental

stage, had reached a degree of development which would enable it to give excellent service, no matter how long the war might last. This was an air service or observation plane, which could also be used as a light day bomber. If we could produce this in large quantities, we could turn out equipment that would always be useful, even though a better plane might be developed. Here was something we could go ahead on with confidence, if we could get a model or a set of production drawings. This was, however, impossible at the time, so the determination was made to go into production on the DH-4, which was then in use by the British in the front and continued in use, by the way, until the end of the war.

SUCCESS WITH OBSERVATION PLANES

On Aug. 15 the first DH-4 arrived at Dayton. It was without engine, ordnance and many accessories for its use. A set of incomplete drawings accompanied it. The fuselage design had to be changed many times in order to accommodate the Liberty-12 and the instruments and accessories necessary for its operation. On Oct. 29 the first DH with a Liberty motor was flown successfully, and during the next four months the infinite complications of installing the equipment demanded were solved and production started with the delivery of fifteen machines in April, 1918. By October the rate of production had reached 1,097 a month. In the meantime, many changes and improvements had been made as the result of criticism and recommendations from the A. E. F.

On Nov. 11, 1918, 196 DH-4s were actually in use at the front, 667 had been received at the front, 293 were at A. E. F. training schools out of a total of 1,440 planes actually received in France, and 1,040 more were en route. A total of 4,846 had been produced. With the exception of 100 Handley-Pages shipped to England for assembly, this represents our total

production of planes for service on the front.

Our program for the production of service planes called for 12,000 of three general classes. This really meant about 18,000, for about 50 per cent. spare parts were considered necessary for maintenance. This item may represent in a small way our ignorance and inexperience in May, 1917. These planes were to be produced between Jan. 1 and June 30 if we were to fulfill our promises. Had we been informed of the maximum rate of production that France and England, with their years of experience under pressure, had been able to attain, the absurdity of such a program would have been evident. The following table, taken from published reports, gives the plane production of the Allies:

AIRPLANES PRODUCED				
	France.	Italy.	England.	U. S.
1914.....	541	....	245	11
1915.....	4,469	400	1,932	20
1916.....	7,549	1,300	6,149	83
1917.....	14,915	4,000	14,421	1,807
1918.....	23,669	6,500	32,106	11,916
1919.....	.....	.....	.....	409
Total.....	51,143	12,200	54,835	14,246

During the years of 1914-16 the combined production of the Allies was only 22,585, yet we were expected to produce as much in one year, and that with practically no previous experience. During the year 1918 we actually did produce 11,916 planes—more than the entire production of either France or England up to the time we declared war.

While our production was getting under way, training and service machines were needed by the air service in the A. E. F., and it was recognized that for many months it would be impossible to meet this requirement with planes manufactured in the United States. Accordingly, orders were placed with French factories for 5,875 planes of French design, with delivery promised by July 1, 1918, and promises were made to the French industry for the delivery of great quantities of raw material. Neither the United States nor the French Government was able to fulfill its promises. How-

ever, 22,500 tons of raw materials and fabricated parts were furnished the French, and 4,791 planes were delivered to the air forces of the A. E. F. before Nov. 11, 1918.

There have been many statements to the effect that American aviators flew planes of obsolete type turned over by the French, but records of delivery show that we fared even better than the French themselves. It requires about a year before a plane which is accepted as an improvement replaces equipment on the front, and there have been many cases of planes becoming obsolescent before they ever reached quantity production. These planes were used on inactive sectors and for training, and it was only just that we take our share of such equipment. After July 1, 1918, we received nothing but planes of the most approved type.

FURNISHING RAW MATERIALS

Our accomplishments in production, however, can by no means be measured by the number of planes produced. We had to furnish all the spruce, and later much of the fabric and dope, as well as wire and steel fittings, for France, England and Italy. A preliminary survey disclosed an appalling shortage of spruce, linen, castor oil and acetate. The failure of any one of these essential raw materials could cause the collapse, not only of our own program, but of that of the Allies as well. In meeting such problems we were in our element; given a reasonable amount of time, they could all be solved, but time was the essential we lacked. *Already we were attempting to crowd the development of ten years into as many months, and any delay would be fatal.* Judged by peace-time production costs, many of the expenditures made may seem excessive, but the value of time can be measured only by the pressure of necessity, and certainly our necessity justified the expenditure of any sum required to produce results in time.

Acetone is necessary for the manufacture of cordite, an explosive upon

which the British were absolutely dependent. Our aircraft program called for 25,000 tons. Estimates showed that the total available supply would not even meet other demands. One of the essential products was totally lacking. The entire supply of acetate of lime, as well as that of other refined ingredients, was commandeered; 170,000 tons were required, and only 106,000 were available. The requirements of all the Allies were pooled, and the best chemists in the country were secured to master the intricate technical requirements of production. Many previously unconsidered sources of supply had to be discovered, and after large chemical plants had been developed by governmental support, the demand was met, and 1,324,356 gallons of dope were manufactured from original sources which proved to be more than adequate for all requirements.

As early as the Spring of 1917 a serious shortage of airplane spruce had developed, and in order to secure spruce fast enough to meet our own and allied production needs, the Spruce Production Corporation was organized in the Pacific Northwest. New and hitherto inaccessible sources were opened up in order that the flow of aircraft lumber might not stop with the exhaustion of the accessible supply. The problem of procuring spruce for aircraft presented new problems to our lumber interests and too much credit cannot be given for the manner in which they were solved. Education in new methods of logging, sawing, drying and utilization of spruce was necessary, and the knowledge gained in the solution of the many and varied problems will be of lasting benefit. As a result of improved methods the requirement per machine fell from 5,000 feet to 1,000, with a consequent reduction of expense in all departments. Over 180,000,000 feet of aircraft lumber was shipped, *of which 120,000,000 went to our allies and 60,000,000 to our own industry.*

With the collapse of the Russian

Government, one of the two great sources of linen was lost, and by December, 1917, it was realized that the air program of the Allies as well as our own would depend upon the development of a suitable substitute. England's reputation as the greatest cotton-manufacturing centre of the world is well established, but the cotton fabric used as a substitute for linen was developed in the United States by our own experts to meet the needs of our own program. The physical characteristics of our cotton fabric equal those of the best linen, and it was produced at just half the cost. Had not American genius produced a substitute superior to the original, after years of England's best effort had been unsuccessful, our program would have been brought to a full stop before it had well begun. In August, 1918, our production rate was 1,200,000 yards per month, and every yard meant a saving of 65 cents.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES

The castor oil situation was very similar to that of linen and acetone. Before Liberty Aero Oil was developed, castor oil was the only satisfactory lubricant for high speed motors and the quantity required for our program was enormous. The Government's country-wide round-up of castor oil robbed every small boy in the United States, but had not the Lubrication Division succeeded in developing a satisfactory mineral oil for the Liberty and other stationary engines, the supply would have been utterly inadequate.

Wherever our industry could obtain adequate knowledge of what was required, there is no record of failure. Had it been possible to make the American people acquainted with the true condition in 1917, and had they been kept informed of difficulties as they appeared and of the steps taken to overcome them, the feeling in regard to our aircraft production would be one of pride rather than of disappointment.

OUR PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

THE United States at last is at peace with Germany. After many parleys in Berlin between Ellis Loring Dresel, the American High Commissioner, and Dr. Friedrich Rosen, the German Foreign Minister, the treaty draft was finally agreed upon. It was signed in the German Foreign Office in the late afternoon of Aug. 25, 1921. Thereby the technical state of war, which had remained ever since the armistice, was declared at an end; the United States Government received confirmation of all its rights as one of the victorious powers, under the Versailles Treaty, at the same time repudiating all obligation under a number of sections of that treaty, especially the one comprising the Covenant of the League of Nations; the new treaty also established the consent of Germany to the *fait accompli* respecting our seizure of German ships and other property during the war.

The actual signing was attended by no pomp or ceremony. Mr. Dresel, accompanied by Chancellor of the Embassy Hugh Wilson, First Secretary Pennoyer, and Attache Norris, all dressed informally, went from the embassy to the Foreign Office, where they met Dr. Rosen, Privy Councilors Gruenewald and Kraus and Consul Gruno. Brief formal greetings were exchanged, but no speeches were made. The German Government wished as little ceremony as possible, and was desirous to avoid everything reminiscent of the Versailles Treaty. Mr. Dresel signed first at Dr. Rosen's desk, and the German Foreign Minister signed after him.

The treaty is a brief and businesslike document. Article 1 gives the United States all the rights specified in the Knox-Porter resolution, especially the right of the United

States to all German property interned after the United States declared war on Germany, and including all rights previously given this country by the Treaty of Versailles. The second clause of Article 2 repudiates adherence by the United States to all clauses of the Versailles pact which refer to the League of Nations.

Under the fourth clause of Article 2, the United States reserves its privilege to be represented in the Reparation Commission or in any other commissions established under the Versailles Treaty, but only at its own election and when it considers such participation expedient.

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The full text of the peace treaty between the United States and Germany is as follows:

Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its co-belligerents, entered into an armistice with Germany on Nov. 11, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded:

Considering that the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its Article 440, but has not been ratified by the United States:

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution, approved by the President July 2, 1921, which reads in part as follows:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"Sec. 2. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America, and its nationals, any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by, or are in the possession of the United States of America, by reason of its par-

ticipation in the war, or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled: or which, under the Treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal allied and associated powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress; or otherwise. * * *

"Sec. 5. All property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was, on April 6, 1917, in, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or of any of its officers, agents, or employes, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, and all property of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its successor or successors, and of all Austro-Hungarian nationals which was on Dec. 7, 1917, in, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents or employes, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States of America, and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore or specifically hereafter shall be provided by law, until such time as the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims

against said Governments, respectively, of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered, through the acts of the Imperial German Government, or its agents or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its agents, since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, Austro-Hungarian, American, or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war, or otherwise; and also shall have granted to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States of America most favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights and until the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively confirmed to the United States of America all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States of America during the war, whether in respect to the property of the Imperial German Government or German nationals, or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or Austro-Hungarian nationals, and shall have waived any and all pecuniary claims against the United States of America."

The United States and Germany, being desirous of restoring the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war, have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries—the President of the United States of America, Ellis Loring Dresel, Commissioner of the United States of America to Germany; and the President of the German Empire, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, Minister for Foreign Affairs—who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—Germany undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles, which the United States shall fully enjoy, notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

ARTICLE 2.—With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

1. That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section I of Part IV. and Parts V., VI., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIV. and XV. The United States, in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty men-



(Photo International)

ELLIS LORING DRESEL

United States Commissioner to Germany, who negotiated the American-German Peace Treaty

tioned in this paragraph, will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Germany under such provisions.

2. That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I. of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty, including those mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

3. That the United States assumes no obligations under, or with respect to, the provisions of Part II., Part III., Sections 2-8 inclusive of Part IV., and Part XIII. of that treaty.

4. That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII. of that treaty, and in any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

5. That the periods of time to which reference is made in Article 440 of the Treaty of Versailles shall run, with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States, from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 3—The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place as soon as possible at Berlin.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals. Done in duplicate in Berlin, this 25th day of August, 1921.

This treaty, on the whole, was received with satisfaction by the German press. President Ebert gave official expression to the German Nation's satisfaction over the treaty in a statement issued on Aug. 26. The American President expressed confidence that the ratification would follow in both countries without any obstacle. The United States Senate, owing to the Congressional recess, could not take it up until Sept. 21. The German Reichstag, to which the treaty must also be submitted, would not meet until Sept. 20.

Although the allied powers made no protest to the way in which the United States had built upon the Versailles Treaty, and yet repudiated so many of its most important clauses,

the tone of both the British and the French press showed considerable bitterness. In both countries the general sentiment seemed to be that the United States had taken the cream of the Versailles compact, drawn with



DR. FRIEDRICH ROSEN

German Foreign Minister, who, with Mr. Dresel, negotiated the separate peace with the United States

such difficulty and at the expenditure of such long-protracted effort, and had dropped everything which it deemed to be unfavorable to specifically American interests. French comment was especially tart, and several well-known French publicists expressed regret that France could not have drawn a treaty similarly devised to protect specifically French interests.

It was announced on Aug. 26 that peace with Austria also had been signed. The text of the document had not been given out up to the time these pages went to press. A similar treaty was soon to be signed with Hungary.

THE AGE OF LAWLESSNESS

ADDRESS BY JAMES M. BECK

Solicitor General of the United States*

A masterly analysis of the spiritual malady of the time, the general revolt against authority, which threatens civilization itself—Aversion to labor, class hatred, mass morality, all symptoms of a mechanical age devoid of character and stamina

IT is my purpose to discuss the moral psychology of the present revolt against the spirit of authority. Conceding that lawlessness is not a novel phenomenon, has not the present age been characterized by an exceptional revolt against the authority of law? The statistics of our criminal courts show in recent years an unprecedented growth in crimes. Thus, in the Federal courts, pending criminal indictments have increased from 9,503 in the year 1912 to over 70,000 in the year 1921.

While this abnormal increase is, in part, due to sumptuary legislation—for approximately 30,000 cases now pending arise under the prohibition statutes—yet, eliminating these, there yet remains an increase in nine years of nearly 400 per cent. in the comparatively narrow sphere of the Federal criminal jurisdiction.

I have been unable to get the data from the State courts, but the growth of crimes can be measured by a few illustrative statistics. Thus, the losses from burglaries which have been repaid by casualty companies have grown in amount from \$886,000 in 1914 to over \$10,000,000 in 1920; and, in a like period, embezzlements have increased fivefold.

It is notorious that the thefts from the mails and express companies and other carriers have grown to enormous proportions. The hold-up of railroad trains is now of frequent occurrence, and is not confined to the unsettled sections of the country. Not only in the United States, but even

in Europe, such crimes of violence are of increasing frequency, and a recent dispatch from Berne, under date of Aug. 7, stated that the famous International Expresses of Europe were now run under a military guard.

The streets of our cities, once reasonably secure from crimes of violence, have now become the field of operations for the footpad and highwayman. The days of Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard have returned, with this serious difference—that the Turpins and Sheppards of our day are not dependent upon the horse, but have the powerful automobile to facilitate their crimes and make sure their escape.

In Chicago alone 5,000 automobiles were stolen in a single year. Once murder was an infrequent and abnormal crime. Today in our large cities it is of almost daily occurrence. In New York, in 1917, there were 236 murders and only sixty-seven convictions; in 1918, 221, and seventy-seven convictions. In Chicago, in 1919, there were 336, and forty-four convictions.

It has been estimated that the annual profits from violations of the prohibition laws have reached \$300,000,000. Men who thus violate these laws for sordid gain are not likely to obey other laws, and the respect for law among all classes steadily diminishes as our people become familiar with and tolerant to wholesale crimi-

*Delivered before the Bar Association of the United States at Cincinnati, Ohio, on Aug. 31, 1921.

nality. Whether the moral and economic results of prohibition overbalance this rising wave of crime, time will tell.

In the recent deflation in commodity values there was widespread repudiation of contracts among business men who had theretofore been classed as reputable. Of course, I recognize that a far greater number kept their contracts, even when it brought them to the verge of ruin. But when in the history of American business was there such a volume of broken faith as a year ago?

In the greater sphere of social life we find the same revolt against the institutions which have the sanction of the past. Laws which mark the decent restraints of print, speech and dress have in recent decades been increasingly disregarded. The very foundations of the great and primitive institutions of mankind—like the family, the Church and the State—have been shaken. Nature itself is defied. Thus, the fundamental difference of sex is disregarded by social and political movements which ignore the permanent differentiation of social function ordained by God Himself.

All these are but illustrations of the general revolt against the authority of the past—a revolt that can be measured by the change in the fundamental presumption of men with regard to the value of human experience. In all former ages all that was in the past was presumptively true, and the burden was upon him who sought to change it. Today the human mind apparently regards the lessons of the past as presumptively false—and the burden is upon him who seeks to invoke them.

Lest I be accused of undue pessimism, let me cite as a witness one who of all men is probably best equipped to express an opinion upon the moral state of the world. I refer to the venerable head of that religious organization which, with its trained representatives in every part of the world, is probably better informed as

to its spiritual state than any other organization. Speaking last Christmas Eve, in an address to the College of Cardinals, the venerable Pontiff gave expression to an estimate of present conditions which should have attracted far greater attention than it apparently did.

The Pope said that five plagues were now afflicting humanity. The first was the unprecedented challenge to authority. The second, an equally unprecedented hatred between man and man. The third was the abnormal aversion to work. The fourth, the excessive thirst for pleasure as the great aim of life. And the fifth, a gross materialism which denied the reality of the spiritual in human life. The accuracy of this indictment will commend itself to men who, like myself, are not of Pope Benedict's communion.

UNIVERSAL REVOLT

I trust that I have already shown that the challenge to authority is universal and is not confined to that of the political State. Even in the narrower confines of the latter the fires of revolution are either violently burning, or, at least, smoldering.

Two of the oldest empires in the world, which, together, have more than half of its population—China and Russia—are in a welter of anarchy; while India, Egypt, Ireland and Mesopotamia are in a state of submerged revolt. If the revolt were confined to autocratic Governments we might see in it merely a reaction against tyranny; but even in the most stable of democracies and among the most enlightened peoples the underground rumblings of revolution may be heard.

The Government of Italy has been preserved from overthrow, not alone by its constituted authorities, but by a band of resolute men, called the "fascisti," who have taken the law into their own hands, as did the vigilance committees in Western mining camps, to put down worse disorders.

Even England, the mother of democ-

racies, and once the most stable of all Governments in the maintenance of law, has been shaken to its very foundations in the last three years, when powerful groups of men attempted to seize the State by the throat and compel submission to their



JAMES M. BECK

New Solicitor General of the United States

demands by threatening to starve the community. This would be serious enough if it were only the world-old struggle between capital and labor and had only involved the conditions of manual toil. But the insurrection against the political State in England was more political than it was economic. It marked, on the part of millions of men, a portentous decay of belief in representative government and its chosen organ—the ballot box.

Great and powerful groups had suddenly discovered—and it may be the most portentous political discovery of the twentieth century—that

the power involved in their control over the necessities of life, as compared with the power of the voting franchise, was as a 42-centimeter cannon to the bow and arrow.

The end sought to be attained, namely, the nationalization of the basic industries, and even the control of the foreign policy of Great Britain, vindicated the truth of the British Prime Minister's statement that these great strikes involved something more than a mere struggle over the conditions of labor, and that they were essentially seditious attempts against the life of the State.

Nor were they altogether unsuccessful; for, when the armies of Lenin and Trotzky were at the gates of Warsaw, in the Summer of 1920, the attempts of the Governments of England and Belgium to afford assistance to the embattled Poles were paralyzed by the labor groups of both countries, who threatened a general strike if those two nations joined with France in aiding Poland to resist a possibly greater menace to Western civilization than has occurred since Attila and his Huns stood on the banks of the Marne.

Of greater significance to the welfare of civilization is the complete subversion during the World War of nearly all the international laws which had been slowly built up in a thousand years. These principles, as codified by the two Hague conventions, were immediately swept aside in the fierce struggle for existence, and civilized man, with his liquid fire and poison gas and his deliberate attacks upon undefended cities and their women and children, waged war with the unrelenting ferocity of primitive times. Surely, this fierce war of extermination, which caused the loss of three hundred billion dollars in property and thirty millions of human lives, did mark the "twilight of civilization." The hands on the dial of time had been put back—temporarily, let us hope and pray—a thousand years.

Nor will many question the accu-

racy of the second count in Pope Benedict's indictment. The war to end war only ended in unprecedented hatred between nation and nation, class and class and man and man. Victors and vanquished are involved in a common ruin. And if in this deluge which has submerged the world there is a Mount Ararat, upon which the ark of a truer and better peace can find refuge, it has not yet appeared above the troubled surface of the waters.

AVERSION TO WORK

Still less can one question the closely related third and fourth counts in Pope Benedict's indictment, namely, the unprecedented aversion to work, when work is most needed to reconstruct the foundations of prosperity, or the excessive thirst for pleasure which preceded, accompanied and now has followed the most terrible tragedy in the annals of mankind. The morale of our industrial civilization has been shattered. Work for work's sake, as the most glorious privilege of human faculties, has gone, both as an ideal and as a potent spirit. The conception of work as a degrading servitude, to be done with reluctance and grudging inefficiency, seems to be the ideal of millions of men of all classes and in all countries.

The great evil of the world today is this aversion to work. As the mechanical era diminished the element of physical exertion in work, we would have supposed that man would have sought expression for his physical faculties in other ways. On the contrary, the whole history of the mechanical era is a persistent struggle for more pay and shorter hours, and today it has culminated in worldwide ruin; for there is not a nation in civilization which is not now in the throes of economic distress, and many of them are on the verge of ruin. In my judgment, the economic catastrophe of 1921 is far greater than the politico-military catastrophe of 1914.

The results of these two tendencies,

measured in the statistics of productive industry, are literally appalling. Thus, in 1920 Italy, according to statistics of her Minister of Labor, lost 55,000,000 days of work because of strikes alone. From July to September many great factories were in the hands of revolutionary communists. A full third of these strikes had for their end political and not economic purposes. In Germany the progressive revolt of labor against work is thus measured by competent authority: There were lost in strikes in 1917, 900,000 working days; in 1918 4,900,000 and in 1919 46,600,000. Even in our own favored land the same phenomena are observable. In the State of New York alone for 1920 there was a loss due to strikes of over 10,000,000 working days. In all countries the losses by such cessations from labor are little as compared with those due to the spirit which in England is called "cannery," or the shirking of performance of work, and to sabotage, which means the deliberate destruction of machinery in operation.

Everywhere the phenomenon has been observed that, with the highest wages known in the history of modern times, there has been an unmistakable lessening of efficiency, and that with an increase in the number of workers there has been a decrease in output. Thus, the transportation companies in this country have seriously made a claim against the United States Government for damages to their roads amounting to \$750,000,000, claimed to be due to the inefficiency of labor during the period of Governmental operation.

Accompanying this indisposition to work efficiently has been a mad desire for pleasure such as, if it existed in like measure in preceding ages, has not been seen within the memory of living man. * * *

Of the last count in Pope Benedict's indictment I shall say but little. It is more appropriate for the members of that great and noble profession which is more intimately con-

cerned with the spiritual advance of mankind. It is enough to say that, while the Church as an institution continues to exist, the belief in the supernatural and even in the spiritual has been supplanted by a gross and widespread materialism.

CAUSES DEEPER THAN WAR

If you agree with me in my premises, then we are not likely to disagree in the conclusion that the causes of these grave symptoms are not ephemeral or superficial, but must have their origin in some deep-seated and world-wide change in human society. If there is to be a remedy, we must diagnose this malady of the human soul.

For example, let us not "lay the flattering unction to our souls" that this spirit is but the reaction of the great war. The present weariness and lassitude of human spirit and the disappointment and disillusion as to the aftermath of the harvest of blood may have aggravated, but they could not cause the symptoms of which I speak; for the very obvious reason that all these symptoms were in existence and apparent to a few discerning men for decades before the war. Indeed, it is possible that the World War, far from causing the "malaise" of the age, was, in itself, but one of its many symptoms.

A race of individuals obey reluctantly, when they obey at all, any laws which they regard as unreasonable or vexatious. This spirit has always existed, and the so-called "best people" have not been innocent. Thus, nearly all women are involuntary smugglers. They deny the authority of the State to impose a tax upon a Paquin gown. Again, our profession must sorrowfully confess that the law's delay and laxity in administration breed a spirit of contempt, and too often invite men to take the law into their own hands. These causes are so familiar that their statement is a commonplace.

Proceeding to deeper and less rec-

ognized causes, some would attribute this spirit of lawlessness to the rampant individualism which began in the eighteenth century and which has steadily and naturally grown with the advance of democratic institutions. Men talked, and still talk, loudly of their rights, but too rarely of their duties. To diagnose truly this malady we must look to some cause that is coterminous in time with the disease itself, and which has been operative throughout civilization. * * *

MACHINES AND SUPERMEN

Man has suddenly become the superman. His voice can now reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, taking wings in his airplane, he can fly in one swift flight from Nova Scotia to England, or he can leave Lausanne and, resting upon the icy summit of Mont Blanc, outfly the eagles themselves.

In thus acquiring from the forces of nature almost illimitable power, he has minimized the necessity for his own physical exertion or even mental skill. The machine now not only acts for him, but almost thinks for him. This almost infinite multiplication of human power has tended to intoxicate man. The lust for power has obsessed him, without regard to whether it be constructive or destructive. He consumes the treasures of the earth faster than it produces them, deforesting its surface and disemboweling its hidden wealth.

As he feverishly multiplies the things he desires, even more feverishly he multiplies his wants. To gain these he seeks the congested centres of human life. And, while the world as a whole is not overpopulated, the leading countries of civilization are subjected to this tremendous pressure. Europe, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century barely numbered 100,000,000 people, suddenly grew nearly fivefold. Millions have left the farms to gather into the cities and exploit

their new and seemingly easy conquest over nature.

In our own country, as recently as 1880, only 15 per cent. of our people were crowded in the cities; 85 per cent. remained upon the farms and still followed that occupation, which, of all occupations, still preserves in its integrity the dominance of human labor over the machine. Today 52 per cent. of our population is in the cities, and with many of them existence is both feverish and artificial. While they have employment, many of them do not themselves work, but spend their lives in watching machines work. The result has been a minute subdivision of labor that has denied to many workers the true significance and physical benefit of labor.

The printing press has piled up great treasures of human knowledge which make this age the richest in accessible information. I am not speaking of knowledge, but rather of the current thought of the living generation. I gravely question whether it has the same clarity as the brain of the generation which fashioned the Constitution of the United States. Our fathers could not talk over the telephone for 3,000 miles, but have we surpassed them in thoughts of enduring value? Washington and Franklin could not travel sixty miles an hour in a railroad train, or twice that distance in an airplane, but does it follow that they did not travel to as good purpose as we, who scurry to and fro like the ants in a disordered ant-heap?

New York, which has fifty theatres and annually spends \$100,000,000 in the box offices of its varied amusement resorts, has never in two centuries produced a single play that has lived. Today man has a cinematographic brain. A thousand images are impressed daily upon the screen of his consciousness, and they are as fleeting as moving pictures in a cinema theatre.

The press prints every year over

29,000,000,000 issues. No one can question its educational possibilities, for the best of all colleges is the University of Gutenberg. If it printed only the truth, its value would be infinite; but who can say in what proportions of this vast volume of printed matter are the true and the false?

Before the beginning of the present mechanical age the current of living thought could be likened to a mountain stream, which, though confined within narrow banks, yet had waters of transparent clearness. May not the current of thought of our time be compared with the mighty Mississippi in the period of a Spring freshet? Its banks are wide and its current swift, but the turbid stream that flows onward is one of muddy swirls and eddies and overflows its banks to their destruction.

The great indictment, however, of the present age of mechanical power is that it has largely destroyed the spirit of work. The great enigma which it propounds to us, and which, like the riddle of the Sphinx, we will solve or be destroyed, is this: "Has the increase in the potential of human power, through thermodynamics, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the potential of human character?"

MASS MORALITY

The specialization of our modern mechanical civilization has caused a submergence of the individual into the group or class. Man is fast ceasing to be the unit of human society; self-governing groups are becoming the new units. This is true of all classes of men, the employers as well as the employees. A mass morality has been substituted for individual morality, and, unfortunately, group morality generally intensifies the vices more than the virtues of man. What was true of Germany was true—although in lesser degree—of all civilized nations. In all of them the individual had been submerged in

formations, and the effect upon the character of man has not been beneficial.

To all this, the nineteenth century, in its exultant pride in its conquest of the invisible forces, was almost blind. It not only accepted progress as an unmistakable fact—mistaking, however, acceleration and facilitation for progress—but in its mad pride believed in an immutable law of progress which, working with the blind forces of machinery, would propel man forward. A few men, however, standing on the mountain ranges of human observation, saw the future more clearly than did the mass. Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Samuel Butler and Max Nordau, in the nineteenth century, and, in our time, Ferrero, all pointed out the inevitable dangers of the excessive mechanization of human society. Their prophecies were, unhappily, little heeded. * * *

POSSIBLE REMEDIES

There are many palliatives for the evils which I have discussed. To rekindle in men the love of work for work's sake and the spirit of discipline, which the lost sense of human solidarity once inspired, would do much to solve the problem, for work is the greatest moral force in the world. If we of this generation can only recognize that the evil exists, then the situation is not past remedy.

I have faith in the inextinguishable spark of the Divine which is in the human soul and which our complex mechanical civilization has not extinguished. Of this, the World War was in itself a proof. All the horrible resources of mechanics and chemistry were utilized to coerce the human soul, and all proved ineffectual. Never did men rise to greater heights of self-sacrifice or show a greater fidelity "even unto death." Millions went to their graves, as to their beds, for an ideal; and when that is possible, this Pandora's box of modern civilization, which contained all imaginable evils, as well as benefits, also leaves hope intact. I am reminded

of a remark that the great Rumanian statesman, Take Jonescu, made during the Peace Conference at Paris. When asked his views as to the future of civilization, he replied: "Judged by the light of reason there is but little hope, but I have faith in man's inextinguishable impulse to live."

But what can the law and our profession do in this warfare against the blind forces of nature? The law can do something to protect the soul of man from destruction by the soulless machine. It can defend the spirit of individualism. We must defend the right to work against those who would either destroy or degrade it. We must defend the right of every man not only to join with others in protecting his interests, whether he is a brain worker or a hand worker—for without the right of combination the individual would often be the victim of giant forces—but we must vindicate the equal right of an individual, if he so wills, to depend upon his own strength.

BULWARK IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Of this spirit of individualism the noblest expression is the Constitution of the United States. That institution has not wholly escaped the destructive tendencies of a mechanical age. It was framed at the very end of the pastoral-agricultural age and at a time when the spirit of individualism was in full flower. The mechanical civilization has greatly modified the dual character of our Government.

If, however, in this respect, the Constitution has proved little more than a sandy beach, which the tidal waves of elemental forces have slowly eroded, yet we can proudly claim that in another and more important respect the Constitution has withstood the ceaseless washing of the waves of changing circumstances, as the Rock of Gibraltar itself.

The greatest and noblest purpose of the Constitution was not alone to hold in nicest equipoise the relative powers of the nation and the States, but also to maintain in the scales of

justice a true equilibrium between the rights of government and the rights of an individual. It does not believe that the State, much less the caprices of a fleeting majority, is omnipotent, or that it has been sanctified with any oil of anointing, such as was once assumed to give the monarch infallibility. About the individual the Constitution draws the solemn circle of its protection. It defends the integrity of the human soul.

In other Governments these fundamental decencies of liberty rest upon the conscience of the Legislature. In our country they are part of the fundamental law, and, as such, enforce-

able by Judges sworn to defend the integrity of the individual as fully as the integrity of the State. Therefore, the greatest service that the bench and bar can render in combating the evils of a mechanical age is to defend and preserve in its full integrity the Constitution of our fathers. Let us, then, as its interpreters and guardians—and as such the civilian soldiers of the State—do all that in us lies to preserve this inspired vision of the fathers, for again the solemn warning of the wise man of old recurs to us: "Where there is no vision, the people perish; but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."

WHY HELIGOLAND IS UNHAPPY

AUG. 4, 1921, was a sad day for the inhabitants of the island of Heligoland. It was the seventh anniversary of the British declaration of war on Germany, and it recalled to the Heligolanders the fact that the outcome of this war was the Versailles Treaty. The connection is as follows:

This rocky stronghold in the North Sea, lying off the mouths of the Elbe and Weser Rivers, twenty-eight miles from the mainland, had been British since 1807, when the English took it from the Danes. It was ceded by Great Britain to Germany in exchange for the German island of Zanzibar in 1890, a bargain in the making of which British diplomacy, for once, was caught napping, if not soundly asleep. Bismarck had fully realized the military value of the island, but it was his successor, Caprivi, who persuaded the Marquis of Salisbury, then British Foreign Minister, to negotiate the exchange. The statement issued by Salisbury at the time showed that he was entirely blind to the weapon he was putting into Germany's hand.

The Kaiser at once removed the old-fashioned English defenses, and replaced them with armored turrets, mounting guns of heavy calibre. As a base for Germany's growing navy, it was ideal. In 1892 the

island was incorporated formally with Prussia, when it was provided that all natives born before 1880 should have the right to choose either British or German nationality. Until 1901 no additional import duties or taxes were imposed. Since then the iron hand of Germany has been felt more and more. Customs duties have been increased; new taxes, previously unknown, now bear heavily on the inhabitants. Many rights guaranteed by the Anglo-German cession compact of 1890 have gone by the board. The Heligolanders have organized a home rule movement, and have made appeal after appeal to Great Britain. The latter country is powerless to help them—and the reason is the Treaty of Versailles. By that treaty all former treaties and agreements lapsed, including that of 1890. Under Article 115 of the Versailles pact, the only right Great Britain retains is that of compelling the dismantling of the island's fortifications. Beyond that Great Britain cannot go. Hence Aug. 4 was a day of mourning in the rocky, mist-wrapped island, which longs vainly to go back to the good old days when Heligoland was a British possession. The forlorn hope of an appeal to the League of Nations was tried by the Heligolanders in September.

SPAIN'S HOME RULE PROBLEM IN CATALONIA

BY CARLETON BEALS*

Fierce nationalism of the Catalans in the Barcelona region creating a situation like that of Ireland—Demand for autonomy with a separate Parliament—Medieval obstacles to reform in Spain

WHEN the Mayor of Cork died the windows of the British Consulate in Barcelona were smashed to the cries of "Long live the Republics of Ireland and Catalonia!" A few months later I saw the Spanish yellow and red *bandera* torn down from the Gran Via Arguelles, and in the Teatro del Liceo heard the "Royal March" drowned in hisses. Cambo, the leader of the Catalan Nationalist movement, recently declared that the *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya*—the Home Rule League of Catalonia—constituted the only orderly governing force in a State torn by official, military and syndicalist terror. He felt himself to be speaking for more than 4,000,000 people, occupying a territory embracing not only Catalonia, but the eastern half of the adjacent provinces; the gem-like islands of the Balearic Archipelago; the quaint, dirty city of Alguër in Sardinia, the tiny, crag-perched Republic of Andorra, and Roussillon of the French Department of the Eastern Pyrenees.

This nationalism is recrudescent, not new; and though altered in spirit and purpose, its roots run deep into the soil of prehistoric Spain. The Cataláns believe themselves to be the only true descendants of the Iberians and the Romans—the Spaniards being Celts, Goths, Arabs and lesser breeds without the law. They support this contention with semi-scientific data showing that the cranial measurements of the Cataláns are, if

not superior to, at least different from, those of the Castilians. They proudly ask if it is not true that the Ebro (Iberian) River is born in the Catalán Pyrenees and dies in the Tarragonian Sea in order to divide Catalonia for all time from the rest of Spain—a postern castle-moat, as it were, to a Catalonia that should ever face toward Italy, the Mediterranean, the Orient.

Their pride in their Roman parentage is not unfounded. The Roman impress left its most indelible traces in Catalonia. The remains of the ancient walls and gates that enclosed what for a time was the greatest Roman city of the Peninsula may still be seen in Barcelona's plazas of Regomir and Angel. Did not the Romans also use the River Ebro to divide Spain into *Hispania Ulterior* and *Citerior*, the latter—the civilized portion—remaining more or less intact down to the seventeenth century? Even now the streets bear Catalán names that are reminiscent of the Roman conquest; and so strange that the bewildered Spaniards have insisted that the Castilian equivalents be placed beneath; and the foot-pilgrim in the fertile Llanos of Urgel of the Valley of the Segres, or in the mountains behind Barcelona, will be wise

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if he freshens his Italian and French, for both will prove more useful than Spanish in communicating with the peasantry.

Nor is the history of Catalonia without glory. Following the early union of Aragon and Catalonia under the Barcelonian dynasty of the Berengueres, the two States were projected upon a brilliant imperial career. Alfonso V. died ruling over all Eastern Spain and the Balearic Islands; over Corsica and Sardinia, where the guttural dialect and the sallow skins of the people attest to this day those centuries of occupation; over Greece, Sicily, Naples and Milan. The Cataláns claim this glory equally with the Argonese, and point to the cultural prominence of Barcelona during this period, when that city rivaled Genoa and Venice as the great mart of the Mediterranean.

But the tide of Aragonese and Catalán supremacy turned, leaving Castile pre-eminent. Castile owed its ascendancy to fortunate marriages and a series of strong rulers. To Madrid flocked the fortune-seekers and the scribblers; even the great Catalan, Boscan deserted his native tongue for the popular Castilian. These occurrences were symptomatic of the economic decline of the Mediterranean world, resulting from the break-up of the Eastern trade routes. Castile, furthering the Westward movement of discovery, exploration and conquest, embodied the spirit of the new age.

But Castilian dominion over Catalonia was not easily maintained—the memories of old glories died hard. As late as 1640 occurred the uprising of the Catalán harvesters, who on Corpus Christi Day—known as *El Corpus de Sangre*—descended upon Barcelona to massacre all the Castilians, singing as they came the savage "Hymn of the Reapers"—"*Els Segadors*." That is still the anthem of Catalonia and "drives the people crazy with excitement." No wonder that in 1652 Felipe IV. was willing to cede Roussillon and the adjoining

Catalán districts, with half of Sardinia, to the French, in the hope of extinguishing, or at least dividing, the strong local patriotism. From that day the obliteration of that patriotism proceeded apace, until by the time of the repulse of the Napoleonic invaders, Catholic Catalonia was bitterly alienated from revolutionary, atheistic Roussillon, and had completely identified its interests with those of Spain.

REVIVAL OF NATIONALISM

Yet the last sixty years have witnessed a resurrection of *catalanismo*, heralded by the trumpet calls of the poets, who since 1849 in annual competition for a public award of flowers and the title of Master of the Gay Science have gathered at their *Jochs Florals* to declaim their patriotic odes.

We all are born of the same great height,
And drink the waters from its snow;
With equal rhythm our songs we write;
Our cries in common echoes grow.*

Thus sang Margall, the most passionate of them all; and the common echoes awoke a concerted artistic, scientific, linguistic, political and economic renaissance, which has strained at the barriers of Castilian paternalism and for two decades has threatened to sweep them away altogether.

The *Unio Catalanista* was launched upon the turbulent waters of rushing nationalism with all the enthusiasm, the bigotry and bitterness of a new-found faith. It was soon superseded by the Catalán Home Rule League, which, although backing a much more liberal and intelligent program, has had a tempestuous career. It bruted every Central aggression and headed into the violent storm of 1909, when Catalán impertinence was engulfed and annihilated in blood and iron.

Even more sanguinary were its struggles with the Republican movement, which centred in Barcelona.

*Tots devalien de la mateixa alçada
tots bevem raiqua de les mateixes neus;
nostres conçons tenen igual tonada
I nostres crits desperten idéntics tonaveus.

Republicanism perforce postulated a program for the whole of Spain; it could not be regional. Much of the energy of both sects was for years dissipated in bloodshed on the streets of Barcelona—a recurring spectacle relished by the aristocrats of Madrid, to judge by some of their piquant and nasty personal correspondence.

But after the bloody setback of 1909 the Nationalists, with that easy shifting of levers that makes all Latin politics so speed-burning, united with the Republicans on the sensible program of local autonomy and peninsular federation. But the Republicans, guided by the noisy Lerroux, soon betrayed the Nationalists for their own interests. Lerroux entered the Liberal Cabinet of the Conde de Romanones, the most clever scene-shifter of the Spanish political stage, on a compromise that gave the Count a free hand in twisting the neck of Catalán nationalism.

After a period of disheartening dissolution and sporadic violence, the national sentiment again flooded its banks in the violent uprisings of 1918, when secession was averted only by a clever alienation of the principal Catalán leaders with the promise of Cabinet representation and posts in the Government. Yet, in spite of such betrayals, the Home Rulers did not lose their spirit, and only await a favorable opportunity to set up an independent government. In 1919 they even expected to carry their appeal to the newly formed League of Nations, but the great powers' hasty desertion of the principle of the rights of small nations saved that august body from one more embarrassment.

WHAT CATALONIA DEMANDS

The existing program was adopted in the Congress of the League held in 1916. It was summarized in the *España* for June of that year, as follows:

1. The State of Catalonia to be autonomous, with sovereign control over its internal affairs.

2. A Parliament or Legislature to be responsible to the Catalán people.

3. An Executive Power responsible only to the Catalán Parliament.

4. The enforcement of Catalán law, the Parliament to be the instrument of its resurrection. (This refers to the old rights and privileges guaranteed to Catalonia by Aragón and later by Ferdinand and Isabella at the time of the union in 1649. These were abolished by Philip V. in the eighteenth century.)

5. A Catalán judicial power, with a Supreme Court to have final jurisdiction over all trials and suits of Catalán origin.

6. Official use of the Catalán tongue, and its unrestricted use in all private and public activities.

7. A federated union, Spanish or Iberian, directed by a central power which shall have charge of foreign relations, interstate relations, the army and navy, communications, money, weights and measures, customs, &c.

With this program Catalonia for the first time enlisted strong sympathy in other parts of Spain. Bitter experience has taught the futility of fighting Castile single-handed. Mere Catalan independence has been recognized as too narrow an aim, and by example and propaganda the Home Rulers have stimulated that disintegrating sectionalism—the love for the *patria chica*—to be found among the Basques, the Galicians, and to some extent among the Andalusians.

This program has also won the support of the Liberals. Their position is best stated by Señor Luis Araquistain in his "Spain in the Crucible" (Barcelona, 1921, Page 118):

At the same time that Catalonia demands autonomy, it expresses the desire that other districts also organize themselves in such manner as to promote their economic development, with the double objective of energetically constricting the Spanish State and of paying the way for the political reorganization of the country, perhaps of the Iberian Peninsula, on a federative basis, with Catalonia as the guide and centre. This idea of an Iberian federation, freely concerted, is not foreign to the minds of the leaders of the Catalán movement for autonomy. It is an idea so momentous that it cannot fail to preoccupy the thought of any individual in the Iberian Peninsula who has any historic understanding. Iberia, or the United States of Iberia, would then have four large capitals—four ports of

communication with the world: Lisbon, the Atlantic capital; Barcelona, the Mediterranean capital; Bilbao, the Cantabrian capital; and Cadiz, a capital destined to a great future by its maritime proximity to the future routes between America and the east coast of Africa. If in the independence movement of Catalonia there is any germ of this idea, no Spaniard wise to the future of his country will hesitate to give it his warmest support.

WARNING TO CENTRALISTS

Yet the Catalans hold the possibility of complete separation in abeyant reserve should that federalism prove tardy or impracticable and feudal exactions become too onerous. Absolute separation has been battled for with arms and ideas on many a historic occasion. Through the centuries the advocates of complete separation have spread their propaganda. One notable warning directed to the Centralists has echoed and re-echoed through Spain for twenty years. On the heels of the Spanish-American war, when the country was smarting from the loss of Cuba and the Philippines, and when serious disturbances were occurring in Catalonia, Spain's great Liberal, Pi y Margall, published in *El Nuevo Regimen* Dec. 29, 1900, a clarion call of alarm. The Catalans have never forgotten its stimulating peroration:

Ah, impenitent Centralists! Have you so soon forgotten the errors that resulted in the loss of Cuba? By the same errors you are endangering the integrity of the *patria*. By our Federal system we would guarantee integrity; with your system you are ceaselessly weakening all bonds of union. Every unwarranted attack is a destructive blow against an already crumbling wall. If the day comes that Catalonia rises against Spain, yours, mistake it not, will be the blame!

Then and since, the eyes of Catalonia have been turned toward France. French troops helped the Catalans in the seventh century, and during the recent World War the Catalans were enthusiastically pro-French in contrast to the violent pro-Germanism of Madrid. The leaders of Barcelona's economic life would

prefer a union with industrialized France to the present uncertain chaos.

The root of these difficulties is economic. Beneath an inherited Roman super-state centralism that has precluded all exercise of democracy, Spain has been riveted to intellectual and social backwardness, crushed to a condition of slothful inertia—singularly isolated from all the forward-looking movements of Western Europe. Even the Napoleonic conquest, which plowed up the dead earth of feudalism and exposed it to the sunlight of the new times, could not cut deep into the ecclesiastical power of Spain, or destroy the traditional growth of *poder* that clung to Church, State and law. The upper house is quite nonrepresentative; the elections to the lower house are effectively controlled by illiteracy and *caciquismo*—local bossism. The Government of Spain is feudal and bureaucratic. It is more.

SPAIN'S MEDIEVAL INCUBUS

Madrid is the rallying point for all feudal interests. Hence Madrid is moribund, degenerate, repulsive. The lower class, with a diet one-fourth that of the British worker, is in Madrid more brutalized and servile than in any other part of the country. The middle class, consisting largely of Government clerks and petty officials, apes the decadent vices of the aristocracy. The aristocracy is vile, diseased and vapidly ignorant. Only too clearly has Jacinto Benavente, in his "La Comida de las Férias," with bleak, cynical strokes pictured it as sucking the life-blood of a Spain whose social structure hangs on the precipice of anarchy. Many of the clergy are the nadir of indecency. Degeneracy also pervades every department of Government, so that a terrible ecclesiastical, medieval incubus weighs the back of every individual in Spain.

But around the fringe, the periphery, has grown up a semi-modernized Spain. In the bustling seaports

—Corunna, Bilbao, San Sebastian, Vigo, Cadiz, Valencia, Barcelona—another type of Spaniard is encountered—aggressive, untutored, but not degenerate. The Catalans are the most alert of all; frugal and close-fisted like the French; energetic and purposeful like the Americans. Catalonia is the most vigorous of these outlying areas. Barcelona is the greatest industrial centre and mart of Spain.

Furthermore, the Mediterranean is again the courtesan of the empires. This new Cleopatra offers with herself the newly discovered oil and mineral lands of the Near East and the Caucasus regions, and the control of the Orient. In Italy the *risorgimento* was not checked by the war. The troubled, slate-cliffed Adriatic, reaching a long arm up to the heart of Europe, assumes a new economic importance in the councils of the nations. Today an industrialized Barce-

lona is prepared to dominate the Ligurian Sea and the western end of the Mediterranean. This prosperity the Catalans declare they cannot enjoy as long as they must submit to the exactions of the decadent Government of Castile. Thus feudal and industrial Spain are in open and violent opposition. Industrialized Spain wishes to secede from medieval Spain, to slough off the leadership of the inefficient, parasitical Madrilenan bureaucracy, which has no interest in modern industrial activity and watches Catalan enterprise with sullen suspicion and jealousy when it is not actually fomenting disorder and devising new and irksome restrictions upon industrial expansion.

The proof of the economic character of this split is also to be found in the fact that the supporters of the home-rule movement are restricted to the bourgeoisie and the better middle class. The labor movement of the



BLACK AREA IN THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF SPAIN REPRESENTS THE PROVINCE OF CATALONIA, AND THE SHADED SECTION ADJOINING SHOWS THE REST OF THE REGION WHICH THE CATALAN LEADERS DESIRE TO SET UP AS A SEPARATE STATE

province is bitterly aloof from both contestants. It is anarchistic and syndicalistic. Its weapons are the terror, assassination, sabotage, the general strike; its goal, the world industrial revolution. More than one factory owner, more than one State official, more than one *guardia civil* has been snuffed out by bomb, revolver or knife with the cry flung in the face of the world that "all the blood of the bourgeoisie will not satisfy us for the blood of our slaughtered comrades." The syndicalists, on the other hand, when the Centre does permit them the license to make war on the Catalan manufacturers, are shot down by hundreds, their legal advisers assassinated at their doors, and their leaders deported or flung into the holds of musty frigates to be beaten by the leaded knout and stretched on the iron wheel in queer loyalty to the memory of Torquemada and the honesty of the fantastical cartoons of Goya.

Thus Catalonia is engulfed in a constant tempest of violence, a three-cornered conflict that has blindly de-

generated into terror, riot and assassination. The syndicalists battle with the *patronos*, with the central feudalism, and with the home-rule movement. The bourgeoisie battle against the paralyzing extortion of the Centre, even in the hour that it accepts its aid against the syndicalists. The Central Government battles with syndicalist, Catalan Nationalist, and the light of modern Europe. The Centre knows no remedy except through the time-honored instrument of force; the Catalan bourgeoisie fear any revolution that will undermine the Spanish State, seeing the solution in a war of secession that they shall control; the syndicalists discountenance all government, and with the flame of Russia across the Pyrenees see the only hope in industrial revolution.

Three formless despotisms heaped together on the scales of human aspiration and selfishness! The few sane lovers of democratic processes look impotently on, praying for reason and peaceful, evolutionary processes—ere the wall completely crumble.

FRENCH JUSTICE IN CAMEROON

FRANCE, it has often been said, and with some ground of justice, is not a good colonizing nation, in contrast with Great Britain, which has been declared to be the best colonizing nation in the world. There are evidences, however, that France is seeking to emulate the example of her neighbor across the Channel. One of these evidences is a decree issued on April 13, 1921, the result of which has been only recently published. This decree concerned itself with the organization of justice in Cameroon. Its main novelty consisted in its provisions for the trying of all accused natives—not French citizens—in their own districts, and before tribunals of their own race, presided over by the head official of each district. In this way the natives are to be spared the long absences from their native villages formerly necessitated by a journey to the chief city, often situated at a considerable

distance. The rights of the accused natives are to be guaranteed in various ways and all local customs respected. The various races are to be differentiated and treated accordingly. Any penalty above three years' imprisonment is to be referred to a special tribunal sitting at Douala.

The Paris Temps in its issue of Aug. 17, 1921, stated that reports from Cameroon indicated that excellent results had already been attained from the operation of this new judicial system and that the reforms instituted bade fair to be permanent. So the world progresses and the idealistic doctrine scattered broadcast upon the waters of international polity by the United States declaring that mandates and protectorates should not be devices of arbitrary exploitation, but rather instruments of humane and enlightened administration, is bearing fruit even in what was once the Dark Continent.

ALBANIA'S FIRST YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI
Commissioner of Albania to the United States

Story of the new nation's vicissitudes during and since the Peace Conference—How the Albanians cast off the Italian military yoke and established an independent Government at Tirana—Recently recognized and admitted by the League of Nations

THE month of September, 1921, marked the completion of one year of real independence for Albania. It is quite true that she had been proclaimed independent as far back as 1912, but her autonomy was a theory rather than an actual condition. The fact is that from 1912 to 1920 Albania went through a series of tribulations and crises that were more or less incompatible with the status of national sovereignty.

Prior to the advent to her throne of the Prince of Weid (March 7, 1914), the area of free Albania was less than one-fifth of her actual territorial possessions; under his government, her lot became all the more pitiful, for the Prince soon showed himself to be a mere puppet of Austria and Italy. After his departure from the country, the Governmental authority was usurped by Essad Pasha, the Adventurer, who would have fitted into the darkest moments of the Middle Ages. And then there came the barbaric inroads of the belligerents in the World War. The Peace Conference, finally, went so far in denying the right of the Albanian Nation to independence as to partition her twice in succession, the last time in January, 1920.

When the Albanians heard of this second partition, an overwhelming wave of indignation swept through the population, and inasmuch as Italy herself had agreed to the project of

partition in violation of the most solemn pledges, the wrath of the people was turned against the Italian forces, who occupied Valona. It was then that a national convention met at Lushnja, in defiance of the armed opposition of these troops. The convention formed a new Government and informed the powers that Albania would fight to the last man in order to save the country. In an address to the Italian Parliament and Government, the convention stated emphatically that there was enough blood left in the Albanians' veins to avenge the betrayal. The whole country was in a state of feverish excitement, and bloody encounters between the Italian troops and the natives were taking place every day, duplicating the recent events in Ireland. The Albanian Government, believing that the whole question would be reconsidered by the Peace Conference, had refrained from declaring war; yet this same Government unwittingly precipitated the crisis.

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

It had been left to Italy to determine the extent of the hinterland of Valona, but so far the Italians had left the whole matter in the dark in the hope that some favorable turn would enable them to extend the hinterland as much as possible. Natu-

rally enough, the Albanian Government—which had already won such prestige at home that, even though the country was under the military administration of Italy, the Albanian people ignored this military authority and paid their taxes to their national authorities—had no means of knowing how far the limits on the hinterland went. In the belief that the town of Tepelen, some ninety kilometers south of Valona, was not included in the hinterland, the Government appointed a subprefect for the Province of Tepelen, in compliance with the wishes of her inhabitants. The entry of the subprefect in the town of Tepelen was to be an elaborate State affair organized by the people themselves. He was to enter the city with a troop of Albanian volunteers just arrived from America, who had brought with them their own musical band from Worcester, Mass. Tirana, where the Government was sitting, was far off and without any communications; it could not foresee that such a trivial matter as the appointment of a subprefect to a province that was not supposed to be contested by the Italians would precipitate a war.

The subprefect, the volunteers and the musical band arrived before the town on May 25 without the slightest intimation that the Italians would resist. As soon as the marching volunteers, with the band playing national airs, reached the gates of Tepelen, the forts began belching forth fire from their guns, to the utter confusion of the untrained volunteers. Little by little, however, they recovered their wits and rallied their forces. They cut the Italian communications off from the other military stations, and laid siege to the town. Ten days later the Italian garrison surrendered with arms, guns and ammunition, and everything else they possessed fell into the hands of the Albanian volunteers, who had, in the meantime, been reinforced by the native population. This was the outbreak of the war with Italy. When informed of the occurrence, the

Government of Tirana laid the blame on the Italians, rightly enough, because it was they who had opened fire on the unsuspecting Albanians.

This unexpected initial victory fired with enthusiasm the whole Albanian people. On June 5 various leaders of the Province of Valona held a secret meeting at Mavrova, ten kilometers outside of Valona, and, having been duly prepared for the emergency, sent an ultimatum to the Italian General in command of the forces of occupation, demanding that he evacuate and surrender Valona within twenty-four hours. Obviously, this was a most foolhardy action. The Italian commander prepared the city for defense. On June 6 the Albanians launched a furious attack. They fought with the bravery inspired by despair and by the grim determination to die or succeed. One by one the outer lines of defense fell into the hands of the attackers, who got over the barbed-wire entanglements by stepping on their heavy woolen coats, which they stretched over the wires. A more daring undertaking cannot be conceived. They even penetrated into the town of Valona itself, to be repulsed only by the broadside fire of the Italian warships anchored in the port.

The fighting spread now throughout Albania. At last the Italian Government dispatched Baron Carlo Alotti to Albania to open peace negotiations, but after many days of diplomatic bickering on the one hand and successful fighting on the other he was recalled because of his intriguing actions. Count Enrico Manzoni succeeded him, and the protocol suspending hostilities and providing for the withdrawal of the Italian troops from Albania, including Valona, was signed at Tirana on the second day of August, 1920.

The conflict thus came to an end. The Italians evacuated the territories they held, and Valona was surrendered on Sept. 27 to the newly appointed Albanian Governor, Kiazim Koculi, Commander-in-Chief of the forces operating in the sector of

Valona; to his indomitable courage and ability Valona largely owes her freedom. The dream had become a reality. By the protocol of Tirana the provisions of the Secret Treaty of London, partitioning Albania, were annulled. The mandate was thrown overboard, and Italy recognized the sovereignty of Albania. In the meantime, while the conflict with the Italians was raging, another happy turn of affairs had brought about the retirement of the French troops from the Albanian territories they had been holding, and in less than nine months from the time when the powers decreed her partition, Albania found herself independent and united, instead.

WINNING RECOGNITION

Albania's triumph made a profound impression on the outside world, and the project of partition dropped out of sight. Yet insidious rumors were still spread broadcast by Albania's enemies, intimating that the people were not mature for independence; that they did not possess enough national consciousness to keep them together; that they lacked able leadership to guide them through the crises that beset the life of a nation. Even after the accomplished fact and the voluntary grouping of the people around their Government, there still lingered this hostile expectation. For that reason the powers relegated the Albanian question to the background; for a time they even appeared to have forgotten it altogether. The Supreme Council, the Ambassadorial Conference, the Premiers' Conferences met here and there from time to time; but Albania did not enter their discussions. In spite of the repeated efforts of the Albanian Government to secure recognition, the powers showed themselves non-committal in their attitude.

There was a flurry of excitement when Albania asked for admission to the League of Nations last December. The Assembly of the League referred

the request to the Committee on Admission of New Members, and the majority of the committee reported against it. Lord Robert Cecil of the minority reserved, however, the right to reopen the question in the Assembly. And then the unexpected happened. Thanks to Lord Robert's eloquent speech, which was seconded by the effective oratory of M. Rene Viviani and other delegates, especially of Mr. Fischer of Canada, Albania was admitted to full membership in the League of Nations by the unanimous vote of the Assembly. It is worthy of record that the delegate of India, Imam Ali, a Moslem, advocated the admission of Albania on the ground that she is the only country where the Cross and the Crescent live peacefully together—an allusion to the fraternal relations of the Christians and Mohammedans there. It was a dramatic session indeed, that of Dec. 17, 1920, all the more so because the Supreme Council had warned the League against the admission of Albania on the ground that she had not been recognized by the powers. Her admission by the League was the first diplomatic recognition of her efforts for independence.

THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES

During the discussions in the Assembly of the League it came out that the main objection was based on the fact that Albania's frontiers had not been determined. This question was a complicated one. The Secret Treaty of London had assigned to Serbia the province of Scutari and to Greece the provinces of Koritza and Arghyrocastro, as a compensation for Italy's occupation of Valona (with the undetermined hinterland), and for the Italian mandate. By the agreement of Tirana, however, Italy renounced all claims on Albania, both as to the mandate and the territorial possessions. Clearly, then, Serbia and Greece could not claim the northern and southern provinces, respectively,

on the basis of that treaty. But it is difficult for any Government to give up claims that have been somehow recognized as valid, even though the basis on which they rested no longer exists. Serbia and Greece, therefore, found a new basis for their claims. Serbia demands the province of Scutari on historical, strategical and commercial grounds. Greece, on the other hand, lays stress on the theory that the provinces of Koritza and Arghyrocastro are inhabited by members of the Greek Orthodox Church, who allegedly wished to unite with their coreligionists in the Kingdom of Constantine. That theory, if accepted, would make the author of this article a Greek, for he is a native of Koritza, and his family belong to the Greek Orthodox Church.

Albania, Serbia and Greece all presented their case before the League of Nations, which found itself unable to reach a decision. These questions have perplexed the powers greatly. I am officially informed that they have at last agreed to recognize the Albanian frontiers of 1913, as laid down by the Ambassadorial Conference of that year, which convened for the purpose of averting a European conflagration that would have been precipitated by the unsettled Albanian question. This agreement specifically provides that the province of Scutari, claimed by the Serbs, and those of Koritza and Arghyrocastro, claimed by Greece, shall be definitely assigned to Albania. Unfortunately, the agreement leaves unsettled the question as to what shall become of the 1,500,000 Albanians that are left outside of the established frontiers of 1913; those frontiers bar out the province of Chamëria, held by Greece, and the still greater provinces of Kossovo and Dibra, now occupied and terrorized by the Serbians. The inhabitants of these provinces, who desire union with their mother-country, Albania, are petitioning the League of Nations to take care of them; their fate seems to stretch into an anxious future.

What was the motive of the powers in finally interesting themselves in Albania by agreeing on her frontiers? The fact is that the powers have convinced themselves that the fears referred to above are baseless. The Albanian people did not disintegrate nor did the Albanian Government collapse. On the contrary, it has been proved that the people and Government of Albania have evidenced the strongest proofs of national cohesion and loyalty.

My personal observations in Albania may be summarized as follows: In the first place, the Government has established its authority. Never before in all her thirty centuries of existence has Albania enjoyed so much order and tranquillity as at the present time, with the possible exception of the period of the Pax Romana, when Albania was a proud self-governing province of the Roman Empire, to which she contributed six Emperors, eminent among whom were Constantine the Great and Diocletian the Organizer. The habit of bearing arms and the addiction to feuds have completely disappeared. One's life is safer today in Albania, whether in a crowded town or on a lonely highway, than in any other country in the Balkans. Rapine, murders, hold-ups, are things of the past. In the second place, the Government is so secure in its support of the great majority of the people that it is not hesitating to use the rod for its recalcitrant children, spoiled by generations of misrule and favoritism. The province of Mirdita, to mention one case, thought of getting off scot free of taxes, as it did under the Turkish Government. Mirdita was subdued in less than one night. In the third place, the Government has now at its disposal regular armed forces that are in control of every district. Even the latest foreign conquerors did not attempt to extend their control so far.

The foundations of the present Government were laid down by the Convention of Lushnja, to which I

referred above. It was decided at that time that the governmental authority should be lodged in three distinct but correlative bodies. First in rank comes the Regency Council—composed of two Christians and two Moslems—which takes the place of the Chief Executive; its authority is not very wide. The second body is the Council of Ministers, or Cabinet, composed of the departmental heads of the Government; it is responsible to all intents and purposes to the third body, the Parliament. The Parliament consists of seventy-two members, forming one chamber and elected by the people. The Cabinet is in reality the body that wields the executive power, subject, of course, to the dictates of Parliament and to the exigencies of the party system. There are two well-defined parties, the Progressive and the Popular, with a third group of shifty Independents; but it may be safely said that the parties will have to undergo a new alignment in the very near future. The present Cabinet is headed by the former Premier, Ilias Vrioni, a descendant of one of the oldest families of Albania; it is a coalition Ministry, the two chief parties being almost equal in numerical strength.

As to the future form of government, there are two or three plans in the air: but if the question were put to the people, say in the form of a plebiscite, the verdict would be in favor of a limited constitutional monarchy headed by a Prince who is not a national of any Power having interests in Albania. The reason for such a regime is obvious. The country is surrounded by older States that cling

still to the monarchical system, such a system being the tradition as well as the practice of the Balkan States. Consequently, an Albanian Republic would be the constant object of insidious intrigues on the part of the more powerful monarchical neighbors. Aside from that, there are some other reasons just as important.

A word now about the economic and financial outlook of Albania. Those who hoped that her standing as a separate nation might be jeopardized by her apparent poverty have ample reason at present to be disillusioned. Albania is the only country without any national debt, and the only one that stands on a gold basis. Every business deal is transacted in gold, from those of the public treasury to those in the humblest hamlet. The people have settled down, and prosperity has set in. The long-deserted fields are being carefully cultivated. Furthermore, the country is very rich in all kinds of mineral resources. Oil is plentiful, and the Anglo-Persian Company's agents are at Tirana endeavoring to get control of the oil fields. Another British firm has obtained the tobacco concession. Yet, Albania is still waiting for American capital to develop her resources. She needs railroads, wharves, docks, piers, warehouses, to render feasible the exploitation of her coal, iron, copper and other kinds of mines. Now that order is prevailing throughout the country and the Government is strong enough to assure liberty, safety of property and the pursuit of happiness, proper means are needed to provide for inner reconstruction.

AFGHANISTAN AT THE CROSS-ROADS

BY CLAIR PRICE

Semi-independent State on the northwest frontier of India, long a bone of contention between Russia and Great Britain, is free of both for the moment—Its next moves important for the Middle East

FEW countries in the world are at once as generally unknown and as politically important as is Afghanistan today. Little heed has been paid of late—indeed, little American heed has ever been paid—to this wild, mountainous country of the northwest frontier of India; but yesterday it occasioned the hurried signature of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement in London, and today, by reason of the Greco-Turkish War, it constitutes an increasing embarrassment to the British Government of India. Near and Middle Eastern affairs, with their seemingly endless ramifications, are not easy to understand, but an understanding of the entirely new situation which obtains in Afghanistan as a result of the war may shed a deal of light into these dark areas of world politics. For the history of the Near and Middle East during the next few years now pivots largely upon Afghanistan.

Before the war Afghanistan was a political appendage to the Government of India, Russia having abandoned it to the British in the famous Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907; but the new Russian Government abrogated the 1907 Treaty in 1918, and with London's concurrence in Moscow's abrogation Afghanistan automatically became "officially free and independent, both internally and externally." And on Feb. 28, 1921, the newly independent Afghan Government signed a Russo-Afghan Treaty

at Moscow providing for a Russian subsidy for its Amir, for five Russian Consulates within its frontiers, and for a number of other arrangements to Russia's advantage, of such a startling nature as before the war would have brought any dead Viceroy of India up from his grave at once. The result was that the British Government hurriedly executed an about-face in its attitude toward the Russian Trade Delegation in London, and on March 16 Sir Robert Horne finally affixed his signature to the long pending Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, at the same time handing to Mr. Krassin a peremptory note from Lord Curzon demanding the immediate discontinuance of Russian propaganda in Afghanistan.

Having put an end to the Russo-Afghan Treaty, the Government of India now sought to elaborate an Anglo-Afghan Treaty in succession to the old arrangements with Afghanistan which had been automatically brought to an end by the abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907. Accordingly, Sir Henry Dobbs, C. I. E., was dispatched to the Afghan capital of Kabul last Spring with a suitable mission to conduct negotiations with the Amir. But events elsewhere have thus far frustrated the efforts of the Dobbs Mission, and up to the middle of August its negotiations were still hanging fire, while all the fierce nationalism of Afghanistan was concentrated on the maintenance of its new independence.

These "events elsewhere" take in the entire Near and Middle East in their scope, and a brief survey of them may prove illuminating.

The various tribes which make up Afghanistan's 5,000,000 population are overwhelmingly Moslem, and are of the Sunni sect of Islam, which may be roughly likened to the Catholics of Christianity, just as the smaller Shi'ah sect may be called the Protestants of Islam. The Moslems of Bokhara and Khiva to the north of Afghanistan are likewise of the Sunni sect, and the 60,000,000 Moslems of India to the south are also Sunnis; indeed, the Moslems of India are the great driving force of Islam today. To the west of Afghanistan, the Moslems of Persia are Shi'ahs and are not the sturdy fighters their Sunni brethren are; doubtless the Afghans could overrun Persia if they cared to. Further to the west the Turks and Arabs alike are Sunnis, and both are strong fighting

forces, but at present are quite alienated from each other by the long Arab revolt against Turkish rule. The Turks, the Tartars of the Caucasus and Turkestan, the Afghans and the great Moslem community of India, then, are all of the Sunni sect, whose Caliph is the Turkish Sultan and whose sacred law provides that the Caliph shall be an independent sovereign wielding an effective guardianship over the great Moslem holy places at Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.

The war, however, has made the Turkish Caliph virtually a prisoner of the British in Constantinople, and has taken Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem away from him, Mecca and Medina now being held by the independent King of the Hedjaz, who is subsidized by the British, and Jerusalem being held by the British themselves. This new state of affairs has been bitterly resented by all of Sunni Islam (except the

Arabs) as a destruction of its most sacred institutions, and as a result Afghanistan has been greatly inflamed against the British Government of India. The Afghan Mission which negotiated the Russo-Afghan treaty in Moscow—a Mission headed by the same Mohammed Vali Khan who recently visited Washington—had no sooner affixed its signatures to that treaty than it hastened to Angora in Turkey and last April signed a Turco-Afghan treaty of close alliance against "any alien imperialism," which presumably means the British Empire. Of this treaty only an official summary has been given out, and the essential point in the text of that summary is a recognition of the Turkish Caliphate on the part of Afghanistan.

In the meantime the Amir of Afghanistan had received



MAP OF AFGHANISTAN SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THAT MUCH-DISPUTED COUNTRY IN RELATION TO INDIA, PERSIA AND RUSSIA

at Kabul Djemal Pasha, who, with Enver Pasha and the late Talaat Pasha, was one of Turkey's ruling triumvirate during the war, and had made him Minister of War in the Afghan Cabinet. Djemal Pasha had founded an Afghan Military College at Kabul and had imported forty Turkish officers from Angora to whip the Afghan regular army into shape. The Government of India's plan to extend its military railway from Jamrud up through the famous Khyber Pass to the Afghan frontier posts was interpreted at Kabul as a menace to Afghanistan's new independence, and its announcement was followed by the erection of hill redoubts overlooking the Afghan end of the Khyber and the training of Afghan mountain batteries to man them. This brought a new unrest into the tribes along the northwest frontier of India, the control of which has long been one of the Government of India's most difficult tasks.

Into this situation along the northwest frontier news of the recent Greek advances into Asia Minor has brought further unrest, and the farther the Greeks advanced (with British aid, Islam believes) the more

turbulent the northwest frontier became. This has continued until today Afghanistan is talking openly of invading India, and Mr. Gandhi, the great Hindu leader of India's peaceful boycott of the British, has been compelled to use all his influence with his explosive Moslem minority to prevent the use of the Afghan army against the British in India and to keep the boycott in the ways of peace.

Meanwhile Afghanistan has been making use of its independence to put its own house in order, and the Amir on June 18 last proclaimed his first Code of Criminal Law, a move which constitutes Afghanistan's first step toward constitutional Government. Should it continue to adjust itself to the march of Western civilization, Afghanistan should yet prove to be one of the strongest of the smaller States in Asia. Before the war it was locked in the vise-like grip of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, but today its opportunity to work out its own destinies has come. And for the next few years the history of the great tangled area between the Bosphorus and Bengal Bay will pivot largely upon the uses that Afghanistan makes of this new opportunity.

PERSIA'S TRADE ASPIRATIONS

THE Persian Minister to the United States, Sadigh es Saltaneh, shortly before his recent transfer from Washington to Madrid, delivered before the American Manufacturers' Association an address in which he outlined the trade policy and aims of the new Persian Government. The principal exports of Persia, he explained, are carpets, shawls and other products of cotton, wool and silk; in return she desires various American manufactures, especially cottons, hardware, machinery and other things of iron and steel. "Persia," he continued, "has an area three times larger than France, yet most of the land remains

untilled. Our extensive forests in the north and west are scarcely touched. Our mines are still virgin. Our vast water power, one of the richest sources of energy, has only begun to be developed. What we need is the assistance of capital, and we will gladly welcome the enterprise of business men and the help of competent financiers. * * * We have always been in favor of the open door, and are keenly desirous of improving and establishing direct commercial relations—unalloyed by political ambitions—with all the nations of the world, and especially with wealthy, energetic and capable America."

SUICIDE A LA MODE IN JAPAN

BY NANCY VIRGINIA AUSTEN
Who has lived twelve years in Japan

*An interesting account of the amazing fashion of suicide in Japan, the strange forms and places chosen for the act, and the wide difference between Oriental and Occidental ideas of death—
What one devoted Japanese woman is doing to change the fashion*

IN Japan the rule of doing things the opposite way to ours holds in suicide as in all things else. The Occidental punishes an enemy by stabbing him to death. A Japanese stabs himself, often killing himself at his enemy's gate for revenge. He kills himself as a protest against an injury he has suffered. He kills himself to emphasize some utterance. He kills himself to reform his superior. He kills himself to apologize for some mistake. Sometimes, in the Occident, men threaten the life of an employer in order to secure their demands. In the topsy-turvy East they threaten to take their own lives in order to bring things around their way. In our land jealous husbands or wives have been known to kill an offender. In Japan the lovers take their own lives that they may be united in the future existence. This form of double suicide is called "shinju" (love suicide).

In the Island Empire across the Pacific everything is done according to ancient rules—rules which even would-be suicides may not ignore. If a man has insulted another or caused grave injury through some stupid blunder, suicide, according to the ancient customs, is the only proper course for him; and he would "queer himself," "lose face," as we say over there, were he to neglect its observance. On the other hand, if one

wishes to make amends for some carelessness or wrong deed, one may claim the privilege of suicide.

"Hara-kiri" as a method of suicide has been in vogue since antiquity. Although the word hara-kiri may have a sound of mysterious dignity in Western ears, the meaning is very prosaic when translated into English. The literal meaning is "belly cutting." The Japanese have a fashion of using Chinese words to express rude or unpleasant things, in the same way that we use Latin and French words, so they usually refer to hara-kiri by the high-sounding Chinese name, "seppuku," as we use the word abdomen instead of the plain Anglo-Saxon word. The act consists in drawing a sharp dirk across the abdomen. In the days when hara-kiri enjoyed an official status, the head was severed immediately afterward by a friend, or, in case of political offenders, by an official.

ORIGIN OF "HARA-KIRI"

In tracing this custom of hara-kiri back to its source, we find that it gained its greatest popularity in the old days when Japan was torn by rebellions and counter-rebellions. Each territorial chief, or daimyo, entrenched himself with his retainers against invasion from a neighboring

daimyo. First one, then the other was successful. The victor always tried to insure the safety of his reign by beheading those who had fought against him, and in order to make the death of these political rivals less distasteful, the custom of *hara-kiri* was called into use.

Solemn ceremonies were devised to give a show of dignity to the condemned warriors, or Samurai, as they were called. The rules governing *hara-kiri* were both elaborate and exact, everything being done according to rigid form. Nothing new was added; nothing old was omitted. The place for the performance was prepared in the same strict way. Those of the highest rank were permitted to perform *hara-kiri* in the house; all others must use the garden. But whether the ceremony took place in the house or in the garden, it was governed by the same fixed rules. Each implement was used according to the set regulations; every step taken was according to the proper rules. The man to sever the head, the one to hand the sword to the principal, each actor in the scene was there in the proper place, according to the approved rules of *hara-kiri*.

A Japanese learns from childhood up to respect *hara-kiri*. He learns it at school in his history and ethics lessons. He learns it at home from his parents. He learns it on the streets from wandering story tellers. He learns it from the praise of *hara-kiri* which he reads in the newspapers and books. He learns it in the temples where he goes to worship Japanese heroes, some of whom have been deified because they avenged their lords through *hara-kiri*. Suicide by this method is looked upon as an honorable way to avenge one's self, to denounce an enemy, to apologize for a wrong done, or to escape difficulties in general. It is merely one way of starting out upon the long journey to the next existence. A Japanese looks upon this life as one form of his many existences; the next may be better or

worse than this one. If he deserves it, he may be reborn in a much happier sphere; or if unworthy in this life, his spirit may have an unfortunate habitation in the next.

In Japan there are few lives of ease and perfect happiness. Living means struggle and sacrifice for the big majority of the common people, especially for the women, whom we have come to consider the happiest people on earth because they smile under every circumstance. Since living in Japan I have learned that a smile often covers the saddest heart. The doctrine of keeping one's troubles in the background is worthy of emulation, but when carried to the extreme, as in Japan, it causes others to say as we do of the Japanese, "They are never unhappy."

In the thickly populated little kingdom of Nippon a human life is not considered of such importance that one less is taken as sufficient cause for extensive comment in the newspapers or anywhere else. And since 1869, when a motion was introduced into the Japanese Diet to abolish *hara-kiri*, it has held its place against the new Western fashions creeping into the Japanese life. For at that time only three voted for the motion; two hundred voted against it and six did not vote; thus was it settled that *hara-kiri* was a Japanese institution reflecting great glory upon the country; that it was a custom both desirable and indispensable; that it was one of the distinctly Japanese customs not to be uprooted. So it has remained. While it does not have the same official place that it had in the days of feudalism, still it exists as a voluntary means of redress, of sacrifice, or of escape from the worries of the world.

TYPICAL INSTANCES

I remember an occasion a few years ago when a stationmaster of the Government railway committed *hara-kiri* because the Emperor's special train was delayed a few minutes by

a misunderstanding on the part of an official. There had been no accident. There had been no injury—except to the stationmaster's pride. However, the stationmaster thought the only suitable apology he could make for the slight delay to the imperial train would be to perform hara-kiri; so he did. And as far as I could discover there was not a Japanese who disagreed with that view.

Last January a Japanese sentry while on police duty in Vladivostok shot Lieutenant Warren Langdon of the United States cruiser Albany. The sentry was absolved from blame, as it was discovered that his superior officer had not been explicit in giving directions. It was reported that the superior officer had committed suicide—which would in truth have been according to Japanese etiquette. But, so far as I know, that rumor has not been confirmed. The latest news is that the sentry has taken upon his own sword the duty of making apology in the usual way. Knightly sentiments are not confined to the Samurai, but often dwell in the hearts of the lowliest. To those who know Japan, it would seem quite in keeping for one of the humblest subjects in the empire of the Sun Goddess to make atonement by the honored custom of hara-kiri.

The case of General Count Nogi and Countess Nogi, who committed hara-kiri at the time of the death of the Emperor, Meiji, in 1912, attracted world-wide attention at that time. The General could not bear to see his Emperor go to the next life with no attendant; so he made preparations and, quietly, accompanied by his faithful wife, went to his Emperor's side. The act was hailed as most beautiful and fitting. Through the breadth of the land the memory of the faithful couple is held in a reverence but little short of worship. After the passing of a few generations General Nogi's name will doubtless be numbered among the thousands of deities worshipped in Japan.

PRECEDENT AND LEGEND

The national story of the forty-seven Ronin still exercises a powerful influence upon the people of Japan. In 1701 Asano, Lord of Ako, having been insulted by a nobleman named Kira, quarreled with him in the palace court. As a private quarrel inside the precincts of the palace was a crime punishable by death, Asano was ordered to perform hara-kiri. His family was disgraced and his clan ordered to scatter. His retainers, forty-seven in number, pledged themselves to live for the sole aim of avenging their master. They waited vigilantly two years for the completion of their plans. When all was ready they entered Kira's mansion and ordered him to perform hara-kiri. Coward that he was, he refused to take the sword, so they cut his head off. They carried his head in a solemn procession across Tokio to the grave of Asano. Placing the head before the tomb of their master, they declared their vow fulfilled. That evening the forty-seven committed hara-kiri; they were buried by the side of Asano.

The plot of ground containing the graves of Asano and his forty-seven faithful retainers is a popular resort for pilgrims, who throng to the temple to worship the devoted heroes. Many times have I taken visitors to the tombs of the forty-seven Ronin on the edge of Tokio, but I have yet to see the time when the simple grave-stones had no burning incense, or no pilgrims bowing a mute tribute to "faithfulness," the virtue most exalted in Japan. The deed of these forty-seven men is one of the most popular subjects for songs, stories and plays. A theatre is always full when the play is the story of the forty-seven Ronin.

In Japan one often sees a venerable old tree enclosed by a bamboo fence and having a straw rope tied around its gnarled trunk. Such trees are sacred and are worshipped for one

reason or another. The following story shows how the worship of a fine old tree in Southern Japan originated: One day long ago a man committed suicide by hanging himself from a sturdy limb of this tree. Soon after that another man did the same thing; then another and another, until that tree became a favorite place for committing suicide. Suicide then, as now, was nothing unusual, but there was an inquiry into the reason why that one tree was the instrument selected by so many. So the sage old men of the village decided that evil spirits dwelt in the tree and lured men on to take their lives. Therefore, a meeting of all the men of the village was called to decide on some means of defense against the evil spirits.

The old men held the belief that offerings should be made to the tree spirits to placate their wrath and to gain their favor. The young men said the wiser plan would be to cut the tree down and burn it. At this suggestion the older men held up their hands in horror. "Such a course would bring calamity on the whole village," they gasped. The young men, less superstitious and less faithful to the gods, held firmly to their decision, and, perhaps because they were more numerous, carried the day.

Preparations were made to destroy the tree. But here a difficulty developed—no one could be found willing to cut the tree. Though the young men were brave enough to laugh at the evil spirits, yet when it came to taking an axe in hand and actually cutting the tree, each was loath to take upon himself the honor. Finally two of the most daring stepped out with axes and struck two resounding blows. O horror! no sooner had the axes touched the tree—so the legend goes—than blood gushed forth! The two daring young men dropped their axes and fled in terror. The whole assemblage dropped to their knees and besought the spirits to spare their lives. Ever afterward the vil-

lagers were faithful in placing their offerings before the sacred tree.

FASHIONS IN SUICIDE

This story illustrates the fact that there are fashions in Japanese suicide as in everything else. The saying that "misery loves company" holds true in Japan, even if the English proverb is unknown. When a Japanese has reached the state of despondency or some other emotion which urges suicide, he usually seeks a spot where others have taken the same step.

A few years ago the wheel of fashion in its turning rested upon the high portico of a temple in Kyoto, a temple dedicated to the goddess of mercy. This temple, called Kiyomizudera, is built upon high piles on the side of a hill, in a most beautiful setting. Cherry, maple, plum and evergreen trees almost hide it. From its portico one can see the valley below with its restless masses. The railing is very low, and it is quite easy just to step over—and know the ills of life no more.

But the wheel of fashion never remains long in one position, and in this case it shifted popularity from Kiyomizudera to the crater of the active volcano, Mt. Asama. You may be sure it takes grim determination to climb to the top of the long slope of the rumbling, smoking Asama Yama, and then to jump into its sulphurous, fiery depths. But a Japanese would not let a thing like that stand in his way once his mind is made up; so many a weary soul toiled up the ash-covered side of Mt. Asama with suicide as the only reward in view—until the considerate fashion wheel took another turn. This time it led to a more accessible place—a lake near Kobe. The authorities took a hand there; soon they had the lake drained and the would-be suicides had to seek another refuge.

This time they did not go far in their search; Suma, a beautiful suburb of Kobe, became the favorite place for this strange fad. The mag-

nificent ocean, rolling in, splashed with rainbow colors; green-clad cliffs rearing their heads far above the beating waves; giant pines throwing out their arms in a spirit of protection—these make Suma a welcome spot to the living and to the spirits of those who have lived. For awhile suicide was almost a daily occurrence at Suma.

Then fickle fashion turned and favored the north. Chuzenji is a beautiful mountain lake near the temple city Nikko-Nikko, which the Japanese say one must see before one can say "beautiful." Lake Chuzenji drains itself in a single outlet which pours over a high perpendicular cliff in an exquisitely beautiful waterfall named Kegon, falling in one magnificent sheet for 250 feet. The spray leaps up like billowy clouds of the softest chiffon. Is it any wonder that the romantic Japanese saw a fitting end to life in Kegon's whirling spray? So many of them leaped over the cliff into Kegon that the Government set a police guard at the top of the alluring falls, and thus stopped suicide there.

Since the beauty spots of their land seemed denied them, the would-be suicides turned to the prosaic trains as a last resort. The despondent one would station himself at a sharp curve in the railway track and jump in front of an express train as it flashed around the curve. Before the engineer could stop the train all would be over for one earthly life.

A sharp curve near Kobe became the scene of so many suicides that last year Mrs. Jo, a Christian woman of Kobe, devised a plan for helping her discouraged countrymen who sought an untimely end for life. She erected a huge sign at the spot which had become the one favored for the death jump. In arriving at the short curve, one is startled by the words of this immense sign, standing out in bold, black characters: "Stop a minute! If you feel that you must take your life, go to see Mrs. Jo at the

Woman's Welfare Association." Strong electric lights make the sign plainly visible at night.

A dramatic, imaginative Japanese, confronted suddenly by this spectacular sign, pauses and sits down on a stone to think things over. "Could this Mrs. Jo have any possible help for me?" he asks himself. Then with a sheepish glance at the railway track, as if to plead its silence, he turns and wanders thoughtfully to Mrs. Jo's address given on the sign. Mrs. Jo probably persuades him that he can do his duty a while longer by living. He has no fear of death, which to him is merely passing from one state of existence to another; but why pass on to the next if he can hold on to the present a little longer! If the little woman can give him a new reason for continuing the life struggle he bows low to her, touching his head to the floor, it may be, in his appreciation of her interest, and then marches out to face the world once more, victory already half won by his jaunty air of self-assurance as he takes up again the grimmest thing in Japan—life.

The newspapers gave Mrs. Jo's plan wide publicity; and in less than six months' time 160 Japanese have been saved from suicide by reading that sign. This unassuming woman has become the mother confessor for all Japan. Women discouraged and tempted to end life write to her for advice; she has helped hundreds by such letters. Word has spread that there is a woman in Kobe who can bring hope out of the darkest situation; that she can solve any problem of life, no matter how complex or impossible it may seem. And no one knows how far-reaching her work may yet become. She may yet be able to make the Japanese see that it is more glorious to live for a cause than to die for it; that suicide as an apology or as an escape from trials shows weakness, not strength. Less things than her faith have more than once changed the course of human events.

CHINA, CAPTIVE OR FREE?

[An Analysis of Gilbert Reid's Latest Work]

BY JESSE WILLIS JEFFERIS

How China's aid of the Allies in the World War has resulted in her betrayal into the grip of Japan—Internal chaos fostered by Japan to keep a vast empire in subjection—A worse oppressor than Germany

THE fact that America has refused to be bound by treaty agreements relating to the award of Shantung to Japan—a vital subject of controversy to be discussed at the Disarmament Conference—renders Gilbert Reid's "China, Captive or Free?" especially timely. This notable contribution to the literature bearing on Far Eastern questions, just issued from the press of Dodd, Mead & Co., is the most complete discussion of China's foreign entanglements and the attempts at her enslavement which has yet been published. The volume might well be used as a handbook by the representatives of the great powers at the Disarmament Conference in November, for it "divulges acts hitherto kept secret and brings more clearly to light many facts which bear on a correct understanding of the East and of the West."

That Great Britain and America are chiefly responsible for China's entrance into the war—a step which has resulted in enabling Japan to secure a stranglehold on the "Flowery Kingdom"—is the conclusion which Dr. Reid has reached and substantiated by his revelation of diplomatic dealings that are decidedly dubious and utterly unjustifiable.

The author holds that no amount of persuasion on the part of the Allies could have induced China to enter the war, as she had no more grudge against the Central Powers than that which she felt toward other imperial-

istic Governments. Trustfully she obeyed the behest of her traditional friend, America, upon whom she depended and still depends to rescue her from the encroachments of her exploiters. Little did China dream that, as a consequence of her entrance into the war, the nation would be torn by warring factions and rival capitals would be established at Peking and at Canton—the former representing militarism and autocracy; the latter the home of liberalism and democracy.

As director of the International Institute of China, Gilbert Reid has held a position unique among those who have recorded their impressions of the most densely populated and perhaps most fascinating country in the world. The object of this institute is to promote friendship and harmony in the relations between China and other countries, and also between adherents of different religions. This has enabled him to secure a comprehensive survey of China's activities. American readers are already familiar with his "Glances at China," published in 1890, and "Sources of Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China," 1893. He has also produced six books in Chinese, an achievement which demands an intimacy with the life and language of the Mongolian race both comprehensive and profound.

Even the casual reader of "China, Captive or Free?" must confess that the author is a man uncompromising-

ly true to his convictions. "Out of love for China," he writes, "I was made to suffer, not only for China, but with China; undergoing some tragic, amusing and puerile persecutions from the great diplomats of four legations—British, French, Japanese and even American—while the United States Constitution and the Sermon on the Mount both slumbered and slept. The contact of European civilization with the peoples of Asia, Africa and the American continents makes sad reading for the man of justice. As to the country of China, with a long record of civilization, statecraft, philosophy, art and religion, the question arises, Has China been blessed or cursed by Western civilization?"

Great Britain's recent attempt to gain control of South China's coal supply is exceeded, according to Dr. Reid, in shameless effrontery and greed only by Japan's daily tightening death-grip on the province of Shantung. The author contends that what Germany had in Shantung was certain "rights" which were granted to her by China and by China alone. These rights, moreover, were determined by a treaty drawn between the two Governments of China and Germany, and by the action of no other Government. According to the terms of the grant, the rights acquired by Germany were unassignable and non-transferable.

Gilbert Reid is convinced that there was no excuse whatever for extending the war to the Far East, as the German fleet had sailed from Tsing-tao, leaving only a handful of troops which were in no sense a menace to China or to any of the Allies. The calamities which the war has brought upon China, and the spoils which Japan has thereby appropriated, are the principal factors which now threaten the peace of the world, and have rendered necessary the calling of the Disarmament Conference. According to Marquis Okuma, the war afforded Japan "the one opportunity of ten thousand years."

Especially significant is the author's contention that Japan entered the war only upon the earnest request of her ally, Great Britain. In a speech before the Diet, Baron Kato, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "The British Government has asked the Imperial Government of Japan for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. We could not but comply to the request to do our part. The Japanese Government, therefore, resolved to open hostilities against Germany." In a truly technical sense, Japan was the only ally which Great Britain had. The relations of Great Britain to France and Russia were those of an entente cordiale.

CHINA COERCED BY JAPAN.

Japan occupied Shantung and thus held a dagger over the heart of the Chinese Nation. The Japanese Minister in Peking, only two short months later, presented to President Yuan Shih-kai an official document now notorious as "The Twenty-one Demands," which are almost a duplicate of the demand made on the Emperor of Korea prior to the absorption of that country by Japan. In order to put this deal through without molestation on the part of other Governments, the Japanese Minister insisted upon absolute secrecy. These demands confirmed Japan's claim to German rights in Shantung, enlarged and prolonged the Japanese hold on rights acquired in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, sought control of China's greatest industrial enterprise, the Hanyehping Company, with a share in the product of mines; set forth the obligation on the part of China to lease no more harbors or islands on the Chinese coast, except to Japan; insisted on special railway concessions in the Yangtse Valley and on recognition of Japan's priority in Fukien Province, and gave Japan a degree of authority over the internal and political affairs of China, undermining her sovereignty.

The United States Government immediately challenged this piece of diplomatic effrontery by dispatching an identical note to both China and Japan, refusing to recognize any agreement which had been entered into, or which might, in the future, be entered into, between the Governments of Japan and China, impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the "Open Door," a stand recently reiterated by Secretary of State Hughes.

China naturally supposed that her entrance into the war would afford her the chance, not only of terminating her treaties with Germany, but also of nullifying her agreements with Japan. She did not know that the European allies were at the same time conniving with Japan, *unknown to China or to the United States*, that what China hoped to get from her foreign exploiters would all pass to Japan, her most pestiferous neighbor, who, according to the Lansing-Ishii note, was granted special rights in China on account of propinquity.

Apologists find a reasonable explanation for Japan's conduct in the fact that the Japanese people have been Christianized for a period of only sixty years, while Europe has received Christian teaching for 2,000 years. As evidence of the very thin veneer of Christianity which covers the diplomatic relations of such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, it is interesting to note that only two years after Japan had pressed her twenty-one demands the British Government presented twelve demands, evidently fearing that in the scramble she would lose some available spoils, which would be wholly contrary to her traditional foreign policy. Great Britain secured from prostrate China the right to construct railways between India and Tibet, the privilege of making loans, thus mortgaging Chinese re-

sources; the use of British experts for industrial enterprises, the establishment of telegraph lines and postal service, and, most modest of all, a demand that *China shall not interfere with the actions of the British Government in Tibet*.

In no regard did China's entrance into the war so seriously affect her welfare as in the resulting reign of military autocracy and the almost complete overthrow of her democratic system of government. Never under the Chinese, Manchu or Mongol monarchies, where the literati ruled, was there anything like the militarism which was ushered in upon China's entrance into the war, and which has been perpetuated by the Tutchuns or Military Governors of the provinces, with the result that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President of the Republic of South China, and most of the Chinese liberals have seceded from the Peking Government and are now bravely fighting the battle for democracy against an apparently hostile world. Unless these liberals are represented at the Disarmament Conference, the author believes, it will be far better for President Harding to call it off and continue to wink at the autocratic-militaristic Government in Peking, and also at the imperialism of both Great Britain and Japan.

JAPAN WORSE THAN GERMANY

China's need has been Japan's opportunity. For a paltry \$15,000,000 China signed away a lien on all her forests in the two northern provinces of Heilungkiang and Kirin, about equal in extent to the combined area of all the States of America along the Atlantic seaboard. To secure funds China has also been compelled to mortgage railway lines, gold, coal, antimony and iron mines. She has even mortgaged the Government Printing Office at Peking and the Hankow electric light and water works.

According to Professor John Dewey, who has recently toured Shantung Province, the Chinese would be

much happier with the Germans in control than they are at present on account of the indignities which they suffer from Japanese officials, who are extending further and further the boundaries of their political and commercial influence and control. Professor Dewey says:

The Germans employed Chinese exclusively in the railroad shops and for all minor positions. The railway guards were all Chinese, the Germans merely training them, but when Japan invaded Shantung and took over the railways Chinese workmen and Chinese military guards were at once dismissed and Japanese imported to take their places. At an hour's notice Japan could cut off communications between Southern China and the capital, and, with the aid of the Southern Manchurian railway, at the north of the capital, hold the entire coast and descend at its good pleasure upon Peking.

With this view Herbert Adams Gibbons, author of "The New Map of Asia," is in perfect accord. "The Germans," he says, "were not oppressive masters of the natives within the leased territory. Their control led to improved sanitary conditions and to economic prosperity. Germany did not follow the tactics of Russia and Japan in using the railway concession as a means of permanent military control."

F. Anderson, Chairman of the China Association, further confirms the convictions of these writers in his annual message, dated July 17, 1920. "The Japanese administration of Shantung," he says, "is worse than the German. There were only about 500 Germans resident in Tsing-tao, all of whom were officials or leaders; there are now over 35,000 Japanese residents."

An offense to Japan and, unfortunately, also to China was the rejection by the "Big Three" at Paris of the clause which the Japanese desired to have introduced, endorsing the principle of "the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals." Gilbert Reid explains in some detail that what Japan demanded was not a recognition of race equality, but the abolishing of the discrim-

ination provided by immigration laws or the like against any inhabitant of Japan on account of race. "This was an eminently fair proposal, prudently and moderately phrased," says Mr. Reid. "The Japanese laid great stress upon its adoption. It was heartily supported by the Chinese, for China and Japan are the only two countries of the world which are discriminated against merely because of nationality or race. Even when the principle was rejected the Japanese reserved the right to bring it up at some future time." It is within the range of possibilities that they will fight it out at the Disarmament Conference.

WHAT CHINA WANTS

China still hopes that at the Washington Conference the United States will back her in declaring that foreign powers neither legitimately possess, nor have a right to claim, spheres of influence and special interests in the "Flowery Kingdom"; also that all treaties, agreements, notes and contracts must be revised, including the right of extraterritoriality, so that the domination of Great Britain, Japan, France, Russia and other intruders may cease. America will be able to take this stand consistently, as she is the only one of the great powers, except Germany, which does not have some kind of hold on Chinese soil.

China may also insist upon the withdrawal of all foreign troops and police, the abolishment of foreign post offices, and the right to fix her own tariffs. "All these," writes Dr. Reid, "are just requests." And there is no doubt that if Great Britain, France and the United States insist upon the restoration of China's rights, Japan must yield. "The concessions made at the Peace Conference were unjust to China, and should never have been enacted," said President Wilson; "they were all exacted by duress from a great body of thoughtful, ancient and helpless people. There never was any right in any of

them. Thank God, America never asked for any, never dreamed of asking for any."

The casual student of the Far Eastern question naturally asks: "Why does not China, the most populous country in the world, arm and defend herself against foreign encroachments?" But the diplomatic policy of her oppressors has been to rule through disunion, which largely accounts for the present political cleavage between North and South China and the independence of the military Governors, rendering centralized control impossible. Also, as Gilbert Reid points out, if China should begin to spend millions on a vast army as a distinctly national movement, the Japanese, under existing conditions, would assume direction; or, in case of a navy, would wait until it became a valuable prize and then capture it. If China should join with Japan in a defensive and offensive military alliance, as is frequently urged by the Japanese Government, the development of China's military capacity under Japanese guidance would prove the menace of the future, the opening of the next world war.

Dr. Reid is also opposed to the International consortium headed by Thomas W. Lamont for financing China's resources and means of communication, on the ground that it is an exclusive scheme, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan and the United States being the only financial participants. In the second place it is an extraneous scheme, as China herself is not included, and thus her sovereignty is threatened. Accordingly, China prefers to form her own consortium.

The traditional policy of America is to keep hands off of China, and thus permit her to work out her own destiny. Surely the United States, which did not possess a clear title to any territory bordering on the Pacific Ocean until 1846, has no moral right to claim the supremacy of the Pacific

over nations which have occupied a vast territory on that ocean for more than 2,000 years.

THE PATH TO PEACE

We cannot claim for ourselves in Asia any social or political rights which we are unwilling to grant the Asiatics in America. As Herbert Adams Gibbons writes in his "New Map of Asia": "If we Americans and Europeans expect to keep Asiatics out of our continents and out of Africa indefinitely, and at the same time pretend to superior political and commercial rights in Asia, we shall precipitate a great struggle that may have its repercussions in our own hemisphere. The 'Yellow Peril' is far from imaginary so long as Europe asserts the right to dominate and exploit Asia. But if we reconcile ourselves to treating Asiatics equitably in their own continent (they do not ask more than that), we shall not need to prepare for 'the next war' with Japan."

In his closing pages Dr. Reid urges America to be both considerate and conciliatory in her attitude toward those powers which have conflicting interests in China, and urges the gradual elimination of racial, religious and national discords that impede the progress of the human race. This also was the keynote of the addresses recently delivered before the Institute of Politics at Williams College, where both Lord Bryce and Elihu Root championed the cause of Universal Brotherhood. "The nations must learn to have kindly consideration for one another," said Mr. Root; "they must learn the art of mutual concession; they must become internationally minded. It is not what a nation does for itself, but what it does for humanity, that entitles it to honor. We must learn that, in God's good world, the way to attain the heights of prosperity is not to pull others down and climb over them, but to help one another up."

MANGLING ASIA MINOR

BY GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY

Director of the Armenia America Society

A brief account, with maps, of ten different treaties, all secret and many of them conflicting with each other, which the Entente Powers have made with a view to dividing up Turkey among themselves—Final settlement still in the balance

THE recent success of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and the growing indications that they are planning to hold at least part of what they have captured, will force the Western European Powers to reconsider the entire matter of territorial allotments and zones of influence in the Ottoman Empire. One very suggestive bit of evidence that the Greeks are planning to hold what they have captured is found in the fact that they have restored to the City of Kutahia its ancient name of Dorylos; it is so called in the press dispatches emanating from Smyrna and Athens. Moreover, the fact that on Aug. 10, 1921, the exact anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, the Council of Premiers practically declared the treaty to be a dead letter, brings back out of the shadow all the previous agreements that have been made in the last seven years. These all become factors in any new deliberation as to protectorates and boundaries.

These many transient and conflicting agreements show to what an extent the present evils in Turkey are the result of rival and changing policies. The changes in European policy, due to rivalry and jealousy, have been particularly unfortunate for the native inhabitants of the country. Not the Christian populations alone but the Moslem populations also have suffered greatly, because the uncertainty permitted intrigue, and things could not settle down. Many of the

Christians and Moslems have been led to assume equivocal positions.

Had a definite policy been put into operation soon after the close of the war, all the elements would have acquiesced, nor would India have been stirred up. Possibly the uncertainty as to America's sharing in the task of reconstruction may have been a contributing cause for the delay in the adoption of a definite policy, but rivalry among the victorious Allies was the main cause. There was a period when the ambitions of Italy included even the Transcaucasus.

There is no doubt that at one time France had all her plans made to occupy Cilicia as an Armenian protectorate. Various reasons have been given for the unfortunate abandonment of that intention—lack of money and men, the objection of Italy, the desire to win the friendship of the Turks and thus head off the increasing British influence at Constantinople. As a result of negotiations between the French Government and the Armenian National Delegation in the Spring of 1918 France had promised to give autonomy to the Armenians in Cilicia; and when Georges Picot was sent out in April, 1917, to represent the French Government in its advance into Asia Minor, the following instructions were given to him: "In the coastal zone, which one day will be placed under our protectorate, your direction should have a more exclusive character, so as to give the population a clear intimation of the future

in store for them." This traditional policy of acquisition, of which the above instructions are an expression, is represented in certain of the secret international agreements. The divergence from this policy is represented in others; especially in the separate agreement proposed by France in March last and still under discussion. The vacillations must be appreciated for an understanding of the recent history of the Near East.

Mr. Picot carried out his instructions, and all the people of the coastal zone, as included in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, understood that France was to assume the protectorate over Cilicia, which was destined to be set apart for the Armenians. When, after the armistice, Picot was appointed High Commissioner at Beirut, he was named High Commissioner of Syria and Armenia. At a public banquet he offered a toast to Armenia. Colonel Bremond, who was appointed Governor of Cilicia, went from Paris as head of the Commission to Armenia. The other members of the

Commission to Armenia were distributed to executive posts in Cilicia. The baggage of the commission, when it arrived at Mersine, was marked "Armenia." The writing paper and the official blanks carried the heading "Armenia." The Armenian refugees were transported into Cilicia and even compelled to settle there. The first French army of occupation that went into Cilicia was called the Armenian Legion. The Armenian population of Aintab was forced to fight with the French against the Turks. By far the larger part of the local Moslem population of Cilicia took sides with the French against the Turks, supposing that the French were in the land to stay.

Then came the jealousy of the Greek success, the jealousy of the British, and the resulting pro-Turkish attitude, which brought about a decision to repudiate the Allies and make a secret and separate treaty with the revolutionry Turks under Mustapha Kemal. In Article 9 of the Sykes-



Map No. 1, showing details of the Italo-British convention of 1914, which gave Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany certain clearly defined railway concessions in Turkey. This was just before the war

Picot Agreement, the French had promised to make no concession of territory in the Blue Zone, which included Cilicia, without the previous consent of the British Government; but in this secret treaty with the Kemalists, France ceded an important part of the Blue Zone to the Nationalists without consulting the British.

The series of maps which accompanied the various treaties and agreements, all of them secret, will perhaps best exhibit the conflicting engagements and pledges that were made. These pledges dealt almost entirely with the Asiatic portions of the Ottoman Empire, because the priority rights of Greeks or Bulgars to the remnants of Turkey in Europe appear to have been recognized by the great powers. The claim of Russia also to Constantinople was recognized early in the war, but the defection of Russia, subsequent to the revolution there, altered that arrangement.

The first of these secret treaties

goes back to the Spring before the declaration of war and was called the Italo-British convention. We are in a position to publish details of this convention of 1914 and also the map that went with it. Nothing has been given out heretofore in any country in regard to this important agreement. It laid the foundation for many of the subsequent agreements and disagreements with respect to Near East settlements. This convention was made in the Spring of 1914 by Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Turkey. At that time Germany and Italy were allies, and Turkey was playing both ends against the middle. The negotiations were conducted in London directly with the British Foreign Office. The Ambassadors of Germany, Italy and Turkey represented their respective countries. Mr. Von Kuhlman signed the agreement for Germany, the Marquis Imperiale for Italy and Haki Pasha for Turkey.

The Italo-British Convention of



Map No. 2, showing approximately how the Turkish Empire was divided into British, French and Russian zones by the secret Sazonoff agreement of 1915, when Russia was still expected to share in the spoils of war. The arrangement as to Constantinople is conjectural

1914 shows that Italy's entrance as a claimant to privileges in Asia Minor goes back to a very different set of circumstances from that of the subsequent secret agreements, namely, to a time when Italy was the ally of Germany, and when she was brought upon the scene by Germany in an effort to check the expansion of Great Britain.

In 1913 the Ottoman-Aidin Railway, which was controlled by British capital, had asked for an extension of concessions. Map No. 1 (printed on a preceding page), which shows the details of the Italo-British Convention, indicates also the respective spheres of interest of France, Great Britain and Germany up to this time. The British railway, it will be seen, extended as far as Eghirdir. To the north was the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway, controlled by the French. To the northeast was the Bagdad Railway, controlled by the Germans. When the British asked for permission to extend their railway line, Tur-



Map No. 4 outlines the agreement of 1915 between Great Britain and King Hussein of the Hedjaz, by which the latter's four sons were to rule four States of a new Arabian empire. Later schemes of the allied nations have largely prevented the fulfillment of this promise, on the strength of which Prince Feisal and his army helped to conquer the Turks



Map No. 3 outlines the carving done by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. The Blue and Red Zones were to be ruled respectively by France and Great Britain, while the Brown Zone was to be internationalized. Zones A and B were to constitute an Arab State in which France and Great Britain respectively were to have priority in financial and commercial privileges

key was affirmatively disposed, and in order to thwart the British, Germany brought in her ally, Italy, to circumvent them.

The convention preceded the declaration of war by only a few months, and the commencement of hostilities prevented the actual granting of the concessions. The map shows the elaborate set of railway lines which Italy, supported by her ally, was to construct in the southwestern section of Asia Minor. This set of lines went far beyond any prospective likelihood of remunerative returns. That Great Britain agreed to this introduction of Italian competition into a region where the British had already invested heavily can be regarded as an indication of her good faith in the negotia-

tions. This concession to Germany's ally should go far to refute those who asserted that Britain's policy was to shut the Central Powers out. In the districts served by these projected Italian railways, the Italians had no mining concessions and no commercial interests. The British had both mining concessions and extensive commercial interests.

Map No. 1 does more than indicate the probable course of future railway development. It indicates what the Germans considered to be important production centres of the future. The

March 6, 1917. The ninth section of this secret treaty of 1915 begins as follows: "France, Great Britain and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the Province of Adalia, where Italy has already acquired special rights and interests laid down in the *Italo-British Convention*." Italy coveted this portion of Asia Minor because of its proximity to the islands which she had seized during the Italian-Turkish War of 1913. No special map accompanied this pact.

THE SAZONOFF AGREEMENT

Preceding the Pact of London in 1915, and before the matter of Italy's participation in the war had become so prominent, there was arranged in London what may be called the Agreement of Sazonoff. Sazonoff was the Russian Ambassador at London, and this agreement, involving only the interests of Russia, Great Britain and France, established the main outlines which were adhered to in subsequent

agreements. This agreement has never been published, and it is said that Great Britain paid large sums at the time of the Russian revolution to buy up all the documents that had reference to it. The probable terms of the agreement of Sazonoff are given in Map No. 2. The boundaries in Eastern Turkey, as given in this map, can be considered as quite accurate. The boundaries with respect to Constantinople must be regarded as conjectural. There is good reason for believing that not much outside of the cities of Constantinople and Scutari was included in the territory to be administered by Russia, although possibly



Map No. 5 shows how Italy, under the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne, was to have had a Green Zone that included Smyrna and ran almost to Adana. This was before Greece had come in for a share

termini appear to be selected not with a view to further extensions and connections, but the lines penetrate into districts from which mining or agricultural products might be foreseen as emanating. The Italo-British Convention of 1914 has, therefore, commercial as well as historic value.

THE PACT OF LONDON

There is a reference to the foregoing agreement in the secret "Pact of London" arranged between Italy and her new allies on April 26, 1915. The terms of this latter "pact" became public only when the revolutionaries in Russia published them on

there may have been an intention to consider the Black Sea littoral under Russian influence.

THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

The Sykes-Picot Agreement, often referred to, was signed in May, 1916. It is something of a mystery why the Blue Zone, granted to France by this agreement, as shown in Map No. 3, did not fill in all the territory attributed to France by the Agreement of Sazonoff. Possibly Mr. Sykes and Mr. Picot did not have before them a copy of the older agreement and outlined only the main provisions of the respective claims of Great Britain and France. In helping to draft this agreement Mr. Sykes must have comprehended only in part the pledges which the British had made through Colonel Lawrence to the Arabs; because the provisions adopted, while not in conflict with the pledges to the Arabs, were difficult to accord with these pledges. The main points in the Agreement are the following:

1. France and Great Britain will recognize and protect an independent Arab State or a confederation of Arab States in the Zones A and B, indicated on the map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. In Zone A France and in Zone B Great Britain shall have the right of priority in undertakings and in local loans. In Zone A France and in Zone B Great Britain will furnish counselors upon the demand of the Arab State or States.

2. In the Blue Zone France and in the Red Zone Great Britain shall be authorized to establish such an administration as it desires or as it may deem expedient after consultation with the head of the Arab State or confederation of States.

3. In the Brown Zone an international administration will be established whose form shall be determined after consultation with Russia and then in accord with the other allies and with the representative of the Shereef of Mecca.

4. To Great Britain will be granted the ports of Haifa and of Acre. Great Britain promises not to undertake any negotiations looking to the cession of the island of Cyprus without the previous consent of France.

5. Alexandretta shall be a free port for the commerce of Great Britain. Haifa shall be a free port for the commerce of France.

6. The Bagdad railway shall not be extended further east than Mosul nor further

north than Samara until a railway connecting Bagdad with Aleppo via the Euphrates Valley shall have been completed.

7. Great Britain shall have the right to construct a railway connecting Haifa with Zone B, and in case engineering difficulties arise, France will permit the line to pass through a portion of Zone A.

8. Customs regulations.

9. The French Government shall not cede its rights in the Blue Zone to any third party except the Arab State without the previous consent of Great Britain, and Great Britain makes the same agreement with respect to the Red Zone.

- 10, 11 and 12. Details with respect to the Arab State.

AGREEMENT WITH KING HUSSEIN

Map No. 4 presents the main features of the agreements between Great Britain and Hussein, Shereef of Mecca and King of Hedjaz. Although these agreements were made in July and October of 1915, they were not communicated to the French till February of 1919, that is to say, until the Peace Conference was well under way. A secret French Foreign Office report written in March, 1919, calls this "a case of flagrant bad faith." These agreements planned a great Arab Confederacy of four kingdoms, where the four sons of Hussein were each to have a throne. The oldest, Ahmed, was to be heir to his father's kingdom. The second son, Prince Feisal, was to be King of Syria with his capital at Damascus. The third son, Prince Abdullah, was to be King of Mesopotamia with his capital at Bagdad. The fourth son, Prince Zeid, a half-brother to the other Princes, was to have a kingdom in Kurdistan, with perhaps Mosul as his capital. Inspection of the provisions of this map will show how ill it accorded with the provisions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

The insistence of France not only that Syria be accorded to her in accordance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement, but also that her domains include Damascus and Aleppo, prevented the carrying out of the agreement with King Hussein. Prince Feisal attempted to hold his place in Damas-



Map No. 6 shows the new alignment under the Treaty of Sèvres. Greece gets Smyrna, Italy is eliminated, France abandons part of the Blue Zone, Turkey gains much, the Arabs lose out. The "Wilson boundary" of Armenia, which the Allies agreed to accept, begins west of Trebizond and runs south of Bitlis to the Persian frontier, and ought technically to be considered part of this map

cus in spite of the French, but after a brief recourse to arms was persuaded to withdraw. The British have done the best they could to satisfy King Hussein by setting apart an autonomous State of Transjordan, over which Prince Abdullah rules; and Prince Feisal has been established as King of Mesopotamia. Both of these arrangements are felt by the French to threaten their position in Syria.

AGREEMENT OF ST. JEAN DE MAURIENNE

The Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne was negotiated on board a railway train by Lloyd George for Great Britain, by M. Ribot for France and by Baron Sonnino for Italy, and was made "subject to the consent of the Russian Government." Inasmuch as the Russian Government has never given its consent to this agreement, the British have construed it to have no binding force. The Italians have held that it would have been accepted by Russia save for the accident of the Russian revolution, and that therefore it has a moral force, at least so far as Great Britain and France are concerned. This agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne made Italy a

party to the Sykes-Picot Agreement of the year before. Map No. 5 shows how Italy was to have had allotted to her a Green Zone similar to the Blue and Red Zones previously given to France and Great Britain, respectively. There was also allotted a zone of influence, Zone C, to Italy on somewhat the same terms as Zones A and B had been previously set apart for France and Great Britain. Article 2 established Smyrna as a free port on the same terms as Haifa, Acre and Alexandretta, and in addition made Mersine a free port for Italian commerce.

The secret French Foreign Office report of March, 1919, mentioned above, refers in regretful terms to "conversations" which have modified the Sykes-Picot Agreement to the extent of abandoning Mosul and of granting to Great Britain alone the mandate for Palestine. Curiously enough, this report mentions the possibility of renouncing a part of the territories in the north and says that this would be none of Great Britain's affair, but would be a matter between France and the power which should have the mandate for Armenia. Presumably the reference here is to the United States as the probable mandatar.

THE TREATY OF SEVRES

The Turcophile influences already evident in the terms of the Armistice signed in October of 1918 found their more developed expression in the Treaty of Sevres of Aug. 10, 1920, the geographical features of which were illustrated by three maps. The third map had to do with a detail of the provisions for the internationalization of the Dardanelles and is not important for our purpose. The first and second maps, which are here reproduced as Map No. 6, show an entirely new alignment of interest. Greece appears; Italy is eliminated; and France abandons the largest part of its Blue Zone, compensation being had in the new arrangement as to Zone A. The Arabs lose out and the Turks gain. Although "His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz" is printed as one of the signatories of this treaty, there is nothing to show that any one actually signed in behalf of the Arab King. Certain it is that the Arabs have not accepted the treaty and that it went directly against the terms of the previous agreements with the Arabs.

THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

Although in this Treaty of Sevres Italy and France appear to have aban-

doned some of their gains in Asia Minor, there was arranged—on the same date as that of the signing of the treaty—a Tripartite Agreement by which Italy and France obtained all the privileges contained in the agreements of 1916 and 1917, and were freed of most of the responsibilities. The evident intention of this Tripartite Agreement was to exclude other powers from sharing in the exploitation of concessions in the zones indicated. These zones are outlined in Map No. 7.

TREATIES WITH NATIONALISTS

Since this Tripartite Agreement there have been two separate agreements between the Nationalist Turks at Angora and France and Italy. Neither of these treaties has been ratified by the Government at Angora. The former provided for important modifications in the Sevres Treaty, proposed without consultation with the other signatories of the treaty. It took from the Arab State and from the Blue Zone an important slice of territory and gave it to the Turkish Nationalists. This was certainly a breach of faith with the Arabs, and directly against Article 9 of the Sykes-Picot agreement, where, as has been said, the promise was made not



Map No. 7 outlines the "spheres of influence" which the Tripartite Agreement of 1920 substituted for the zones which the earlier agreements had allotted to Italy and France

to abandon territory in the Blue Zone without the consent of Great Britain. Fortunate was it for the inhabitants of Cilicia, which constitutes the most important part of the Blue Zone, that the refusal of the Turkish Nationalists to ratify the separate treaty has held it up; for it is possible that this hostile attitude of Angora will drive the French back to their older policy, and they may decide to keep their troops in the districts of Cilicia.

If the right sort of adjustment is made in Turkey, under proper protection, if the different racial elements are granted geographical districts where they can work out their national life, there is every reason to expect that States comparable to the Balkan States in power and in prospects may be built up in the Tauro-Caucasian region. When Greece was

set free from Turkey in 1830 the Greek population was in the neighborhood of half a million. When Bulgaria was set free from Turkey the Bulgarian population was in the neighborhood of a million. Both Greece and Bulgaria have made great strides since escaping from Turkish misrule. The Balkan States sometimes have been referred to as types of perpetual ferment, but the ferment was largely supplied from outside, and, left to themselves, the Balkan States were in a fair way to establish a Balkan confederacy. There is good reason to believe that, with protection against the Turks assured, the Tauro-Caucasian races may group into, say, the following States: Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kurdistan and Pont, which all might constitute a United States of Tauro-Caucasia.

ENGLAND'S HAND IN THE NEAR EAST

BY HENRY C. FLOWER JR.*

A clear and simple statement of the actual situation underlying all the intrigues of British, French, Italian, Greek and Arabian politics in the former Turkish Empire—Semi-official analysis

THERE is but one hand that rules in the Near East, and that is the hand of England. It may often be gloved, it may even be pocketed, but it is always there. The justice or injustice of this state of affairs is not here under question; suffice it that we know the fact.

Great Britain's control over Egypt and the Suez region is now, except for sporadic native uprisings, beyond the pale of conjecture. Even these periodic outbreaks are indications of her strength rather than her weakness, because those who clamor for Egyptian independence—the scum of her seaport populations, a coterie of political intriguers, and those among

the peasant fellaheen whom propaganda has reached—know full well that it is with a strong England they have to deal. The sympathy of France, Italy and even America is invoked, not because these countries have much influence in that region, but because the leaders of the Egyptian movement believe they are interested in preventing England from making her foothold too permanent.

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Yet Egypt knows that no matter what political terminology is adopted to cover her dependence, she is bound in every respect to the apron strings of Downing Street.

This does not imply that her condition is any less fortunate than it would be if she were the protege of some other power. Quite the contrary. I am firmly convinced that among the nations of the world England stands as the best colonizer. France is very apt to exploit the natural resources of a colony without giving anything to the indigenous population in return, in the way of education or civic improvement; and the United States would doubtless irritate dissenting multitudes by her unwillingness to compromise in the administration of strict and impartial justice. England, by long experience, has come to know that a people politically uneducated does not understand irrevocable laws and uncompromising law courts, and she has the good sense to temper her legislative enactments by cajolery and concession. But this is all another question linked too closely with that of Egyptian independence to be here discussed. To solve that problem one must first probe deeper and determine the answer to that all-important query: Can good government ever be a substitute for free government?

Palestine has lately come into prominence through the world-wide movement of Zionism. Sir Arthur Balfour, realizing early in the war that the support of the Jewish race would be of great moral value, particularly in the Near Eastern operations against the Germans and the Turks, issued his famous Declarations, in which he promised that if the land of Judea were reconquered, it should be given to the Jews for the establishment of their national home. The conference of the Allies called in May, 1920, at San Remo, gave legal sanction to these declarations, but at the same time expressly stipulated that no clause should be

so interpreted as to hamper or curtail in any way the interests of the Arabs. Now, any one who has been in Palestine during the last year cannot fail to realize that these two provisions are wholly incompatible.

In the first place, Judea is not a fertile country. There are certain valleys, to be sure, in which large crops are raised, but the deforestation of the surrounding hills in centuries past has not only deprived the country of vegetation but of the very soil that once covered the now prominent ledges of rock. The environs of Jerusalem are now waste and barren. When Omar marched triumphantly into the city in A. D. 636, he brought with him a horde of Arab settlers, and from that time on the Arabian people have eked out a meagre subsistence on this none too fertile ground. From bitter experience they have come to know that the land is not sufficiently fecund to support any large influx of outsiders.

Since the meeting of the San Remo Conference, the Jews (I should rather say the Zionists, for there are a great many Jews who do not approve of this attempt to drive out one race of people and re-create the Jewish kingdom by forcibly substituting another), have allowed themselves to be somewhat carried away by their enthusiasm. Now that their long-cherished dream is on the point of realization, they shun no step that points toward ultimate success. From the Arabs, impoverished by the ravages of war, they are buying every foot of soil that they can obtain. Where the Zionist money for these purchases comes from there can be little doubt. Prominent Jewish bankers and financiers the world over are keenly interested in this re-establishment of the nation of Israel. Nor is this buying up of the land the only way in which the Jews are seeking to gain control of Palestine. Jewish merchants are at this very moment selling their wares at just half the price of their Arab competitors, and are being repaid with unlimited subsidies

from Zionist coffers. The Arabs realize, to a man, that under such conditions they will soon be driven to the wall—driven out into the deserts on the further side of the Jordan to die. And they are too proud a race to give up without a fight. These are the causes that led directly to the Jerusalem riots of Easter week this year, and these are the causes that will continue to lead to unrest and rebellion throughout Palestine until something is done to mitigate the situation.

But this is not the point. We all know, or should know, that the power of England in the Near East is responsible for this state of affairs. The British Foreign Office has given its sanction to the principles of Zionism, and without this sanction the movement was doomed to failure. But now that the decisions of the San Remo Conference have been handed down, the Jews of the world are mustering their resources so that no consideration may stand in the way of this re-establishment of the nation of Israel. Only within the last few months General Boles, British High Commissioner for Palestine, has been removed and Herbert Samuel, a Jew, put in his place. As England decides the countries in the Near East are governed.

FRANCE AND SYRIA

Let me turn for a moment to the countries further north, to Syria and to Cilicia. France is still making more or less serious attempts to gain control over this section of the Near East. There is a small strip of Syrian coast lying north and south of Beirut, known as the Lebanon. This area has been pro-French since the time that Louis XIV. announced his protection over the people. In again sending an envoy to the Vatican, as she has very recently done, and in thus identifying herself as the champion of Catholicism, France has further strengthened her position among the indigenous Marmorites, for they, too, are orthodox Catholics.

But France's control over the rest of Syria and Cilicia amounts to practically nothing. From time to time General Gouraud sends an expedition into the hinterland to relieve some beleaguered garrison, or to effect the capture of some strategic point, but this by no means implies a domination of the country. A short week's sojourn in Damascus, the leading city of Syria, is sufficient to convince any one that the animosity against France—not only inside the walls, but throughout the surrounding country—is so bitter that the French Republic can never hope to make its control effective until it is willing to undertake an extensive expedition and subject the people by large military forces.

Though Great Britain has diplomatically remained in the background since the signing of the armistice with Turkey, nobody, even among the French, is duped as to her real power. In November, 1915, Sir Arthur MacMahon, acting in the name of the British Foreign Office, agreed to allow Hussein I., the old King of the Hedjaz, to establish the independent kingdom of Syria, including Palestine, Arabia, and parts of Mesopotamia, if through his support in the war the Allies succeeded in defeating Germany and in driving her out of the Near East. But when this end had once been accomplished, and the other secret treaties contracted during the course of the war brought to light, Hussein was shamelessly informed that the mandate over Syria had already been given to France under the provisions of the Sykes-Picot agreement drawn up in the Spring of 1916. There was nothing further to be done: England's word was law.

Emir Feisal, third son of Hussein I., who had led the Arab forces by the side of the English, and who had ostensibly been chosen as the ruler of this united Syria, made so bold as actually to declare himself King, and to attempt the establishment of a Government over the hinterland with Damascus as a capital. But the San

Remo Conference publicly confirmed the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and, although England may not have been entirely in sympathy, she was forced to give her nominal support to France in the enforcement of the mandate. Feisal abdicated at General Gouraud's dictation, and the French effected the temporary occupation of Damascus. Notwithstanding all this, and with a full realization that he had been betrayed, Feisal remained strongly pro-British. It was in his interest to be so. England has now installed him as King of Mesopotamia, much to the disgruntlement of France. And though France still has the mandate over Syria, she knows that England is at her elbow, ready to step in and take charge the moment she shows signs of weakening. If such a time should come, Feisal believes that the British Government, wishing as far as possible to make good its former promise, will call upon him to direct the Government of Syria. Then the complete realization of his nationalistic aspiration might be possible. With Great Britain in nominal and actual control of all that section of the Near East, it might not be difficult for administrative purposes to effect the unification of Syria, including Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

Most interesting is the situation whose nexus is Constantinople. Though censorship has kept a great many of the details from coming to light, it was here that one of the most heated and bitter of diplomatic battles was waged not long ago, involving the removal of the Caliphate. Throughout the Western world, and more especially in the United States, the feeling was very strong that the Turkish regime of intrigue and corruption had too long been the cause of unrest throughout the Near East. It was advocated, therefore, that Constantinople, the hotbed of illicit practices and political upheavals, should be purged of its viciousness; that the seat of the Ottoman Government should be transferred to some other city, and that the Turk should

irrevocably be driven from Europe. Those who opposed this solution argued that it was more advisable to keep the officials of the Turkish Government in some place where they could be carefully watched rather than let them retire to some city in the interior where their machinations could have free play.

It was Great Britain that was secretly advocating the removal of the Caliphate, and France was well aware of the fact. If Constantinople were no longer to be the centre of the Mohammedan religion, one of the two "holy cities," Mecca or Medina, would in all likelihood be chosen. Both these cities lie in the Kingdom of Arabia, over which the old King of the Hedjaz is supreme. Through their co-operation during the war against the Germans and the Turks in Palestine and Syria, a very firm bond of alliance has grown up between these people and the British, or rather between their respective Governments, for Hussein I. realizes that his position is wholly dependent upon the good will of Downing Street. France was also well aware of this fact, and knew that if the Caliphate were transferred to one of these two cities, England would be able to exert great influence over the Moslem world by her domination of its religious centre. Italy also was jealous of England's power, and took sides with France against her in this fight. About this time the Mohammedans in India, who number nearly 80,000,000, rose in protest and objected to the removal of the Caliphate from Constantinople, for they felt that its transference would symbolize the fall of the last kingdom in the world that followed the teachings of the Prophet. So England, with great show of magnanimity, consented to let the Caliphate remain where it had been since 1453, and allowed it to be known among her Indian subjects that her efforts had evidently brought about its retention.

Yet this did not mean that England was beaten. She had another

game to play. Since the signing of the armistice a joint control of England, France, Italy and the United States has existed over Constantinople. One morning last Spring every one in the city woke up to find that the fourteen-inch guns of the Queen Mary, the Iron Duke and the Benbow, three of the largest dreadnoughts in the British Navy, had been trained upon the War Office and other Government buildings in Constantinople, and that British "Tommies" with machine guns patrolled the streets. This accomplished, the High Commissioner for England announced to the High Commissioners of the other countries, and to the populace of the city, that Great Britain was henceforth in control of the military occupation of the city.

THE GREEKS IN SMYRNA

While England was thus engaged in Constantinople, Greece and Italy were both casting longing eyes on Smyrna, each lying in wait for the other to move. One day the Greek Government got word that an Italian squadron was steaming toward this desired seaport in Asia Minor, and she needed no further incentive. All available Greek battleships were immediately called into action and told to proceed to Smyrna with greatest possible dispatch. For a while it seemed as if the country that first effected the military occupation of the city would be the one to whom the mandate would be given, and neither Greece nor Italy was willing that the other should be thus favored. While the fleets were on their way, a violent storm broke over the Aegean Sea, and the Greek fleet was obliged to put in at one of the land-locked harbors of the coast. While waiting there, the Greek commander received a wireless message from the British Admiral in command of the Mediterranean squadron telling him to re-

main where he was and to await further orders; if he doubted the authenticity of these orders he had only to disobey, and a flotilla broadside would soon convince him that the authority was genuine: Apparently the same message was transmitted to the Italian fleet. After twenty-four hours' delay the Greek commander received another message from the British Admiral saying that he had been instructed by the Foreign Office to approve the Greek occupation, and that his forces would be allowed to proceed to Smyrna. From all indications the Italian fleet was ordered to put back, for its presence was never again heard of. And so Greece occupied the city and strengthened her claim to the mandate which the San Remo Conference was finally to award her.

Then Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece, brought forward his demands regarding the reappropriation of the Turkish Empire. He held that Thrace, Macedonia, Smyrna and the Aegean Islands had belonged to Greece in ages past, and that they should now, in all justice, be returned to her. Those who first read his demands thought that he was asking for a very big slice, so that when it came time for compromising he would at least be sure of a few crumbs. Imagine the surprise even of the Greeks themselves when the San Remo Conference granted almost all of Venizelos's requests. And why? Because England was in a position of command at San Remo, because Greece staggered under an enormous war debt payable in a very short time to England, and because it was to their mutual advantage to stand together. England would rule in the name of another power, and Greece would attain her long-cherished commercial privileges. Here, as everywhere else in the Near East, the hand of England ruled, and rules today.

TROUBLES OF THE ZIONISTS IN PALESTINE

BY GERSHON AGRONSKY

For three years a soldier and correspondent in the
Holy Land

Analysis of causes that have fomented the Arabs' hostility to the Zionist Jews in Palestine—Chief difficulties now are lack of capital and delay of the League of Nations in approving the mandate

ZIONISTS generally concede that they have reached a searching time in their movement. The anti-Jewish riots in Jaffa on May 1, indisputably premeditated, in which forty Jews lost their lives and three times that number were wounded, have caused thinking Zionists to wonder whether there was not something wanting in their method. Suspension of Jewish immigration, ordered by the Palestine Government with the approval, no doubt, of the British Colonial Office, followed the riots. Then came Sir Herbert Samuel's speech on the occasion of the King's birthday on June 3, in which an interpretation of the Balfour declaration was given, for which, in the opinion of the member of the Zionist Commission to Palestine in charge of the political work, "there is not the slightest warrant in anything that has been said or written on the matter." Zionists are now thinking that they spent too much time in convincing the powers of the justice of their title to Palestine and far too little in proving to the Arab that the Zionists are not conspiring to evict him.

Failure to appease the Arab has led to the creation of what is commonly referred to in Palestine as the gulf between London, the centre of Zionist promises, and Jerusalem, the point of Zionist achievement. In London all public opinion, including that

of Parliament members from the Labor to the Government benches, with the one extreme and outstanding exception of The Morning Post, has enthusiastically endorsed the Zionist policy pursued first by the British Cabinet and more recently by the Colonial Office. In Jerusalem, on the other hand, some British officials even have been known to repeat the alleged Arab grievance. To be sure, these officials and others who profess sympathy for the Arab hasten to add that their being pro-Arab does not make them anti-Jew. But the fact of the matter is that the British official adapts himself to what strikes him at any given moment as the will of the majority, instead of being loyal to what is supposed to be the British policy. Last year, when the Administration believed that the so-called Haifa Congress, consisting of a small number of self-appointed Arab notables, was not a formidable force, its representatives were openly flouted and their demands rejected. Now, when the same number of Arabs meet, but with more insistent and garrulous demands, the Administration finds that it must yield to at least some of them. The suspension of Jewish immigration was by its very nature "a concession to Arab violence and prejudice," as The London Times pointed out in an editorial. So was the whole of the High Commissioner's speech.

announcing a policy of restrictive immigration for the future, and a peculiarly limited interpretation of the British Government's promise to the Zionists, as embodied in the Balfour declaration. This looks almost—in the words of the same political member of the Zionist Commission—"as if immigration were restricted as a punishment to the Jews for having been killed and wounded and robbed."

The Jaffa riots this year and the Easter outbreak in Jerusalem last year were not the result of a popular uprising. They were caused by Arab politicians who, in their campaign against the announced British Zionist policy, have used the good-natured, uneducated Arab as a dupe. These politicians, protagonists of an "Arab Homeland" or a "United Syria," are of two classes: There are the superior natives of Palestine, members of the landed class, who have had a much better time of it under the Turkish regime, and who feel that their interests are endangered by a Western Government with Western ideas of justice. They also fear Jewish immigration because of the effect of the Jew's higher standard of living upon the exploited cultivator. Foreigners who are opposed to the British because they would prefer French rule over what they choose to call Southern Syria constitute the other class. Peculiarly enough, there has been formed a loose sort of union between the representatives of the former, who are mostly Moslem, and the latter, who are Catholic. That French Syria received a very substantial piece of territory to the northwest of the Sea of Galilee, with nearly all access to the waters of the Litani River, is due to the manipulations of this combination. The ordinary native has had no hand in the matter, and it is doubtful if even now he has any knowledge of what has been done or is being done in his name.

The success of the Arab agitators is largely due to the injection of a new note in their appeal. They used

to express the fear that Jews would overrun the country and dispossess the native. When this fear was dispelled by categorical and convincing assurance from British and Zionist sources, Arab leadership adduced a new reason. The Jews, said they, even if admitted in reasonable numbers, would, by reason of their wealth, superiority in knowledge and political acumen, seize the most important places in commerce, in industry and in politics. When, after a year of Jewish immigration, Jewish capitalists failed to swarm to the country, the ten thousand or so pioneers from Eastern Europe embracing labor of the hardest kind on the roads and on the railways, the politicians raised a cry that Jewish Bolsheviki were swamping the land.

The riots and other overt acts do seem to point to hostility on the part of a section of the native population toward Zionist immigration. It is based, however, on a misconception of the Zionist aims, and could be overcome. Those who have spent any time in the country know, as the Arabs directly affected by Zionist work know, that Palestine has much to gain and nothing to lose from a large Zionist immigration. Where Arab villages cluster about Jewish colonies, said Winston Churchill, "the Arab houses are tiled instead of being built of mud, so that the culture from this centre has been spread out into the surrounding district." Low as the standard of wages is in Palestine, it is infinitely higher where Arabs are employed by Jews. Jewish labor has given an impetus to the organization of Arab labor. Arab trade unions are springing up that never would have sprung up had the country been left to Turkish ideas of economic progress and the Effendi's idea of social justice. The network of Zionist schools has prompted Arab parents to begin thinking of their children's education. The Jewish peace courts are beginning to serve as models for the Arabs, who are only now learning to settle

disputes by other means than tribal feuds resulting in mutual extermination. Had the Zionists been in a position to give free play to their powers and given a stable form of administration, there would be no more hostility against Zionists and Zionism.

Peace in Palestine will be secured when the League of Nations puts the formal stamp of approval on the mandate, and when the Zionist organization obtains the means for carrying out its program. Just now there is keen disappointment on the part of the Palestine Government with the Zionist Organization. When the Jewish National Council protested against Samuel's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, the High Commissioner replied, with some bitterness, that he was not to blame. Where, he asked, is the Jewish capital; where the great Jewish minds that were expected to regenerate Palestine? The Jewish representatives could only point to the plight of the Jewish people. Of the 15,000,000 Jews in the world, only the Jews of America and of the British Empire are in position to make substantial financial contributions to the Zionist movement. The rest, especially those in Eastern and Central Europe, are politically incapacitated and financially ruined. It also happened that a period of decided Zionist inactivity in this country coincided with the inauguration of the civil administration in Palestine in July last year. This inactivity, following four years of splendid organization work and whole-hearted financial assistance to the World Zionist Movement, was in the main responsible for the rejection of the former American Zion-

ist leaders at the Cleveland convention. Meantime, the plans proposed by the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), which contemplated considerable expenditure for immigration, for purchase of land for agricultural settlements, for afforestation and terracing of the hillsides, for drainage of marshes, sanitary service, educational facilities, co-operative and mortgage banks, and a great electrification and irrigation scheme—all had to be pigeon-holed pending the financial support from America which was not forthcoming. Zionists in this country, aware that their inactivity was at least partially responsible for the unrest in Palestine, welcomed Dr. Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organization, when he came to enlist the support of American Jewry.

The delay in registering the mandate because of America's refusal to participate is holding up a number of important concessions. Industrial stagnation produced in this way leads to dissatisfaction with the Palestine Government and disappointment with the Zionist Administration. It is responsible for the continuous increase in import figures and corresponding decrease in exports. It tends to scatter sparks in a country surcharged with combustible material. Those earnestly wishing to see peace in Palestine, which is becoming the pivot of the Near East, who desire to see an end to the eternal wrangling between the sects over the holy places, who wish to see the Zionist dream on its way to practical achievement, hope for three things: They want the mandate to be ratified, the Keren Hayesod to succeed, and, as a result of the two, the Arab to be reconciled.

POLAND AND THE JEWS

BY MAURICE SAMUEL

Member of the Morgenthau Mission to Poland

A reply to the article by James J. Kann in the August Current History defending the attitude of the Poles toward the Jews—Various evidences of Polish injustice and persecution cited—Why no Polish paper published General Jadwin's report

IT is impossible to reply to Mr. Kann's article, or to analyze the Polish-Jewish situation without first pointing out certain fundamental inaccuracies on which much of the argument of Mr. Kann is based. Almost at the outset we find the following passage: "Since the report of the Morgenthau Mission it is almost unnecessary to waste space with a denial of the vivid and exaggerated stories of atrocities which have been disseminated, for one reason or another, as the various allegations of this kind were fully investigated and properly disposed of by that body of men." Further in the article occurs the phrase, "the rare instances of violence to the Jew. * * *"

A dry and colorless report of bare physical facts, the Morgenthau report contains among other matters a detailed and dispassionate account of the massacre of seventy Jews in Vilna, sixty-odd in Lemberg, thirty-odd in Lida, thirty-odd in Minsk, about the same number in Pinsk; it tells coldly of the brutal deportation of hundreds of Jews, of the violation of thousands of Jewish homes. As interpreter to the mission during the investigations in Vilna and elsewhere, I heard from surviving victims of the heartless murder of defenseless men, women and children, was told by an eyewitness how Weiter, the brilliant Jewish dramatist (a pro-Polish writer, *en passant*), was dragged into the street and shot down by jeering soldiers; how a friend of

his, Mme. Sherman, who pleaded for him, was shot down by his side; how eight Jews, who were being marched to prison, were shot down on the road to Lipuwka (a suburb of Vilna) by their escort, and hastily thrust into a common grave. Does Mr. Kann know nothing of the story of Pinsk, where a Zionist meeting was interrupted by Commandant Luszyński, and thirty-six Jews were marched out and shot down without semblance of a trial? He will find the facts set down without exaggeration in the Morgenthau report. Does he know nothing of the massacre of Lida? He will find an unimpeachable account in the same document.

But there is this further statement of Mr. Kann: "The failure of the Government to protect the Jews is not due to any predetermined policy of the officials, but rather to the general weakness of the administrative system. * * *" Permit me to quote from unpublished notes of mine, made in Poland while with the Morgenthau Mission; they will throw a curious light on the attitude of Government officials.

General Jadwin, a member of the Morgenthau Mission, went down with Captain Goodhart and another American officer, both of them members of the same mission, with the Polish troops which took Minsk from the Bolsheviks. Before General Jadwin's official report was published: there appeared in part of the Jewish press a statement that after the tak-

ing of Minsk thirty-odd Jews were killed and over three hundred Jewish stores looted. The Polish P. A. T. (Official Polish Telegraph Agency) printed a counter-report, stating that only seven Jews had been killed, and these accidentally or deservedly. Side by side with this Polish version appeared, of course, the usual editorial comment, branding the Jewish reports as wild exaggerations and intimating that the Jews were traducing Poland in the eyes of the world.

The very day that the Polish press printed the denial ("official") of the Jewish reports, it might have obtained from General Jadwin the official report of the mission on the Minsk incident, in which the General stated that thirty-odd Jews had been killed and three hundred Jewish stores looted. Not a single case of Jews shooting on the Polish soldiery from the windows (this was a favorite defense of the Polish press) had been reported or observed.

General Jadwin's report appeared, of course, in the Jewish press. *Not a single Polish organ, governmental or otherwise, reproduced General Jadwin's report.* But the crowning insult lay in the last words of the official Polish report, which, after insisting that only seven Jews had been killed, added: "*General Jadwin was a witness of the taking of the town!*"

Let it be noted that among the Polish organs referred to are several official and semi-official journals, namely, the papers of Dmowski and Niemojewski. Let it be further noted that Commandant Luscinsky, by whose orders the thirty-six Jews of Minsk were shot down without trial, was never rebuked, much less punished.

Mr. Kann's defense of Polish hatred for the Jew falls into four sections: The intense patriotism of the Poles, who, now that the opportunity is theirs, desire to see their country united and homogeneous; Jewish separatism; Jewish Bolshevism; Jewish business. It is not the first time that the last two explanations have

been offered *en bloc* without an appreciation of the fundamental contradiction contained in them. "The Jews," says Mr. Kann, "are inclined by heredity toward a mercantile life." Yet, in the same article, he speaks of the "preference of great numbers of them for the rulership of the Germans or the Bolsheviki." Now, if there is any class of society which hates Bolshevism with all its heart and soul, it is the merchant class, the distributing middleman, whom the Bolsheviki first and most rigorously suppressed. And the truth is, as Mr. Kann states, that the Jews, "forbidding the ownership of property, form the great class of merchants." To accuse them of Bolshevism, then, is the height of absurdity. And to blame them for constituting "the great class of merchants" is, in view of the fact that "they were forbidden the ownership of property," the height of injustice.

Let us turn to the accusation of Jewish separatism and its relation to the desire of the Poles for a united and homogeneous Poland. Mr. Kann says:

"The Jews who live today in Poland are mainly the immigrants of recent years, who have come westward from Russia. These late arrivals, or 'Litwacs' are as orthodox in their beliefs and customs as were their forefathers generations ago." These are two historical inaccuracies. *There were Jews in Poland before there were Poles.* The vast majority of Polish Jews have in any case been settled in the country for centuries. During the wars of Bogdan Chmelnitzky, in the seventeenth century, 300,000 Jews, we are told, were massacred in Poland. This does not sound as though the vast majority of Jews were recent arrivals. Moreover, there is not a Jew who does not know that the "Litwac" is the modernizing element in Poland. I wonder whether Mr. Kann has ever traveled from Warsaw to Vilna through the Jewish towns of Wishkow, Ostrow, Zambrow, &c., and seen the Jewish gabardine

give way gradually to modern garb as he came into "Litvac" territory. One such trip would have shown him the absurdity of his contention. Such separatism as exists among the Jews of Poland is *not* the result of foreign influence; it is the heritage of Jews whose historic claim to Polish citizenship is at least as well founded as that of the Poles. And the "separatism" of the Polish Jew is confined to utterly harmless details of dress and appearance and to the practice of a different though not inferior religion.

But the most curious accusation is that "the Jews insist on crowding together in ghettos, where filth and disease cannot possibly be prevented." I have spoken with hundreds of these unhappy Jews, who live, four, five, six, ten to a room, in the horrible Franciskana 29 of Warsaw and in the equally horrible Baluty of Lodz; I have yet to learn that there is a single one of them who "insisted" on the priceless privileges of dirt, poverty and hunger; that there is a single one of them who would not sacrifice a year of life for the opportunity of removing to the Marshalkowska or the Georgiewska, nearer to their wealthier co-religionists.

The blind demand of the Poles for a homogeneous country, excited to the point of fanaticism by sudden liberation from foreign oppression, is only the explanation of their hatred for the Jew, not an excuse for it. Nor is it a purely Polish problem. The clauses in the Polish treaty which give the Jews minority rights (there are only 5,000,000 Jews in Poland, notes Mr. Kann—rather more than there are Irish in Ireland, that is) were *not* peculiar to Poland or to the Jews. They were an answer to the ancient and bitter problem of minorities, whether of Hungarians in Rumania, of Germans in Czechoslovakia, or of Poles in Lithuania. The ancient system of repression (practiced by Germans on Poles, by

Hungarians on Czechoslovaks, by Germans on Alsatians, to quote a few historic instances) is discredited; part of the war at least was fought by the Allies for the removal of this ancient evil. Ethnic homogeneity is, of course, the dream of every country; but where populations are so mingled as in Europe, it is an impossibility, and no repression, no persecution, will achieve the disappearance of millions of human beings with powerful ethnic characteristics. Germany has learned that lesson at terrific cost; let Poland benefit by her neighbor's disasters.

The problem is not as simple as this critic would have it appear. "The Jews must be persuaded to forsake their secular peculiarities," he says. "They must be educated in the modern conception of religious practice, taught that devotion to the State is as paramount as devotion to creed." The Jew does not need or desire outside tuition as to "the modern conception of religious practice." Nor need he be taught that "devotion to the State is as paramount as devotion to creed." America has shown, by its large and generous tolerance of "secular peculiarities" of a harmless nature, that the Jew responds by instinct to love of country—witness the tens of thousands of Jews (a goodly proportion of them of Polish origin) whose names are recorded on the rosters of the American armies of the great war. The problem is a large and complex problem of education, of the evolution of tolerance and neighborliness. It is not the problem of a day. The long and vicious work of demagogues has borne fruit in the unreasoning embitterment of the whole Polish Nation against the Jews. It will need the efforts of lofty and inspired statesmen to undo that disastrous work. Perhaps the troublous times do not encourage such efforts, but sooner or later they will be made and crowned with success.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

LOOKS AS THOUGH THEY WOULD NEVER
DO TEAM WORK



—New York Evening Mail.

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Japanese Ass Between Two Haystacks



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

[American Cartoon]
Finally Opened—From the Inside



—St. Louis Star.

[French Poster]
To the Rescue!



Help for the Russians dying of hunger!

[Polish Cartoon]

JOHN BULL'S NIGHTMARE.



—Mucha, Warsaw.

JOHN BULL: "I never thought that the wine of victory would produce such effects."

Despite the fact that Great Britain emerged victoriously from the war, she has found it to some extent a Pyrrhic victory. There is serious trouble in many of her wide-flung dominions. The Irish question has not yet been solved; insurrection has reared its head in India; the Nationalist movement in Egypt has aroused apprehension, and Kemal Pasha has been menacing her control of Constantinople.

[American Cartoon]

OUT OF MEAT!



—National Republican, Washington

The Soviet régime in Russia, after the destruction of the most intelligent elements of the population, finds the country it has so grossly misruled in the throes of starvation. Bolshevist Russia now appeals to the charity of the world.

[American Cartoons]

Coming Along Fast



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.

Cutting It Out



—Central Press Association.

The cordial response that has greeted President Harding's invitation to the Disarmament Conference warrants the hope that a weary and war-ridden world may at last find peace.

Come on in, the water's fine

—San Francisco Chronicle.



[English Cartoon]

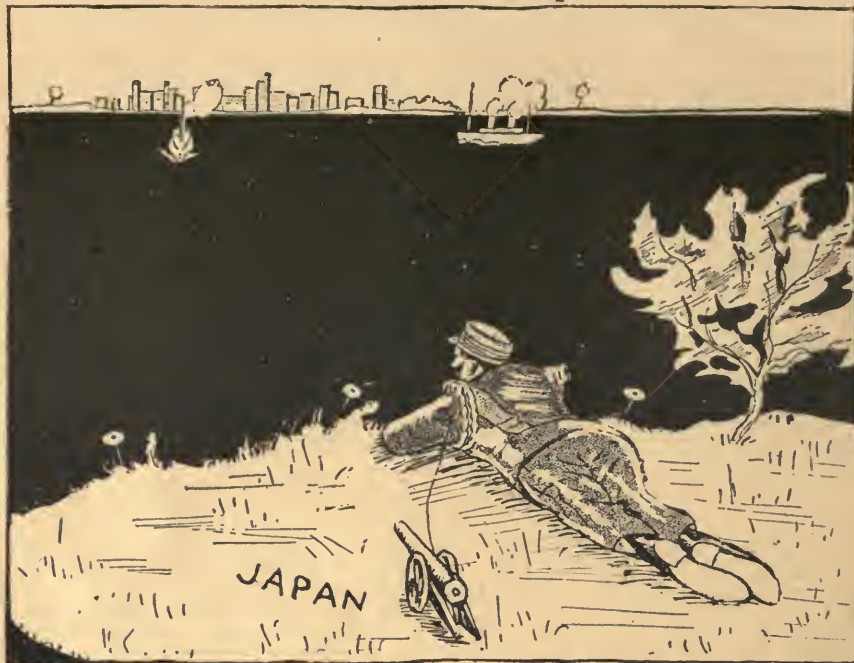
DELILAH UP TO DATE



—Passing Show, London

MISS COLUMBIA: "Now's the time, boys, for us to give old Samson a hair-cut!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]
Yellow Friendship



—Hvepsen, Christiania.

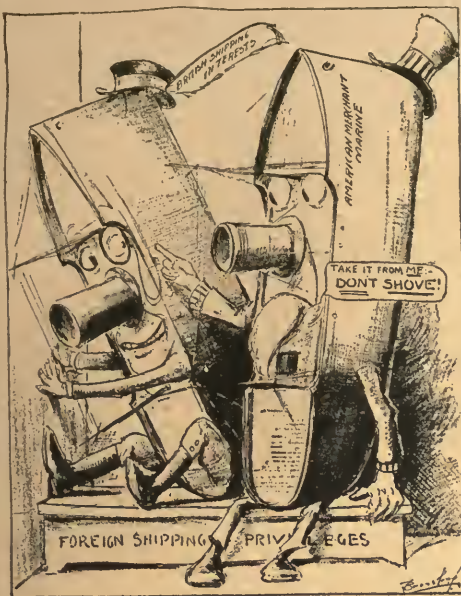
JAPAN: "I deny absolutely that I have any enmity to America. Indeed, I look with pleasure to the day when that glorious land shall belong to me."

[American Cartoon]
The New Czar of Russia.



—Kolokol, New York.

[American Cartoons]



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Plenty of Room for Both.



—Dayton (O.) News.



"Oh, Boy! If Those
Tax Payers Could See
Me Now."

The problem of disposing of the wooden ships, built in haste during the war, is a puzzling one. Many of them are unseaworthy, and all of them are costing the Government immense sums for maintenance. An offer has been made of \$430,600 for 206 ships, or a little over \$2,000 apiece, and has been seriously considered. The whole amount would not equal what it cost to build a single ship.

How Much Longer
Is He Going to Keep
His Little Pet?

—Los Angeles Times.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT



—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

(1) France, (2) England, (3) Japan, (4) Russia, (5) Poland, (6) America agree that disarmament must begin, and toward this end the first step is the total disarmament of Germany (7).

[English Cartoon]

UNANIMOUS



—The Passing Show, London.

JAPAN: "My intentions, I assure you, are entirely Pacific!"
 UNCLE SAM: "Sure—so are mine!"
 JOHN BULL: "Same here!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

THE IRISH QUESTION



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

LLOYD GEORGE (to De Valera): "Pull on the oars. We must pass through the breakers to reach the harbor!"

[American Cartoon]

"Search me, sonny."

Neptune, in the accompanying cartoon, is represented as giving up the conundrum, "What is Pacific about this ocean?" That ocean is now generally acknowledged to be one of the most dangerous political storm centres in the world. The importance of the subject is indicated by the fact that Asiatic newspapers today almost invariably refer to the coming arms-limitation conference at Washington as the "Pacific Conference."



—Detroit News.

A BULGARIAN REPLY TO SERBIAN CHARGES

To the Editor of Current History:

To my plea for justice to my unhappy country, published in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, Mr. Gordon Gordon-Smith, in the issue for July, has returned rash denials couched in vehement and abusive language. Let me point out that denial is not refutation, and that violent language can add nothing to the defense of a good cause.

I know Mr. Gordon-Smith as an old hand in the bolstering up of Serbian calumnies against Bulgaria. No Serbian could be more violent than he in his denunciations of Bulgaria and of the alleged wrongs that Bulgaria has inflicted upon Serbia. He is "more Royalist than the King." Special writers for special purposes are necessarily so. I am, however, obliged to him for the opportunity he has given me to array a further list of facts and figures in the defense of my country against unscrupulous abuse and accusations.

I stated that Bulgaria led the Balkan allies in the first Balkan war; fought the great and decisive battles, and unaided drove the Turks—the common enemy—to the walls of Constantinople and obliged them to sue for peace. I further declared that Bulgaria committed no acts of treachery against her allies or against the Entente powers, and that the conduct of those allies, on the contrary, was invariably treacherous toward Bulgaria throughout the war. I repeat those statements.

Lack of space prevents me from giving all the facts which prove that Bulgaria was the leader and main belligerent in that first war. The Serbian operations were limited to the south, in Macedonia—those of Bulgaria extended not only to Macedonia, but also to Thrace. The Turkish forces in Thrace totaled 215,000 men, as compared with only 60,000 in Macedonia. Serbia fought but one decisive battle, that of Koumanovo. She fought a secondary battle at Bitolia (Monastir), and Bulgarian forces contributed powerfully to the Turkish defeat. Bulgarian combatants were active in clearing Macedonia of the Turks. The main

Bulgarian forces, after a series of hard-fought battles, immured some of the Turks in Adrianople and drove the rest to the Chataldja positions and Boulair on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Though the Serbians contributed 28,000 men to complete the blockade of the Adrianople fortress, not one Serbian took part in the actual storming. Not one Serbian took part in any of the operations against the Turkish main forces, Adrianople excepted. Serbia withdrew after the secondary battle of Bitolia, twenty days after the beginning of hostilities; Bulgaria fought on until war broke out between the allies, June 29, 1913. The report of the Carnegie Commission shows that Bulgaria's losses were 30,024 killed, 53,465 wounded, 3,195 missing, a total of 86,684 casualties. In contrast Serbia had 5,000 killed and 18,000 wounded. (These figures were given by the Serbian Minister of War to the Serbian Assembly. Both Serbia and Greece withheld the information demanded by the International Commission.) The data given will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions as to which of the allies was leader in the war.

Let me now dispose of the charges made against the Bulgarians of committing atrocities on Serbians and others. Mr. Gordon-Smith formed part of a self-constituted international commission of inquiry, composed of himself, his friend Professor Reiss of Lausanne—one of his main witnesses—a Belgian newspaper correspondent and a Serbian officer. Mr. Gordon-Smith rode, as he says, through Serbian Macedonia after the retreat of the Bulgarians and the conclusion of the armistice and witnessed as he progressed from village to village the "hell" work committed by the Bulgarians during their occupation.

The one-sided report of this commission has been largely exploited by all interested in its special purpose—viz, the damage of Bulgaria—especially during her long and enforced isolation from the outside world, while she has been unable to utter a word in her own defense. Mr. Gordon-Smith still

lays great stress upon this report. He totally disregards the fact that Bulgaria, after being made the victim of similar reckless charges following the second Balkan War, appealed for an impartial inquiry, and that that noble institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, heard this appeal, and appointed an international commission to ascertain the truth, and that this commission made an exhaustive report ("the report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan War"), the main conclusion of which was that, so far as atrocities were concerned, the conduct of the Bulgarians, as compared with that of their allies, *was the least reprehensible*.

I would further point out that this Professor Reiss who accompanied Mr. Gordon-Smith on his expedition of inquiry has been and still is a paid Serbian agent, the organizer of the secret Serbian police, and that he is one of the main propagators in the foreign press of calumnies against Serbia.

The charges that Bulgaria acted treacherously both toward her own allies and toward the Entente are absolutely unfounded; the facts, on the contrary, point wholly the other way, so far, at least, as Bulgaria's allies are concerned. The Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty of 1912 provided that the occupied Turkish territories should fall under a condominium. Serbia unblushingly violated this clause even in the districts cleared of the Turks by the Bulgarian forces. The exigencies of the war demanded that these forces proceed to join the main Bulgarian forces pitted against the main Turkish armies defending Adrianople and Constantinople. In the rear of the Bulgarian Army the Serbians closed the Bulgarian schools, expelled the Bulgarian Bishops, and administered as Serbian even the territories recognized by the treaty as incontestably Bulgarian. This treaty bears the date of Feb. 29, 1912.

The Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs sent out a circular, dated May 23 of the same year, to the Serbian representatives abroad, in which he instructed them to bear in mind that Serbia had no intention to abide by the frontiers fixed by this treaty, and that they would have to be extended southward.

While the Bulgarian Army was exerting

all its resources to keep in check the Turkish forces—ever increasing in numbers and growing in desperation at Chataldja and Boulair, on the Gallipoli Peninsula—the Serbian Army was at complete rest. Secretly it was building and occupying fortifications with which to dispute eventually the rights the treaty gave Bulgaria. Serbia furthermore concluded a secret offensive treaty with Greece against Bulgaria on May 5, 1913.

Bulgaria did attack the Serbians on June 29. It was an attempt, after the failure of the deceitfully protracted negotiations, to occupy the territory the treaty gave her. A question, familiar to all American readers, may here be asked: Was the first shot fired in Lexington held responsible for the war which followed?

It is absurd to talk of treachery, as Mr. Gordon-Smith does, on the part of Bulgaria against the Central Powers. Bulgaria had the uncontested right of choice. She had no sympathy with the Central Powers; her sympathies were naturally with Russia and her allies. As Italy and Rumania made their bargains for joining the Entente, so Bulgaria tried to make hers. She failed, not for lack of good-will, but because the Entente diplomacy, dominated in this case by that of Russia, refused the very reasonable minimum satisfaction demanded by Bulgaria—the abrogation of the Bucharest treaty of 1913. Bulgaria blundered by taking, as she believed, the shortest cut toward securing the reunion of her race, frustrated by the treacherous coalition of her former allies and the Bucharest treaty. She joined the Central Powers solely for this purpose, moved by disappointment in the failure of her negotiations with the Entente.

Mr. Gordon-Smith stoutly asserts that Rumania, having failed in her demand for rectification of frontier, mobilized and marched against Bulgaria. Rumania demanded no rectification; what she asked was cession of Bulgarian territory, and this at the suggestion and entreaty of Serbia and Greece, already united against their leading ally, Bulgaria. Right or wrong, Rumania did receive satisfaction. The Conference of the Ambassadors in St. Petersburg awarded Rumania the fortress town of Silistria, with some territory. Rumania accepted the award, and a mixed commission was fixing the new frontiers when war

broke out between the allies. Rumania joined in it by invading undefended Bulgaria, undoubtedly encouraged by Russia, who wished to see Bulgaria defeated.

Mr. Gordon-Smith's insinuations, accusations and reckless statements against Bulgaria are too many for me to deal with in their entirety. One and all, they are of the same character. I will say a word as to Bulgaria's endeavor to elude the execution of the peace treaty of Neuilly. How can she, how dare she think of such a possibility, disarmed as she is, surrounded as she is by neighbors who are like hungry wolves, waiting to fall upon their defenseless prey? Mr. Gordon-Smith is exasperated at Bulgaria's organization of compulsory labor. Serbia—the hungry wolf at the door—wished to see in this organization military power and raised a clamor of protest. The competent in such matters, the representatives of the Powers, have not looked at this organization with the eyes of the Serbians, and have allowed the law to stand.

"The National Library of Belgrade was carried off to Sofia and its priceless volumes and manuscripts reduced to pulp," says Mr. Gordon-Smith. The statement is untrue. On the evacuation of Belgrade this library was brought to Nish, and there abandoned on the capture of the place by the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian authorities immediately took steps to store it in a safe place, out of the war zone, and transported it to Sofia. In Sofia a special building was rented, and the books taken out of their mouldy cases and arranged on shelves. After the armistice a Serbian commission of professors made inquiries as to the existence of this library; believing it to be destroyed, in whole or in part, they had already calculated the amount they would claim as compensation.

Their surprise was great to find the library in the best possible order and condition. They had counted too much upon the "lack of culture" of the Bulgarians, supposedly incapable of appreciating literary wealth.

This library has been restored to the Serbians—by a commission presided over by a superior officer of the French military mission in Sofia—complete and uninjured; 67,029 bound and unbound volumes in 159 cases. The calumny against Bulgaria, however, has been repeated ad nauseam, and never once refuted by the Serbians. Why should they attempt to do so? To refute one calumny would require the refutation of so many. Not doubting that this slander was carried also to the Carnegie Endowment Fund for Peace, I obtained, a short while ago, certified copies of the reports drawn up on the occasion of the return of the library. These documents are now lodged in the offices of the Carnegie institution.

One last word about the Bulgarian prisoners of war in Serbia, not those taken by the Serbians themselves, but the 12,000 prisoners delivered over to them by the French command as part of the common war booty. I can refer only in passing to the atrocious treatment by Serbia of these war prisoners, in complete violation of the provisions of The Hague Convention. There are still some hundreds of these men held in bondage in various places in Serbia, employed in *corvée* labor, and deprived of all communication with their native land.

Serbia is the ally of the great conquerors; Bulgaria, disarmed and humiliated, is without remedy and cannot even secure the execution of the clauses of the Versailles Treaty which are favorable to her.

P. M. MATTHEEFF.

Sofia, July 28, 1921.

DEMANDS OF THE BLACK RACE

THE Pan-African Congress held in London toward the end of August, 1921, was attended by various peoples of African descent in the United States, the West Indies, Central and South America and Africa. At the session of Aug. 29 a manifesto was read by Secretary William E. Burghardt du Bois of New York, which declared it to be "the duty of the world to assist in every way the advancement of

backward and suppressed groups of mankind," and protested against the treatment of colored people as uncivilized. It argued that the experiments at self-government attempted in Haiti and Liberia by the pure blacks, and in South America by the democracies of mixed blood, had been successful, and on this it founded a demand for general negro enfranchisement in white countries on the basis of educational qualification.

A GREEK DEMOCRAT DEFENDS CONSTANTINE

To the Editor of Current History:

After reading N. J. Cassavetes's article, "The Case of Constantine and the Allies," published in the September number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, one gains the impression that its author regards himself as being conversant with facts concealed from the average Greek. And yet the documents he invokes have been used on so many occasions that they are literally "worn out." Says he: "These facts are well known to the world. Only the Greek people have not been allowed to know them." Surely he knows that the Greek Venizelist newspapers have devoted most of their space during the last three or four years—since the first Constantine-Venizelos disagreement proper—to these so-called documents and to the inexhaustible Venizelist arguments.

I speak as an independent, non-Constantinist, non-Venizelist Greek—a democrat. One may be a democrat without denying justice to a man, even though he be a king. What should be remembered above all is that Constantine has never had a fair trial.

Constantine, appreciating Germany's military organization, predicted a long war without victory, a prediction which would very probably have been realized had America not gone to the aid of the Allies. Since no one then felt confident that America would ultimately participate, Mr. Venizelos was obviously rash in advocating Greece's entry into the conflict. Later, when Serbia was attacked by Bulgarian troops, Mr. Venizelos felt that under the Greco-Serbian treaty of alliance Greece was obliged to go to Serbia's assistance. Constantine held that the object of the treaty—common action against Bulgaria, in case of attack on either of the allies—had been attained since the second Balkan war (1913). Of course, if, in reality, the Greco-Serbian treaty placed an obligation on Greece to go to Serbia's assistance, Constantine deserves the condemnation of every moral person. The evidence presented by Mr. Cassavetes, however, has not convinced many of us Greeks of the Greek King's guilt so far as the treaty is concerned.

Mr. Cassavetes's contention that Constantine "ordered the royalist troops at Athens to open fire upon French and Italian detachments" is a bold assertion. Every Athenian knows that neither the King nor the Government of Greece was in any way responsible for the attack upon the allied troops. The free, independent, proud Greeks resented the invasion of their capital by foreign troops, as any people with a sense of pride would have resented invasion, or even the mere presence of foreign troops in their capital. An American citizen, knowing how difficult it is to control a mob, will readily understand the Greek Government's position. The fact that most of the persons involved in the conflict wore the uniform of the Greek soldier does not render Constantine responsible for their conduct.

Another charge against Constantine is that he accepted moneys from Germany. Were Mr. Cassavetes as well informed on the Greek question as the average Greek, he would not have touched upon the question of the German loan, since that has been settled satisfactorily for the then Greek Government by the Venizelist courts. After trying the Government which negotiated this loan, the court of Mr. Venizelos decided that there was nothing treasonable or even illegal in this Greco-German transaction.

But the greatest argument against Constantine is the surrender of Fort Rupel to the Bulgars, the enemies of the Allies. Indeed, this may be a proof that Constantine was pro-German. It is well, however, to remember that prior to the surrender of this Macedonian fortress Saloniki, another part of Greece, was occupied by allied troops. Among others questioned by the defense counsel was Nicholas Politis, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mr. Venizelos's Cabinet and formerly a professor of international law in a French college. Mr. Politis was forced to admit that the landing of allied troops at Saloniki constituted a violation of Greece's neutrality. The surrender of the fortress to the Bulgars, then,

was made evidently for the purpose of neutralizing the effect of the allied landing at Saloniki.

Mr. Cassavetes is mistaken in believing that the Greek people have not been allowed to know the facts. On the contrary, it is the foreigner, not the Greek, who has been denied information. But even should we admit that Mr. Venizelos's defeat at the polls and Constantine's triumphant election were due to the ignorance of three-fourths of the Greek voters, to what should we attribute the anti-Venizelism of four-fifths of the members of the bar of Athens, the cream of the country's intellect? To what should we ascribe the anti-Venizelism of the Medical Association of Athens, manifested by their triumphant election as their President of Professor Gheroulanos, whom Mr. Venizelos had expelled from the Athenian University and exiled? How does Mr. Cassavetes explain the verdict of Greece's larger and more enlightened cities

—Athens, Saloniki, Piraeus, Patras, &c.? Mr. Cassavetes would have the allied and American Governments refrain from recognizing the present Government of Greece in order to drive the Hellenic people to overthrow it and establish a republic. He seems to forget that a form of government forced upon a people cannot be regarded as democratic, whatever it may be called. It is not the name but the substance that counts. The Greek people with Constantine in power enjoy their liberty much more than they did under the "Liberal" Party's Government.

Let me say in conclusion that my object is not to defend the King of the Hellenes, but rather the good judgment of the Hellenes themselves. It may be that Constantine was guilty of all the moral crimes ascribed to him, but the evidence presented so far surely is not conclusive.

EFTHYMIUS A. GREGORY.

Aiken, S. C., Sept. 1, 1921.

A DEFENSE OF VENIZELOS

To the Editor of Current History:

From the tone of the letter written by Efthymius Gregory, and published in your June issue, it would seem that the writer strangely misunderstands the spirit of Venizelism. He also shows a surprising lack of historical perspective. The present Greek Government is composed of all the unhealthy political elements of Greece, all striving to establish political ascendancy under the banner of a despot King who believes that he derives his prerogative not from the people, but from the Deity alone. Exercising that divinely authorized prerogative, he dismissed Venizelos early in the war and put in his place another more subservient to the royal will.

It is a well-established fact that the opponents of Venizelos exploited the ignorance of the rural population, and made an unfair use of certain cases of internal maladministration which occurred during the long and necessary absence of Venizelos abroad, when he was fighting for Greek national aspirations at the Paris Peace Conference. The Constantinists regained power regardless of the country's best interests, and they did it by means more dishonorable than

those which Cicero denounced in a letter to his friend Atticus, flagellating the political corruption of his time.

The whole conflict between the Venizelists and the Constantinists is one between democracy and monarchy. Venizelos fosters no animosity against King Constantine personally, but he stands diametrically opposed to the returned monarch's theory of the divine right of kings. Venizelos and his adherents interpret monarchy rationally as merely a civil institution established by the nation for the benefit of all its members. The Greek Tories look upon the King as the delegate of Heaven, exempt from all responsibility. The difference is radical and insurmountable. This outworn interpretation is bolstered up today in Greece by a portion of the clergy, just as Bossuet in the Grand Siècle, identified with the reign of Louis XIV., preached the divine right of kings. All serious study of history, starting from the Pharaohs, shows the fallacy of this interpretation.

This is not the first time that the Greeks have exiled their best and noblest. Heraclitus, the famous philosopher of ancient days, said of the Ephesians: "The Ephe-

sians would do well to hang themselves, every grown man of them, and leave the city to the beardless youths, for they have cast out Hermadetous, the best man among them, saying: 'We will have none who is best among us; if there be any such, let him go elsewhere, and among others.' So the Athenians exiled Aristides, solely because they were weary of hearing him called "The Just." And so, vexed at Venizelos's greatness, the modern Greeks have cast him out.

Venizelos lives in exile, and his adherents are enforcedly acquiescent, for the star of Constantine is again in the ascendant. But the Venizelists await the day of regeneration. Above the squalid details of factious strife their ideals survive. "We are all Greeks," wrote Shelley. The Venizelists, who think only of the welfare of all the Greeks, say the same today.

CONSTANTINE V. TOUNTAS.

St. Louis, Aug. 22, 1921.

WHAT MACEDONIA DESIRES

To the Editor of Current History:

Greek propaganda through the Christian Science Monitor and other periodicals continues to affirm that the Macedonians have had no national conscience and care nothing about the question of their nationality. They try to represent that Macedonian nationalism is an artificial movement and that it matters to the people there but little whether the world call them Bulgarians, Greeks or Serbians. The purpose of these writers is to lay a foundation for Greek imperialistic projects, and their statements are contrary to the proved facts. They have asserted, for instance, that Mr. Brailsford, a well-known authority, thinks the Macedonians are a mob without political aspirations or national conscience. This is an unscrupulous falsification. Witness these passages, written by Mr. Brailsford immediately after the insurrection against the Turks in 1903, when he visited Macedonia:

The first surprise was that this race revolted en masse. The second surprise, in my opinion more touching than the first, is that all the sufferings of the last Autumn did not kill its spirit and did not produce any reaction whatsoever against the committee or its leaders. More than one hundred villages, of which several were relatively rich, were reduced to ashes. Sixty thousand families lost not only their homes but all their property. I doubt whether they were able to save one-tenth of their cattle and sheep, of their plows and horses. Besides, there were murder and devastation. Neokazi, Armenesco, Mokreni, Kroushevo, Smerdesh, Dambemi and Kosslnetz are the names of some of the villages in which hundreds were killed, without participating in the struggle.

In many villages one may meet insane unfor-

tunates. And in spite of all this lesson before them, the villagers remain faithful to the organization which plunged them into such misery. Among the ashes of burned villages or in the rooms of hospitals where the said organization takes the wounded women and children, there were moments when one was inclined to curse the entire revolutionist idea, to think that no provocation could justify a population which exposes its breast to such a risk, to doubt whether a certain gain of freedom could compensate for the physical torture endured for its acquisition. But these can be only reflections of an outside person. Similar reflections seldom penetrate into the heads of the Macedonians themselves. One could hear no blame, no attacks against the committee, no sorrow for the evidently lost forces. Sick men, slowly recovering from sufferings, wounds, privations, spoke cheerfully of their future plans and of the struggle they looked forward to renewing as soon as their health and the Spring came. * * * *The more one studies the Macedonian Bulgarians, the more he respects their patriotism and heroism.* * * *

The Serbian movement is a purely official agitation, guided and financed in Belgrade, whereas, despite the sympathy of Sofia, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee is a genuine organization.

Let me cite some official Greek documents on the subject. In March, 1915, when the greater part of Macedonia had already passed under Greek rule by virtue of the treaty of Bucharest, the Commander of the Eighteenth Greek Infantry Regiment, stationed in Seres, reported to the Commander of the Sixth Greek Division that the men of which his regiment was composed were "not only Bulgarophones (Bulgarian speaking), but pure Bulgarian in their soul and conscience to such an extent that it represents a real danger."

I do not pretend to predict whether or not the great powers will correct the injustice they did at the Peace Conference in not creating an autonomous Macedonian State; I merely wish to call attention to the fact that the deep national consciousness of the Macedonians remains, and that, even in face of the brutal force of Serbian and Greek rule, they will yet have the political independence which they desire. The propagandists are representing the Macedonian people as good Serbian and Greek subjects at a time when all the Greek and Serbian papers are printing daily evidence to the contrary. The sole purpose of those who are misrepresenting the facts is to defend Greek imperialistic aspirations. Greece may truly be said to be the paramount cause of the war in Asia Minor and of the

whole dangerous situation in the Near East today.

Macedonia is determined to be an autonomous State, and will be some day, because her people are ready to make fresh sacrifices to gain their independence. Today Macedonia calls upon those who are ruling her to cease their violence against individuals, their robbery of property, their infringement of the primary rights of life and liberty; she demands that they reopen the schools and churches, fulfill the obligations of the peace treaties protecting the rights of the ethnic groups, and permit refugees to go back to their homes.

CONSTANTINE D. KOJOUHAROFF,
Member of the Bulgarian National Scientific,
Historic and Geographic Societies.
1412 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.,
Aug. 30, 1921.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

To the Editor of Current History:

The article by Professor Koehn in the August number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, entitled "Menace of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," resting as it does on a plain misinterpretation of the treaty between England and Japan, ought not to be allowed to pass without correction. The text of the treaty, as quoted by Professor Koehn, states that it is "by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action," and when "either high contracting party is involved in war of defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement," that the other high contracting party "will at once come to the assistance of its ally." It is self-evident that in the case of an attack on the United States by Japan, England would not be bound to assist Japan, and, even if Japan were attacked by the United States, it would be for

England to decide whether the attack had been "unprovoked" or whether it involved "the defense of the territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble." It is clear that the treaty does not work automatically, as Professor Koehn assumes, and that if England went to the aid of Japan when she was attacked by the United States it would be because England considered the action of the United States as "aggressive and unprovoked." To say of the treaty that "it explicitly places upon England the obligation to go to war against the United States in the event of hostilities between the United States and Japan" is an inexcusable misinterpretation of the text of the treaty.

FRED MORROW FLING,
University of Nebraska (Department of History).
Lincoln, Neb., Aug. 13, 1921.

IN FAVOR OF LARGE TYPE

To the Editor of Current History:

Permit me to express a hearty Amen! to the change in type introduced in the August issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. This type can be read without magnifying glasses, and to one who takes the time and trouble to read

a considerable portion of your splendid magazine it is quite a saving to the eyes.

J. EUGENE HARLEY,
Dept. of Political Science (and International Relations), University of Southern California.
Los Angeles, Cal., Aug. 22, 1921.

JAPAN'S KOREAN POLICY DEFENDED

To the Editor of Current History:

I have read your magazine continuously for more than four years, and have appreciated its fairness, in general, in treating different countries; but lately I have seen various articles about Japan with which I disagree, especially the one in the August issue by George L. Koehn. Mr. Koehn says that Japan had long cherished designs against Korea, entirely omitting to mention the encroachment of Russia, who had just gobbled up Manchuria and the Liao-tung peninsula, with Port Arthur, and was on a fair way to take over Korea, thus becoming a deadly menace to Japan. That country, in order to exist, had to declare war. As regards Korea, with the worst burlesque Government in the world, Japan dragged her out

of the mire, washed her and literally knocked self-respect into her. Look at the enormous improvements in the country, which are rather scantily treated in your magazine; as for the alleged cruelties done to the Koreans, many of those stories are garbled, and some are just plain lies. (See the book about the Far East by Charles H. Sherrill.) I could dig up enough history of the last fifty years to fill a good-sized book, all about indignities and cruelties done by European States to the Far Eastern nations. Why is it a virtue that European nations possess enormous territories in Asia, while it is a crime for Japan to possess land contiguous to her own shore for her own safety?

ROBERT ERICKSON.

25 South St., New York, Aug. 24, 1921.

BRITAIN'S WIRELESS CHAIN

AT Leafield, England, on the crown of a rolling upland, fifteen miles from Oxford, the first link of a gigantic wireless chain, reaching over many seas and even to the other side of the world, was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies on Aug. 18, 1921, by the British Postmaster General and a selected party of officials. British-built from the boilers to the Poulsen arcs, it sends into the air-bed stretching without interruption between England and Cairo sixteen powerful alternating currents which can be picked up within a radius of 2,000 miles. The transmitting wires are hung on ten masts each 300 feet high. Two messages were sent out on the day of inauguration. The first was addressed to all British Empire wireless stations, announcing the completion "of this, the first station of the imperial wireless chain," and voicing the hope "that the station will help to knit still closer the bonds which bind together the different parts of the empire." The second message sent greetings to all European stations and other foreign stations in range,

and expressed the empire's desire that this new wireless link should strengthen the ties of international friendship.

The first replies began to come in only a few minutes after the messages were sent out. Acknowledgments were flashed from the French Under Secretary of Posts and Telegraphs and from Malta. The German Reichspostminister sent friendly congratulations from Berlin. Answers came from Posen, Budapest, Christiania and other stations.

The Leafield station is the first of four; the second is to be at Abu Zabal, Cairo; a third in East Africa, and a fourth in South Africa. Two other twin stations are to be erected in England and Egypt, and through arrangement with the Imperial Wireless Telegraphy Committee are to be continued to Mesopotamia, India, Singapore, Australia and Hongkong. Soon it will be possible to broadside large volumes of news to India. The commercial value of the wireless system also is considered as an asset of high importance.

ITALY'S ANTI-HAPSBURG PACT WITH JUGOSLAVIA

Text of the treaty binding the two nations to oppose armed force to any Hapsburg who tries to regain the throne—Document that defeated ex-Emperor Charles

THE treaty of peace and reconciliation between Italy and the new State of Yugoslavia was signed at Rapallo, Italy, on Nov. 12, 1920. By this compact the long and dangerous dispute over Fiume and a part of the Adriatic coast was brought to an end by setting up Fiume as a free State; the whole boundary between Italy and Yugoslavia was fixed, and the relations between the two countries were established on an amicable and sound basis.

Not until the end of June did Italy decide to publish the negotiations which led to the signing of this treaty. This publication revealed that at the time the Rapallo compact was signed there was also signed a separate and supplementary treaty whose object it was to supervise the strict execution of the Treaty of Saint Germain (with Austria) and the Treaty of Trianon (with Hungary), to maintain the present status quo in Central Europe, and to combine against any future attempts of the Hapsburgs to effect their own restoration to the thrones of Austria and Hungary. The compact declares that the contracting parties will watch every activity directed against their common security either on Austrian or on Hungarian territory, and that this agreement shall be communicated to Czechoslovakia, between which country and Yugoslavia a similar compact had already been signed.

The efficacy of the compact was seen at the time of ex-Emperor Charles's recent attempt to seize the Hungarian throne. It is generally understood that it would be invoked again in case Austria should insist on union with Germany in defiance of the prohibition of the Treaty of Saint Germain. The text of this specific anti-Hapsburg agreement reads as follows:

In order to secure the blessings of peace, obtained at the price of such great sacrifices through victory over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Government of his Majesty the King of Italy and the Government of his Majesty the King of the Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes have determined to agree to the present convention and to this end have delegated:

On behalf of the Italian Government, the Cavaliere Giovanni Giolitti, President of the Council of Ministers; Count Carlo Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Professor Ivanoe Bonomi, Minister of War;

On behalf of the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government, M. Milenko R. Vesnitch, President of the Council of Ministers; Dr. Ante Trumbitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Costa Stojanovitch, Minister of Finance, who have agreed as follows:

Article 1—The two contracting Governments mutually engage to keep a watch over the strict execution of the Peace Treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon. In particular they will adopt all measures of policy by common agreement calculated to prevent the restoration of the House of Hapsburg to the throne of Austria and Hungary.

Article 2—The two contracting Governments engage to give one another such mutual diplomatic support as they judge to be best adapted to this end.

Article 3—In accordance with the spirit of the present convention the two contracting Governments engage at the same time to keep a watch upon all activities directed against their mutual security, both on Austrian and on Hungarian territory, and to keep in close touch by means of the exchange of information.

Article 4—The Italian Government (which has learned with satisfaction of the agreement established between the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government and the Czechoslovak Government, the aims of which are exclusively those of the present convention) and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government will communicate the present convention to the Czechoslovak Government.

If fresh agreements of the same kind are concluded, the two Governments will confer before ratifying them.

Article 5—The present convention shall remain in force for two years after the exchange of ratifications. It shall be renewed for the same period if it has not been denounced six months before its expiration.

Article 6—The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible and the ratifications shall be exchanged in Rome.

(For Italy) GIOVANNI GIOLITTI.
C. SFORZA.
IVANOE BONOMI.

(For Yugoslavia) MIL. R. VESNITCH,
Dr. ANTE TRUMBITCH,
COSTA STOIANOVITCH.

Rapallo, Nov. 12, 1920.

POLAND'S MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH RUMANIA

Text of the treaty signed at Bucharest on March 3, 1921, by the terms of which the two nations pledge help to each other in defending their present boundaries

THE Polish Diet, on July 1, 1921, ratified the defensive and offensive military alliance with Rumania, signed at Bucharest on March 3. By this agreement, each of the two contracting nations pledged itself to come to the aid of the other in case of any attack from a third nation on its eastern frontier. Though not specifically stated, this alliance was directed against the possibility of any sudden onslaught from Bolshevik Russia, on the one hand, and from Bulgaria, on the other. All alliances with other nations, excluding those signed by either nation for the execution of the peace treaties, must previously be submitted to the other contracting party. Poland expressed her cognizance and approval of Rumania's previous agreements to secure the execution of the Treaty of Trianon (with Hungary) and Neuilly (with Bulgaria), Rumania of Poland's compact with France. The terms of the Rumano-Polish alliance were placed before the Diet, and went through the usual three readings, after which, despite the opposition of the Socialist members, the treaty was approved and ratified. The text is as follows:

The Chief of the Polish State and His Majesty the King of Rumania have resolved to safeguard and confirm the peace which has been won through such great sacrifices, and have agreed to conclude a convention regarding a defensive alliance.

For this purpose plenipotentiaries were appointed by the Chief of the Polish State, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Eustace Sapieha, and by His Majesty the King of Rumania, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Take Jonescu, who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers in the prescribed manner, have determined on the following convention:

Article 1.—Poland and Rumania engage to give one another mutual support if either Power should be attacked on its present eastern frontier without provocation. If, accordingly, either of the two Powers should be attacked without provocation on its flank, the other will declare

war and give armed assistance to the Power attacked.

Article 2.—In order thus to facilitate their peaceful efforts both Governments engage to act in concert in those questions of foreign policy which concern their neighbors on the east.

Article 3.—The manner of giving assistance in case of need shall be agreed upon in a military convention. The said military convention shall be agreed upon subject to the same conditions regarding duration and denunciation as the present alliance.

Article 4.—If, in spite of their efforts, both Powers should find themselves in a position of armed defense, as anticipated in Article 1, they engage mutually that neither will enter into negotiations, or sign an armistice or peace, without the other.

Article 5.—The anticipated duration of this convention shall be five years from the date of signature, but either of the two Powers shall have the right to denounce it after two years if an agreement shall be reached between the parties to that effect six months previously.

Article 6.—Neither party will conclude an alliance with a third Power without having previously reached an understanding in the matter with the other party. The only case in which this condition shall not hold good is in connection with any alliance that serves the purpose of maintaining the peace treaties which both Poland and Rumania have signed. Such alliances, nevertheless, shall be reciprocally communicated.

The Polish Government hereby declares that it has been informed of the conventions which Rumania has concluded with other Powers to guarantee the Peace Treaties of Trianon and Neuilly, and that these conventions may be transformed into formal alliances. The Rumanian Government declares that it has been informed of the convention between Poland and the French Republic.

Article 7.—The present convention shall be communicated to the League of Nations, in accordance with the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

Article 8.—This convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Bucharest as soon as possible. To this end the plenipotentiaries have signed this convention and enclosed the authentication of their plenary powers.

(For Rumania) TAKE JONESCU.
(For Poland) E. SAPIEHA.

Bucharest, March 3, 1921.

THE TERRIBLE FAMINE IN RUSSIA

Fifteen million people threatened by death, which the aid of the whole world can avert only in part—Tales of horror officially confirmed by Moscow—America the only country to which the Soviet leaders have given a free hand

ALL rhetoric pales before the grim realities of the famine that is ravaging Russia. Competent American observers now admit that the situation, far from being exaggerated, is even more terrible than was at first reported. The new official famine paper, *Pomoshch* (Help), published in Moscow, printed reports at the end of August from the Volga provinces giving a picture of human suffering almost too horrible to contemplate. The entire lower Volga basin, the region through which flows the Don River, and the districts along the lower courses of the Dnieper and Bug Rivers, were all stricken. Men, women and children were dying by thousands in Astrakhan, Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Ufa, the Don Cossack region, Kuban, Taurida, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and parts of Voronezh, Tambov, Penza and Kharkov—a region representing a total area of 600,000 square versts, a population of 13,000,000 peasants and 2,000,000 townspeople.

The conditions in Saratov, and especially in Samara, are appalling. Horrible descriptions of people dying like flies from the eating of offal, grass, wood bark, melon rinds, clay and other substitutes for food would seem incredible were they not officially confirmed by the Soviet Government reports. Cholera is raging; there are no hospital facilities, no medicines, no food relief in sight for weeks, perhaps even months, to come. Some Russian and international authorities estimate that, even allowing for outside succor, 1,000,000 people are doomed to perish. Others estimate the probable deaths at twice that number. Thousands are passively awaiting death. Others, panic-stricken, are fleeing they know not whither, vainly seeking relief. Many who had thus trekked to the east and southwest, have returned, despairing, to die in their own homes. Words fail to describe the gigantic nature of the Russian catastrophe.

The Soviet Government has issued proclamation after proclamation seeking to lay the fundamental blame for this vast national calamity on the seven years of war forced on Russia by the capitalist nations. Compelled to call on those nations for help, they have not failed to voice deep suspicion of the motives of the bourgeois world in offering such aid. The voicing of distrust has been frequent in the Soviet press since the despairing cry of Maxim Gorky and the appeal of Archbishop Tikhon echoed around the world. Of the Allied Council's proposal to send an investigating committee made up of allied experts into Russia to ascertain how great the disaster was, what the Government itself was doing to alleviate it, and what additional help would



(Harris & Ewing)

COLONEL WILLIAM N. HASKELL

Appointed to supervise the famine work of the American Relief Administration in Russia

be required, the Soviet leaders were especially suspicious. Charges that the Allies, especially "imperialistic" France, were hatching new counter-revolutionary plots to overthrow the Bolshevik rule were repeated ad nauseam. When Maxim Gorky's non-partisan relief committee was formed, the Bolsheviks boasted that, out of regard for the welfare of Russia, they had accepted even the assistance of their factional enemies. Early in September, however, the Moscow dictators dismissed this committee, on the ground that its members were seeking to go abroad, and that the Soviet enemies outside the Russian boundaries were striving to use it as a political lever to oust the Soviet from power.

The international scheme sponsored by Dr. Nansen, who has long headed the activities of the League of Nations to repatriate war prisoners from Russia, to bring strictly European aid to the starving Russian people, was received by the Soviet with less suspicion, but, despite his best efforts, Dr. Nansen was unable to gain the consent of the dictators to autonomous distribution of the supplies contemplated. All the international Red Cross and relief committees centred in Switzerland, under this scheme, were to distribute supplies for the immediate present, and also to send to Russia the seed necessary before the end of September if a like calamity were to be avoided at the next harvest. Though the Soviet leaders welcomed this offer, they returned to Nansen's pleas for a free hand an unshakable "No!"

The eyes of the Bolshevik Government were turned most hopefully toward the United States. When, in answer to Gorky's despairing appeal, Secretary Hoover pledged the support of the vast relief organization with which his name has long been identified in Europe, a flame of joy ran through political and what remains of intellectual Russia. The Soviet leaders consented in advance to the conditions which Mr. Hoover, backed by President Harding and Secretary Hughes, imposed. The American political prisoners were freed. The American organization was pledged full co-operation by the Soviet authorities, and was promised unreservedly the free hand in distributing food on which Hoover insisted.

The formal agreement between Walter

Lyman Brown, the American representative, and M. Litvinov, a high Soviet functionary, was reached at Riga after some considerable discussion, on Aug. 19. All Litvinov's attempts to force the United States to give up its insistence on independent distribution proved fruitless. Cables sent from Washington in reply to Mr. Brown's messages showed that the Harding Administration was adamant in this regard. The United States would help, help powerfully, but it had no intention to be made a catspaw or a point of leverage to bolster up the tottering Soviet régime. Whatever food supplies it sent it would see personally delivered to the suffering victims. Confronted by this unshakable determination, Litvinov yielded. When the agreement was concluded he voiced tentative hopes that this would lead to other agreements with the United States. Mr. Brown, in replying, was careful to emphasize the fact that the relief measures to be carried out would be strictly activities of a private, non-governmental organization.

Ships were chartered, food trains from Riga were put in motion, the American relief organization was perfected. Mr. Brown estimated that 8,000 tons of food could be secured by the organization in Europe. Colonel Haskell, the American officer who headed Armenian relief in 1919-20, sailed from New York with a considerable staff on Sept. 3. It soon became clear that the United States had no intention of wasting time in talk. The invitation of the allied organizations to participate in a conference to be held at Geneva on Aug. 15 to discuss the whole situation, and decide how co-ordination could best be obtained, was virtually declined by Secretary Hoover in a note sent on Aug. 10 to the former President of Switzerland, M. Ador. The gist of Mr. Hoover's argument was contained in the closing words of this note: "Generally it appears to me that co-ordination of distribution can be practical only after actual contact with the situation in Russia, and that this step cannot be taken to any purpose without a prior and immediate knowledge of what resources can be relied upon."

This sentiment, of course, was that which prompted the allied council to send its wireless message to Moscow proposing the dis-

patch of a committee of investigation, the main difference being that relief would wait on a protracted report, while Hoover was getting his relief machinery into immediate action. For investigating committees, as such, the Soviet leaders have long shown a very particular aversion. Although Secretary Hoover understood clearly that co-operation with the relief organizations of Europe was desirable, he was hampered by the fact that Nansen had not been able to gain the free hand in delivery and movement which the Moscow leaders had accorded to the American organization. Dr. Nansen's whole arrangement with the Soviet authorities brought on his head much criticism, and he was accused of playing into the hands of the Red leaders.

In order to lightning-rod home criticism from its own head, the Soviet Government, through its leaders, asserted that in accepting foreign aid it had no intention of yielding any of its rights of sovereignty. Litvinov had tried strenuously to put through a proviso maintaining the Soviet's right to expel any member of the American organization caught in any political, anti-Bolshevist activities. The American Commissioner had declined to consider this. Colonel Haskell, however, just before sailing from New York, declared that the object of the American Relief Administration was purely humanitarian, and that he would rigorously control the actions of his personnel. He himself, he stated emphatically, would expel any member who sought to supplement this humanitarian work by political activities.

Meanwhile 20,000 tons of food had been ordered in the United States. President Harding and his Secretaries held an official conference in Washington to discuss the energetic launching of the American campaign. In a letter sent out by the President co-ordinated effort through a single organization was urged. Food was already moving from Hamburg, and over eighty carloads had been sent into Russia. Soup kitchens had been established in Moscow. The Soviet, on its part, published a detailed account of its own efforts to alleviate the distressing situation (Aug. 11). A Central Soviet Famine Relief Commission had been created to direct all relief activities. (The

non-political famine commission, headed by Gorky, of which this proclamation boasted, has since been dissolved, as related above, and some of its members arrested.) The Volga area had been freed from the food tax on an estimated total of 1,000,000 tons, which was being diverted to feeding the urban population. A special committee to care for the famishing, sick and dying children had been established. Special measures had been taken for the evacuation of "fugitives"—meaning the former inhabitants of Western Russia, who had fled before the Germans to the Volga district, and who were now frenziedly trying to return to their original homes.

The Soviet report did not mention the evacuation of many Letts, who reached Latvia in a deplorable state of hunger, disease and sorrow, owing to the fact that a considerable number of the men had been left behind to perish. Nor did it mention the former prosperous German settlers in the Volga region, who, like many refugees from Turkestan and other Eastern Russian districts, had fled before the grim horseman trampling all before him. In rags and filth, these refugees huddled in the stations, waiting for relief or death.

The problem is a formidable one. As Lloyd George pointed out in the Paris conference at the end of August, the whole disaster is almost too gigantic to control without a very great international effort. According to reliable British advices, no fewer than 35,000,000 people are stalked by the grim spectre of famine and pestilence. In the House of Commons the British Premier pointed out the danger that epidemics beginning in Russia might sweep all Western Europe, decimating populations too exhausted by war to resist them. The seriousness of the situation could not, he declared, be overestimated. The British, French and Italian representatives had all agreed upon this, and had appointed an international, not an interallied, commission to study the best methods of alleviation. But for this the co-operation of the Soviet authorities was necessary. Up to the time when these pages went to press, there was little probability that the Moscow dictators would consent to the admission of any such commission on the terms which the interallied Ministers demanded.

POLAND AND THE VILNA SETTLEMENT

Poles and Lithuanians agree on the administration of the former Lithuanian capital—Warsaw's anxious waiting for the decision of the League of Nations on Upper Silesia—Danzg Treaty and pacts with Rumania and Czechoslovakia

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

VILNA, the former capital of Lithuania, over which the Poles and the Lithuanians have come to blows repeatedly since 1919, has now ceased to be an object of strife between the two peoples. The settlement of this dangerous problem was effected at Geneva, where Polish and Lithuanian representatives had met in one last, almost despairing effort to find a solution, on the morning of Sept. 1. The decision represented also a triumph for the League of Nations, under whose auspices the negotiations had been dragging on since September, 1920.

The dispute arose out of a declaration of the Supreme Council on Dec. 8, 1919, provisionally establishing the frontier between Northeastern Poland and Lithuania. After the armistice with Germany, the Lithuanian Government had established itself at Kovno. The Russian Bolsheviki, however, still retained and occupied Vilna. From the former Lithuanian capital the Bolsheviki were later driven out by the warring Poles. In July, 1920, Poland recognized the Statehood of Lithuania, but in the same month the Poles were driven out of Vilna by the returning Reds. The latter permitted the dispossessed Lithuanians to re-establish their Government in Vilna. Furthermore, the Russians concluded a treaty of peace giving Lithuania part of the territory accorded to Poland by the Allies on Dec. 8, 1920.

Serious armed clashes occurred in the following month, when the Poles tried to drive the Lithuanians back of this line and out of Vilna. In September the dispute was taken up by the League of Nations, which decreed that the 1920 line must be observed—but only provisionally—by the Lithuanians. These proposals were accepted, and a commission was assigned by the Allies to put

them in force. In November, 1920, however, General Zeligowski, at the head of an army of Polish insurgents, occupied Vilna and set up there a Provisional Government to make Polish possession permanent.

Several attempts to patch up a working agreement failed, Lithuania obstinately refusing to give up Vilna, and Poland as obstinately refusing to yield this predominantly Polish territory to Lithuania. Zeligowski remained in Vilna and refused to evacuate, in defiance of the Lithuanians, the Entente and even Poland herself. The Lithuanians openly charged the Polish Government with aiding and abetting Zeligowski in this d'Annunzio-esque adventure, and Lloyd George, the British Premier, at the time of his outburst in Parliament over the Korfanty uprising in Upper Silesia, said virtually in plain words that he believed this. The Polish Government has systematically denied its responsibility either for Zeligowski or for Korfanty. Be that as it may, Poland has long been anxious to regularize the status of Vilna, and for this reason she gladly accepted new offers of mediation by the League. This mediation, however, was not offered until it had been plainly shown that the holding of a plebiscite was impossible, for the simple reason that neither the Poles nor the Lithuanians wanted the issue decided on this basis. The League then proposed a settlement by direct negotiation. Representatives of the two nations met in Brussels under the Presidency of M. Paul Hymans, a prominent member of the Council of the League, to find a *modus vivendi*. The opposing views, however, proved to be irreconcilable, and the negotiations were again broken off. The success of the new discussions in September, 1921, was joyously hailed by both

countries, each of which has made sacrifices for the sake of ending the long turmoil between their respective peoples.

It was later stated (Sept. 12) that both Lithuania and Poland had accepted the new League plan under reservations. There was some obscurity as to the exact terms of the agreement. The decision that Zeligowski must evacuate was definite. A local militia was to be created for police purposes; whether this force was to be of Polish, Lithuanian or mixed composition was not stated; but the implication was that the Lithuanians would retain nominal sovereignty, while granting the Polish majority equal rights.

The former East Prussian Port of Memel was delivered outright to the Lithuanians, though the Poles were given access to the sea in this direction. Lithuania's foreign policy was to be independent, but she was to sign no foreign treaty harmful to Polish interests. A defensive military convention was to be negotiated.

With this important question of boundaries settled Poland continued to look hopefully to the League Plebiscite Commission and the Entente leaders for a settlement of the still more dangerous dispute with Germany over Upper Silesia. At Paris the entente cordiale between France and Great Britain had almost been shattered by this question. The British Premier, supported by Italy's representative, favored the allocation of most of the rich mining area in the southeast to Germany; France urged the claims of her protégé, Poland. Wholly unable to agree, Lloyd George, facing a rupture, suggested that the dispute be referred to the League of Nations; thus it came about that the League Council, when it met again in September, faced this new problem. At the present writing it is still unsettled and threatening. The Germans contend that possession of the Upper Silesian mines is absolutely essential to their national existence. The Poles say the same regarding their nation. Ethnical statistics are wielded by both sides with patriotic fervor. The plebiscite vote is a tangled affair. If the League unravels that, it will do more than the Entente Premiers could compass.

The Poles meanwhile reached an agreement with the Free City of Danzig; save

for two or three points to be referred to the League of Nations, this agreement establishes friendly relations between Poland and the city republic. The negotiations at Danzig were completed by Aug. 15. M. Plucinski, the Polish commissary, arrived in Warsaw a few days later, accompanied by Senator Jewelowski, a member of the Danzig Diet. Both negotiators explained to the Polish press the difficulties that had been facing them for many months. The only points left outstanding were the administration of railways, the legal status of Polish officials on Danzig territory, the status of the Polish merchant marine in Danzig, and the reimbursement of moneys expended by the Free City.

Poland's foreign relations, taken as a whole, are developing satisfactorily. The foundation of a commercial rapprochement with Czechoslovakia had been laid before the departure from Warsaw, toward the middle of August, of M. Hotowetz, Minister of Commerce for the neighboring republic. Both Poland and Rumania looked with satisfaction on the offensive and defensive treaty which linked the two countries. Rumania through this entente gains security for her eastern frontier. Statements made by M. Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, indicate that Poland contemplates entering the so-called Little Entente, composed at present of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Though technically Poland is at peace with Soviet Russia, the Warsaw leaders are still hostile to the Russian dictators. Causes of friction still exist, especially due to Poland's harboring of organizations hostile to the Soviet Government. Poland, however, is showing deep sympathy for the famine sufferers of Russia. The Pilsudski Government has voted to extend to the Russian Government, purely from humanitarian motives, all the aid that it can offer, and has pledged itself to transport relief supplies coming from the west over the Polish railway lines free of all costs or charges.

The Witos Cabinet collapsed Sept. 12. Stanislaw Glabinski, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Lemberg, was named as the new Premier. The Witos Cabinet fell because of dissatisfaction with foreign conditions and with the home economic situation.

EMIR FEISAL CROWNED KING OF IRAK

Enthronement of King Hussein's son at Bagdad the occasion of rich Oriental ceremonies—Reward of the Arab chief who helped the British armies against the Turks

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

EMIR FEISAL, third son of the aged King of Hedjaz, was crowned King of Irak at 6 A. M. on Aug. 23, in the great court of the Serai in Bagdad. After his nomination by Lord Allenby at the Cairo conference, the strong recommendation given him by the British Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons, and finally the referendum vote of the people of that region of Mesopotamia round about Bagdad (called by the Arabs "Irak"), the Emir's elevation to the throne had become one of the few certainties in the Near East. The coronation took place before a large assembly, and was made the occasion of elaborate ceremony.

Shortly before the appointed time the Emir left his residence, accompanied by Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner for Mesopotamia; the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Sayid Mahmud, eldest son and representative of his Highness, and the Naqid, President of the Provisional Council of State, who had been Feisal's chief unsuccessful rival for the throne.

As the Emir mounted the dais the immense throng rose to acclaim him, the First Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, presented arms, while brass instruments, both English and Arab, raised a musical din. Then the High Commissioner took his seat at the Emir's right hand, with the British General on his left and Sayid Mahmud next to him. The Secretary of the Council of State read in Arabic the proclamation of the High Commissioner announcing the election of the Emir Feisal by the people of Irak and ending with the phrase: "Long live the King!" Then there was more shouting, with blasts from trumpets and a long roll on the drums of the English battalion; the national flag was broken out over the dais and a royal salute given by the military present and a salute of

twenty-one guns by the British artillery. Simultaneously royal salutes were fired at Mosul and Basra, and the national flag was displayed on all public buildings and over camps and garrisons.

Sayid Mahmud read an address of loyalty from the Council of State and the Naqid swore his loyalty. At the end of the ceremony, which lasted scarcely half an hour, the High Commissioner handed the new King the following personal message from King George:

I offer your Majesty my sincere congratulations on this historic and moving occasion, when by an overwhelming vote of the people of Irak the ancient city of Bagdad has again become the seat of an Arab Kingdom. It is a source of deep gratification to myself and my people that the combined military effort of the British and Arab forces and those of their allies has culminated in this memorable event. The treaty which will shortly be concluded between us to consecrate the alliance into which we entered during the dark days of war will, I am confident, enable me to fulfill my solemn obligations by inaugurating an era of peace and renewed prosperity for Irak.

GEORGE R. I.

The new kingdom embraces the former Turkish vilayets of Basra and Bagdad, together with part of Mosul on the north. It has an area of 140,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 2,000,000.

According to the same official sources which designate the new King as the third son of King Hussein, his age is given as 36 years 4 months. He was born in Hedjaz while his father was assistant to his uncle, who was then Grand Shereef. His youth was passed at Hedjaz and with the Arabs of the desert, imbibing from them that knowledge of tribal lore which has helped him to gain and keep the good-will of the tribes. When still a boy he went to Constantinople and there pursued his general education. When his father, Hussein, succeeded his uncle on the latter's death,

Feisal went with him to Hedjaz and gained an insight into tribal administration both in peace and war.

Elected to sit in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, he became the leader of the Arab Nationalist Party, which then had its headquarters at Damascus. When Djemal Pasha was appointed Governor of Syria in 1914 he practically forced Feisal to accompany him and used him for his influence over the Arabs. He was practically a prisoner, and having learned that Turkey intended to side with Germany in the war and also that an order of execution had been issued against himself, he managed to escape in disguise and returned to his father at Mecca. The information he brought decided his father to declare his independence of Turkey and greatly strengthened the cause of the Allies among the Arabs.

Colonel Lawrence, who was then negotiating with Hussein, soon recognized Feisal's abilities, while on his side Feisal gave his entire confidence to Colonel Lawrence, and it was principally due to the alliance of the two that the Arab Army was able to play so brilliant a part in the Palestine-Syrian campaign. At the end of the war, when the various Entente powers received their mandates under the Treaty of Sèvres, the Arab Congress at Damascus elected Feisal King of Syria. From this position he was soon after ejected by General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner. He then placed his case before the chancelleries of Rome and London, and at the latter, where he sojourned from December until last April, he so impressed every one with his statesmanlike views that he finally secured the support of the British Government.

Considering the parlous times which then prevailed throughout Mesopotamia, it was fortunate for the British Government that Feisal was willing to support it. What the French did not care for the British were glad to possess. Too late the former regard the accession of Feisal as a great loss of prestige by France. Some Paris papers, in commenting upon the coronation at Bagdad, regard it as a distinct menace to French interests in the Near East, contrived for that purpose by Downing Street, overlooking the fact that many statesmen believe that England is merely making a merit of a stern necessity.

Feisal, who had been told at Downing Street to make his claim good by quieting the Arabs in Mesopotamia, reached Basra on June 23, and opened the political campaign which has now turned out so successfully for him. This campaign, the story of which is still the chief piece of news in the papers of the Levant, and even of Moslem India, forms a curious contrast to a Presidential campaign in the United States; in the East ceremonials, a display of



EMIR FEISAL

Arab Prince who has been crowned King of Mesopotamia

wealth and debates on erudition take the place of talks on political expediency.

At Basra Feisal's reception was not enthusiastic, and so, after a few tactful speeches, calculated to provoke favorable discussion, he went on to Bagdad via the Euphrates Railway, visiting Hallas, Nejef and Kerbala en route. At the Holy Places he aroused some quiet enthusiasm.

At Bagdad the British High Commissioner prepared great festivities. There were three days of rejoicing; banquets followed banquets, with diplomatic receptions attended by all foreign representatives; only France was conspicuous by her absence.

Meanwhile, through the skillful work of the High Commissioner and his able corps of Moslem assistants, municipal delegations began to arrive in Bagdad, the most important being from Mosul and Dulaim. These were followed by the Sheiks of the tribes. Soon Feisal began to be acclaimed as King, an honor he quietly accepted, stating, however, that the voice of the people had not yet been fully heard. So they began to acclaim him with more noise. At Dulaim Liwah, at Fahad Bey Al Had Hadhdhal, at Ramadi and at the Oases of the Fallujah Desert there were strange festivals in

which automobiles and Arabian chargers were curiously mingled, as was the powder play of the ancient flintlocks and magazine rifles.

The greatest festival of all was toward the end of July at Ramadi, where Feisal was received by Mutesarrif and Sheik Ali Sulaiman, with the local forces drawn up in modern style to do honor. Here there was a great durbar tent on the banks of the Euphrates, and here Feisal made his most effective speech, punctuating his logic, which was wholly practical, with beautiful figures of speech. He represented himself as merely the messenger of the British Government, whose power was infinite on earth. In that character all the notables paid him homage. According to native accounts, the light, color and beauty of the festival, which was carried on throughout the night under the bright stars of the desert, could be likened only to the scenes pictured in the "Arabian Nights." Then Feisal returned to Bagdad, where the voting of the Council of State and then the referendum, which ratified the vote, took place. The coronation is said to have surpassed even the splendors of the days of Haroun Al-Raschid.

PERSIA'S RAGE AGAINST ENGLAND

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE pessimistic speech on Persia made by Marquis Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, in the House of Lords on July 26 (quoted in September CURRENT HISTORY, Page 1069), aroused a storm in the press of Teheran. The reaction of the Iran and the Star of Persia was especially violent. Earl Curzon, in this statement, had intimated that, since the new Teheran Government had denounced the Anglo-Persian Treaty, and had, furthermore, allied itself with Moscow, Great Britain would henceforth wash its hands of Persia. The Teheran press was exasperated that Lord Curzon should describe himself as an old friend of Persia, declaring that he opposed Lord Grey's policy toward Persia merely because he coveted the latter's portfolio of

Foreign Affairs, and gave vent to a bitter attack on Lord Curzon's own policy, initiated as soon as he gained possession of

A part of this attack embraced the administration of the British financial adviser appointed by Lord Curzon—Mr. Armitage-Smith—whom the Star of Persia compared with his American predecessor, W. Morgan Shuster, much to the disadvantage of the former. Mr. Shuster, the paper declared, was a servant of the Mejliss (the elected National Assembly), honored and trusted by all Persians, and expelled in 1911 by a harsh ultimatum, which was the joint work of England and Czarist Russia. The Star of Persia continued thus:

Lord Curzon himself admits that the Anglo-Persian convention is invalid with-

out ratification of the Mejliss. Why, then, did he send a financial adviser without this ratification, and send him back when he returned to England, and still urges him upon Persia, when Persia does not desire him?

The Star of Persia is incensed that Lord Curzon should pretend that England saved Persia in the great war, when the British attempted to use Persia as a battleground, after Persia had declared her neutrality, just as Germany had used Belgium. And as to the Soviet danger, everybody knew that the troops of Lenin would never have invaded the country had it not been occupied by British troops. The writer adds:

Lord Curzon thinks we are the tool of an alien because the Cossack division is now officered by Persians, whereas if it had British officers he would call it a national force. We are not such fools that we do not know our friends and cannot tell the difference between a treaty signed with Russia, from which, Lord Curzon threatens us, we shall ultimately suffer, and the English treaty, which was an instrument of English colonial policy, and would have destroyed our independence forthwith.

Many Americans sympathize with Persia and still deplore the methods used by the British Foreign Minister, then Sir Edward Grey, in 1911, to get rid of the efficient Mr. Shuster. The latter had done economic wonders in Persia and was so beloved by the Persians that they were willing to die for him. A further statement of the Persian reaction to British methods may prove interesting. First, because the Wilson Administration was opposed to the Anglo-Persian Treaty (when Lord Grey came here in 1919 as British Ambassador he was not received at the White House), and, second, because this is the first time that the Persian case has been so fully set forth. The Star of Persia says:

England, by the Convention of 1907, the ultimatum of 1911 [ousting Mr. Shuster], the Convention of 1919 [the Anglo-Persian Treaty], the formation of the South Persian

Rifles [a corps organized in direct opposition to the Constitution], the dispatch of Mr. Armitage-Smith, the covering of Persian with Indian troops, the obstruction of reforms and foreign loans, and by the action of the British authorities in Persia, made the Persian Nation understand that the English Government is not interested in promoting Persia's greatness and strength, and wants to make Persia a second Egypt for the development of its colonial policy.

The English Government wants Persia to have an organized army, but under British officers, like the South Persian Rifles, and subject to the commands of the Government of India.

It wants Persia to have sound finances, but, like Egypt, under English Government supervision and with English advisers as administrators.

It wants Persia to have railways, but will not permit a concession to any foreign company except the English, or to any international association.

It wants Persia's mines developed, but, like the Ahwaz oil, this must be done only by English companies, so that it may keep control over the Persian Government's expenditures. And it welcomes a revision of customs tariff, provided this favors British imperial trade.

These are the views of the English Government, whose Secretary of State says no Western power has worked so disinterestedly to revive the life and greatness of any Oriental country. The Persian Nation, with cordial thanks, declines this disinterestedness, these efforts for such a revival and such a life. It desires to maintain friendly relations with the Durbar of London, and not be the dangerous tool of Britain's enemies, but it will not pledge all its economic resources to Britain. It desires that the doors of its riches shall be open to all nations, and wishes to interest the commerce of all in its economic development.

It is only necessary to add that, by the genius of Mr. Shuster, Persia was in a fair way to realize all the advantages enumerated above, by her own efforts, when in January, 1912, she was obliged to choose between his going and war with Great Britain, and Persia was even hesitating over the alternative when Mr. Shuster decided for her by going.

THE GREAT BATTLE FOR ANGORA

Victorious advance of the Greek armies against the Turks, culminating in the battle of the Sakaria River—Lloyd George's frank explanation regarding the attitude of the Allies toward the two combatants

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Greeks and Kemalists by Sept. 10 had apparently fought each other to a standstill within fifty miles of Angora, with the possibility of a limited Greek retirement without any Turkish pursuit. In the first week of August the Greeks had regained all the positions they had been obliged to abandon in April, and had inflicted severe injuries upon the army of Mustapha Kemal, which was then rapidly retreating, having lost in various ways, permanently or for the time being, fully 60 per cent. of its effectives. From Aug. 6 to 15 the Greeks had consolidated their positions and brought up supplies. They then moved in the direction the enemy had taken.

Meanwhile the main body of Kemal's army had concentrated over the line of mountain summits and valleys from a point behind Sivrihisar to Berbazar, on the upper Sakaria River. Thus the enemy had not only strong mountain positions, but also the curves of the Sakaria River as far as its confluence with the Pursak, as his defense. His positions were impregnable, except for one vital circumstance—some of his detachments had retreated along roads which had no communication with the base of supplies at Angora. [For map see Page 33.]

On Aug. 15 the Greeks were occupying the line Mandra (on the Sakaria River)-Kaimaz-Ak Küprü (on the Pursak Su River, seventy miles east of Eskishehr, which is also situated on the Pursak Su, a branch of the Sakaria). Within the next few days three columns of Greeks were on the march, although strong detachments had preceded them. The first followed the line of the Angora Railway; the second moved toward the Sakaria River from Said Ghazl; the third was moving across the salt desert which lies northeast of Afium Karahissar.

In order to understand what took place when these columns came in contact with the Kemalist lines of defense, it is neces-

sary to know the course of the Sakaria River, for its varying path caused many false deductions to be made from the cable dispatches. This river rises in the Emir Dag, about forty miles south of Eskishehr; it flows in a general easterly direction until it reaches a point southwest from Angora and about ninety miles from that city; it then flows north under the Angora Railway and then northwesterly to a point east of Biledjik; and thence in a general north-easterly direction, emptying into the Black Sea, eighty miles east of Constantinople.

The great battle was begun at Gordion, at the confluence of the Sakaria and the Pursak Su, forty-three miles southwest of Angora, on Aug. 18. In the two days that followed, the Turks were driven from their positions. Conflicting reports placed the Turkish loss in prisoners at 4,000 men and 170 officers and the Greek losses at exactly the same figures, but the news, common to both sources of information, that the Turkish cavalry had been annihilated by the column of Greeks which had emerged from the salt desert, seemed to confirm a Greek victory.

From Aug. 21 until the Greeks reached the second line of the enemy's defense on Aug. 23, and then on for eight days, during which there was severe fighting, the only reason for supposing that the Greeks were advancing and the Turks retreating was that with the news of each day's Turkish "victory" there was indicated a place further east than the scene of the "victory" of the day before. No news came from the Greek front, just as no news came from the front of the Allies for long periods during October, 1918, when the pursuit of the Germans was so rapid. From Aug. 23 to 31 the Greeks drove the Turks from their second line and almost succeeded in isolating their left wing.

On Aug. 26 there was a report from Constantinople that the Turkish centre had

been reinforced by two divisions from the Caucasus, making eight in all facing the Greeks on the railway, and that each wing of the Turks, both on the left bank of the Sakaria River, on its northerly course, had four divisions. While the Greeks rested on Aug. 31 for their transport service to reach them on a line forty miles long lying across the Sakaria southeast from Sivri-Hissar, the Turks, in spite of the reinforcements they had received, resumed their retreat and actually succeeded in removing their heavy artillery behind their second line, which had already been occupied by the Greeks.

Fighting was then resumed on the fortified heights north of the Rivers Gheuk and Katranji, on a line deployed by the Turks to between sixty and seventy miles. From these positions the Turks again slowly retired until, in the first three days in September, they were occupying the line Gordium—Polatli—Sarighiol—Karahodja, only fifty miles from Angora.

Then there were rumors of a Turkish flight from the Nationalist capital, but up to the time when these pages went to press the movement for the envelopment of Angora had been held up, as the Greeks were temporarily unable to proceed further, on account of their long and hazardous lines of communication, constantly interrupted by troops of bandits.

In the British House of Commons, on Aug. 16, the Prime Minister made a long statement in regard to the Turko-Grecian problem and the Treaty of Sèvres. He said that when the Kemalist insurrection arose, Venizelos, then Premier of Greece, was for dealing with it at once, but was held back by the Allies. Subsequent events had proved that Venizelos was right. He then explained why the Allies could not "force" both the Nationalist Turks and the Greeks to come to terms, and added, explaining many things of which the world had been ignorant or which it had misconstrued:

There is only one other alternative, and that is to leave both of them to fight it out. Some say we might have referred the matter to the League of Nations. That would have been an unkindness to the League of Nations. How could they have dealt with it? They would only have had the means which the Allies could have placed at their disposal, and there was no allied power which would have sent an army for the purpose of enforcing

ing a decision. Therefore you had to leave both to fight it out. We have not given arms to either of them—not a single gun, rifle or shell. These battles have been fought without any assistance from us either way.

Not only do I think that that was the only course, but I am afraid it is the best course. I will tell the House quite frankly why I think so. One is a reason that applies to the Turks and the other a reason that applies to the Greeks. The Mustapha Kemal Turks undoubtedly had an exaggerated idea of their own prowess. They conquered Asia Minor very easily. They gained some very easy victories in Cilicia, and they had a very exaggerated view of their own prowess and a contemptuous estimate of the Greeks' military capacity. Their realization that they were wrong in both those instances will make them none the worse neighbors for Greeks or Italians or Frenchmen or British. The Turk accepts a fact in the end when it is really driven into his mind. There are Greek enthusiasts, on the other hand, who, I have no doubt, will realize soon that there are limits to what Greek resources, valor and skill can accomplish in the fastnesses of Asia Minor. War has one merit, in that it does in the end teach a respect for facts. I think both these races will be easier to deal with when their own limitations have been brought thoroughly clearly to their minds.

The British Admiralty has officially announced that from Oct. 15 Rear Admiral Aubrey Clare Hugh Smith, C. B., M. V. O., will be lent to the Greek Navy as chief naval adviser. Before the war he was attached to the Admiralty and to various embassies abroad; during the war he served first in command of the cruiser Drake and then as Commodore on the South American and Pacific Station.

There are increasing signs that all is not well diplomatically between Moscow and Angora. The Turks, according to complaints of the Russian Foreign Commissioner to Ali Fuad, Turkish Ambassador at Moscow, have been ill treating communists, have even executed some. An authentic copy of Ali Fuad's explanation to the Commissioner, dated Moscow, June 22, 1921, has come to hand. In it is the following passage:

The official reports which I have from my Government state that the communists are constantly committing serious tactical errors, weakening the Turkish front by attempting a premature social revolution which at the moment the Turkish people do not at all desire, and openly and directly opposing the laws and regulations of the Great National Assembly of Turkey. In view of such action,

I do not see how the action of the Turkish officials who apply the law against all trouble makers in Turkey can be misinterpreted. As to the suggestion that the Turkish army was the cause and author of the bloody events at Alexandropol or of the tragic end of some of the inhabitants of that city, it is at least astonishing that officers of the Red army, allied with the Turkish army, should be victims of such inventions and should accept without proof such unfounded stories. It is clear from documents and copies of documents at the headquarters of our eastern army, some of which come from

the communist organizations of Alexandropol and some from neutral institutions such as the American institutions, that all the victims referred to were sacrificed by the counter-revolutionaries when they refused to obey while the Turkish army was still far from those regions. As to the incidents at Kars and at Artvin, the data furnished by the Turkish Government indicated that they amount merely to a few perfectly legal arrests of persons who made themselves agents of our enemies by seeking to stir up discord between the two peoples of Turkey and of Russia.

ENGLAND'S UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Great industrial depression weighs upon the nation—Borough Councilors go to jail to save money for the local poor—Greatest airship disaster in history—Forty-four men killed by collapse of the giant American dirigible, ZR-2

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

IN checking up the British industrial depletion through sickness and disablement, as covered by the eight-year period 1913-1920, since the National Insurance act went into effect, a recent Government report showed that on the average there were at least 14,065,941 working weeks lost every year. This total was made up of men, 8,916,000 weeks, and women, 5,149,941 weeks. During the year before last the Government paid out to sick and disabled persons £7,089,784. As pointed out by a medical expert, the foregoing figures signify that there is a constant loss of work in Great Britain of 270,000 persons. That, however, is but an item in the larger bill. For not only does the employer lose in the sickness itself; he loses on the sick man. At present this loss may not be computed, because there is no means of estimating it.

Upon this point, however, the medical expert goes on to say in effect that if firms would observe the fluctuations of their output in relation to the sick-absence of their work people, information of a most valuable kind would be available. In one instance in which an attempt was made to keep figures it was found that the absence of a good worker cost a definite sum each week. This was accounted for in part by the diminished skill of the man replacing him and in part

by the general disorganization resulting from his absence. Thus, even if we put the cost so low as one shilling a worker per annum—an absurd underestimate—we have to add almost a million pounds to the general bill of costs for sickness. The probability is that twice this figure is too small a reckoning. The medical writer expresses the belief that the dead loss to the employers thus amounted to £2,000,000 a year. He therefore urges, in the interest of both employers and workers, that instead of letting the worker go to the physician when sickness falls upon him, as at present, the employers should invite local physicians to inspect their workers periodically, inasmuch as the great mass of disease which cripples industry is preventable.

In the field of labor a downward revision of wages from the high peak ran between 12½ and 15 per cent., according to figures presented by Trade Commissioner Hugh D. Butler, stationed in London. Where the earnings of the workers had not been reduced by at least such amounts, further cuts at some specified date were generally in prospect, or there was an agreement to reconsider the matter soon or later. The shipyard joiners were reported to be an almost solitary exception to the disposition of all trades to accept wage reductions by

agreement with employers, thus terminating the disastrous strike period through which the country had recently passed.

A serious condition of unemployment, however, continued to prove its existence by startling incidents. For instance, the response of 5,000 unemployed men to an advertisement in the newspapers for help in a lumber yard resulted in a furious riot when it was discovered there were only fifty jobs vacant. The mob of disappointed applicants wrecked the company's office and sheds, and in some manner the whole yard caught fire. Mounted and foot police finally drove the idle men out of the yard, but the best efforts of the firemen were powerless to save a loss which ran into millions of pounds.

Connected with the unemployment problem also was the decision on Aug. 31 of thirty labor members of Poplar Borough Council of London to go to prison rather than obey an order of the High Court requiring them to raise rates to pay the call of the London County Council dealing with education, drainage of roads and other services for the whole of London. Their decision was based on the ground that they were heavily burdened with the maintenance of the poor and unemployed in this, one of London's poorest districts, and they declined to saddle the borough with anything further until the laws were reformed which compelled each borough to provide for its own poor, a burden which the rich districts escaped.

On Sept. 3 and 4 considerable excitement attended the arrest of nineteen refractory Councilors, among whom was George Lansbury, editor of *The Daily Herald*, the national labor organ. On the 5th a great demonstration was staged in support of five women Councilors who elected to follow their male colleagues to jail rather than impose more taxation on the borough for money due the London County Council. Immense crowds accompanied the arrested women Councilors to the doors of Brixton Prison.

Decontrol of the railways of Great Britain and Ireland took place on Aug. 15 after seven years of administration and operation by the companies under the control of the State. So vast are the administrative and financial changes that have

taken place in those seven years that it is certain under the present cost of operation there can be no return to the pre-war level of rates, either as to passenger or goods traffic, if there is to be any margin of income for their owners. Decontrol of the consumption of beer, wines and spirits in Great Britain was scheduled for the end of the month by the passage of the Licensing bill through the House of Lords on Aug. 17. Regulation will again be by act of Parliament, not by the unpopular Orders in Council.

A preliminary report on the census of 1921 gave the population of Great Britain on June 19 as 42,767,530, an increase of 1,936,134, or 4.7 per cent., over the figures of 1911. This was the smallest increase recorded in any decade for 100 years. One legacy of the war is the preponderance of females over males. For England the figures showed 16,984,987 males and 18,694,443 females; Wales, 1,098,133 males and 1,108,579 females; Scotland has a surplus of more than 180,000 females. In all there are 1,906,000 more women than men in the United Kingdom. No Irish census was taken in 1921. London remains the largest city in the world, with a population of 7,476,168. Birmingham is second in the British Isles with 919,438 persons, Liverpool third and Manchester fourth.

GREAT AIRSHIP DISASTER

An airship disaster of unparalleled magnitude occurred over the City of Hull on Aug. 24, at 5:45 P. M., when the giant dirigible ZR-2, purchased by the American Government, suddenly collapsed high in the air. The vessel was on a final test trip before being delivered to her American crew for navigation to the United States, when she was seen from below to break in two. This appalling spectacle was followed almost instantly by explosions and the bursting of the airship into flames.

As the vessel began a nose dive, watchers fled in panic to the shelter of the houses, fearing the burning airship would plunge into the centre of the business district. But by an act of heroism on the part of her commander, Captain A. A. Wann, this additional disaster was avoided, and the airship was steered so that it fell into the Humber River. Three members of the

crew, who had descended by a parachute, made a safe landing, and two others, including Captain Wann, were subsequently taken off the wreck. These were found to comprise all the survivors from a crew of 32 British and 17 Americans—49 in all. None of the Americans was saved.

Among the British officers who lost their lives, General E. M. Maitland was regarded as a leader in aviation. The names of the American officers on the ill-fated ZR-2, as officially given out in Washington on Aug. 25, were Commander Louis H. Maxfield, Lieut. Commander Valentine N. Beig, Lieut. Commander Emery Coil, Lieutenant Charles

G. Little, Lieutenant Marcus H. Esterly and Lieutenant Henry W. Hoyt. The cause of the disaster was said to have been a structural weakness.

The ZR-2, the greatest of airships, was 695 feet long, 85 feet in diameter and had engines of 2,100 horsepower and a cubic capacity of 2,700,000 feet. The cruising radius, at fifty miles an hour, was 9,000 miles. The vessel was originally known as the R-38, but her name was changed by the American Navy Department when the purchase was agreed upon at \$2,000,000. The ZR-2 was to have been housed at Lakewood, N. J., in the largest hangar ever built.

FEELING THE WAY TOWARD IRISH PEACE

Gradual progress toward agreement between Lloyd George and Eamon de Valera through the exchange of many notes—New negotiations at Inverness—Ulster refuses to be bound by any decisions made by the other two parties in the controversy

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

PUBLIC attention in Ireland was almost wholly centred upon the peace negotiations, which mainly took the form of a lengthy exchange of notes between Eamon de Valera, the Irish Republican leader, and Premier Lloyd George. A reading of this correspondence showed not only that each note was written with extreme care but also that more than one betokened the united effort of several minds. Again, while both sides found themselves in positions of determined opposition, at the outset both appeared equally averse to making an impassable barrier to a final settlement. But in the background of this controversy there was always the determination of the Northern Parliament of Ulster to stand upon its newly acquired rights as independent of whatever agreement might be reached between the Dail Eireann and the British Government. In other words, Ulster flatly refused to be drawn into any present plan to satisfy Sinn Fein aspirations for a United Ireland.

This peace correspondence, of undoubted-

ly great historic importance, properly began with a long letter from General Jan C. Smuts, Premier of South Africa. It was dated Aug. 4 and indicated that the former South African rebel, and the elected President of "the Irish Republic," to whom the letter was addressed, were upon terms of personal friendship. General Smuts was about to sail for South Africa, and he began by expressing his regret that he could do no more to remove the impasse which had been reached by Mr. de Valera and Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier. He found that the question of Ulster's coming into a United Ireland Constitution was as firmly insisted upon by Mr. de Valera as it was rejected by Sir James Craig. While General Smuts believed that it was to the interest of Ulster to come in, yet such was her opposition that he advised leaving her alone for the present, and to concentrate upon a free Constitution for the remaining twenty-six counties. Once this was successfully established, he thought economic and other forces would eventually pull Ulster into

that State. The remainder of General Smuts's letter was indeed an eloquent plea for the Irish leaders to be guided by that same political light which had brought South Africa from out her period of national stress to become "a happy, contented, united and completely free country."

On Aug. 14 three notes were given to the public, disclosing the positions taken up by Mr. de Valera and Premier Lloyd George at the outset of the negotiations. First, the original British proposal for a settlement, dated July 26. It began with the declaration of an earnest desire "to end the unhappy divisions which have produced so many conflicts," and expressed the belief that "the Irish people may find as worthy and as complete an expression of their political and spiritual ideals within the empire as any of the varied, numerous nations united in allegiance to his Majesty's throne." Such consummation was desired not only for the welfare of Great Britain and Ireland, but for peace throughout the world. To this end it was proposed that Ireland assume forthwith the status of a dominion, with all the powers and privileges as herewith set forth. Briefly, in addition to dominion status, Ireland should have autonomy in taxation and finance, with her own courts of law and Judges, army for home defense, constabulary and police, postal services and all matters concerning education, agriculture, mines, forestry, labor, transport, trade, public health, insurance and liquor trade. Only the British Government laid down these conditions: The Royal Navy alone would control the seas around Ireland, and Great Britain would raise Irish Territorials to conform numerically to the military establishments of other parts of these islands. Voluntary recruiting would be allowed in Ireland for the Imperial Army, Navy and Air Services. No protective duties would be adopted, and Ireland would be responsible for her share of the United Kingdom's debt.

To these proposals Mr. de Valera replied on Aug. 10, after consulting with his colleagues. He reminded the British Premier that at their London conference he had expressed the conviction that the Dail Eireann could not and would not accept the foregoing proposals. He was now compelled to confirm that opinion. He complained that the principle of the pact was not easy to de-

termine, for while Ireland's separate nationhood and right to self-determination were implied, there were stipulations and conditions at variance with the vital principle of independence—"absolute separation." He pointed out that dominion status was an illusory term, since the freedom which the British Dominions enjoyed was not so much the result of legal enactments as of the immense distances which separated them from Great Britain. Regarding the question of the independence of Ulster, Mr. de Valera contended that Great Britain must stand aside in a matter which concerned only the Irish, though if impossible of solution from that point of view he was willing to submit it to extend arbitration. On the whole, therefore, the proposals were rejected, but not without concluding words by way of illumination to the final sentence: "The road to peace and understanding lies open."

Premier Lloyd George's answer to the foregoing was dated Aug. 13. After calling attention to the fundamental differences which had arisen, and the decision "to leave you in no doubt of our meaning," Mr. Lloyd George declared emphatically that no British Government could compromise on the right of Ireland to secede. "No such right can ever be acknowledged by us," he went on. "The geographical propinquity of Ireland to the British Isles is a fundamental fact. The history of the two islands for many centuries, however it is read, is sufficient proof that their destinies are indissolubly linked."

At this point Mr. de Valera was reminded that when he came to see Mr. Lloyd George only one condition was stated, viz.: "That Ireland should recognize the force of geographical and historical facts." Regarding the suggestion that existing differences between the two parts of Ireland might be submitted to foreign arbitration, that was squarely rejected. In conclusion Mr. Lloyd George said: "Our proposals present to the Irish people an opportunity such as has never dawned in their history before. We have made these in a sincere desire to achieve peace, but beyond that we cannot go."

The position of Ulster at this time was disclosed in a letter from Sir James Craig to Premier Lloyd George, after a copy of the British Southern Irish proposals had been forwarded to the Ulster Premier.

After calling to mind the sacrifices made in agreeing to self-government and consenting to the establishment of a Parliament for Northern Ireland, much against their wishes but in the interests of peace, they were now busily engaged in ratifying their part of that solemn bargain. This, "while Irishmen outside the Northern area," who in the past struggled for that Home Rule the people of Ulster did not want, "have chosen to repudiate the Government of Ireland act and to press Great Britain for wider powers. To join in such pressure is repugnant to the people of Northern Ireland." Therefore they respectfully declined to determine or interfere with the terms of settlement between Great Britain and Southern Ireland. He contended Ulster did not block the way to peace. What she could not permit was interference with her Parliament and rights. Consequently no meeting between himself and Mr. de Valera could take place until the latter recognized that Northern Ireland would not submit to any authority other than His Majesty the King and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and admitted the sanctity of the existing powers and privileges of the Northern Irish Parliament.

On Aug. 16 the Dail Eireann, Irish Republican Parliament, was formally opened in the Assembly Hall of the Mansion House, Dublin. At 11:15 A. M. Mr. de Valera, accompanied by his Cabinet Ministers, the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Frank P. Walsh, entered the densely thronged chamber. Several notable figures were present. The proceedings then went forward with remarkable order and discipline. After a short prayer in Gaelic by Father O'Elanagan, the signing of the roll took place. The oath administered to members read as follows:

I do solemnly swear or affirm that I do not and shall not yield voluntary support to any pretended government, authority or power within Ireland hostile and inimical thereto, and I do further swear or affirm that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is the Dail Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me God.

After Professor John MacNeill had been elected Speaker, Eamon de Valera, in an address to the House, declared for Ireland that he and his colleagues stood for the ideals embodied in the American Declaration of Independence. He reiterated Ireland's claim to separation from the British Empire, and asserted that the Cabinet of the Republican Parliament was the sole Government the Irish people recognized. Regarding the peace negotiations he said: "The trouble in the present negotiations was the lack of principle on the part of Great Britain to stand for principle, and we mean to die for it, if necessary."

After organization meetings the Dail Eireann went into secret session on Aug. 23 to consider its reply to the British Government's proposals.

Meantime, on Aug. 19, Premier Lloyd George, in speaking before the House of Commons, said:

There is one thing that has been achieved—the issues have been defined more clearly than they have ever been before, and their rejection would be an unmistakable challenge to the authority of the Crown and the unity of the empire. Here we are in the very heart of the empire, and no party in the State could possibly pass that over without notice.

But he protested against using language of menace, for that would be folly, as aggravating the old difficulty. In another place the Premier said: "We have put all our cards on the table. The outline of our offer cannot be altered nor the basis changed."

The first result of the deliberations of the Dail Eireann took the form of a letter signed by Eamon de Valera as a reply to Lloyd George's note of Aug. 13, and sent by a special courier to the British Premier in London on Aug. 25. It was in effect a vigorous repudiation of the British argument of "geographical propinquity" and of the British right that Ireland must subordinate herself to Britain's "strategic interests." The note said in part:

We cannot believe that your Government intended to commit itself to the principle of sheer militarism, destructive of international morality and fatal to the world's peace. * * * If nations that have been forcibly annexed to an empire lose thereby their title to independence there can be for them no rebirth of freedom. * * * If our refusal to betray our nation's honor * * * be made an

issue of war * * * we deplore it. * * * We have not sought war, nor do we seek war, but if war be made upon us we must defend ourselves. * * * If your Government be determined to impose its will upon us by force and, antecedent to negotiations, to insist upon conditions that involve a surrender of our whole national position and make negotiations a mockery, the responsibility for the continuance of the conflict rests upon you.

The note concluded by suggesting that on the basis of the broad guiding principle of government by the consent of the governed, peace could be secured. Dail Eireann was ready to appoint its plenipotentiaries to secure such a peace.

In a prompt reply to this missive on Aug. 26, Lloyd George expressed himself as "profoundly disappointed" by the Irish reply. He categorically denied the Irish contention that the British proposals "involve the surrender of Ireland's whole national tradition, and reduce her to subservience," and declared that under these proposals, on the contrary, "Ireland would control every nerve and fibre of her national existence"—language, religious life, taxation, finance, education, land and agriculture, labor and industry, national health and homes, the maintenance of law and order. Ireland would, in other words, within her own shores, "be free in every respect of national activity, national expression and national development. The States of the American Union, sovereign though they be, enjoy no such range of rights." Great Britain, however, if the Irish insisted on absolute independence and sovereignty, would answer with an emphatic "No!" The conditions were the same as those prevailing at the time of the Civil War in the United States, and the words of Abraham Lincoln, "Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other now and build an impassable wall between them," were equally applicable to the relation between Great Britain and Ireland.

In conclusion, he expressed willingness to continue negotiations in an attempt to find a basis of agreement, but warned against delay as playing into the hands of the extremists anxious to wreck the negotiations and terminate the truce.

To this letter the Irish Republic Parliament replied by a communication given out

from 10 Downing Street on Sept. 2. Mr. de Valera and the Dail Eireann had not receded in the slightest from the position formerly adopted. They declared that the Government proposals were not an invitation to enter into a free-willing partnership with the nations of the British Commonwealth, but that, on the contrary, the conditions Mr. Lloyd George sought to impose would divide Ireland into two artificial and mutually destructive States. The position of Ulster was thus brought to the forefront. Further, insistence was laid on the entry of plenipotentiaries into a conference untrammelled by any conditions.

The gravity of the resulting situation moved Mr. Lloyd George, taking a vacation in Scotland, to summon a meeting of the British Cabinet at Inverness on Sept. 7. It was recalled that never before had the Ministers been called upon to take such a journey to attend a council in circumstances so unusual.

With unlooked-for celerity the British Cabinet completed its discussions. By 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Sept. 7 the British reply had been handed to Commandant Barton, the Irish courier, and was on its way to Dublin. Couched in earnest, even solemn, tone, the text of the note read as follows:

Government by consent of the governed is the basic principle of the British Constitution, but we cannot accept as the basis of a practical conference an interpretation thereof which would commit us to any demands you might present, even to the extent of setting up a republic and repudiating the Crown.

You must be aware that a conference on such a basis is impossible. So applied, the principle of government by consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic State and drive the civilized world back into tribalism.

On the other hand, we have invited you to discuss our proposals on their merits, in order that you may have no doubt as to the scope and sincerity of our intentions.

It would be open to you in such a conference to raise the subject of guarantees on any point in which you may consider Irish freedom prejudiced by these proposals. His Majesty's Government are loath to believe that you will insist upon rejection of their proposals without examining them in a conference.

To decline to discuss a settlement which would bestow upon the Irish people the fullest freedom for national development with the empire can only mean that you repudi-

ate all allegiance to the Crown and all membership in the British Commonwealth.

If we are to draw this inference from your letter, then further discussions between us could serve no useful purpose and all conferences would be in vain. If, however, we are mistaken in this inference, as we still hope, and if your real objection to our proposals is that they offer Ireland less than the liberty we have described, that objection can be explored at a conference.

You will agree that this correspondence has lasted long enough. His Majesty's Government must therefore ask for a definite reply as to whether you are prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

If, as we hope, your answer is in the affirmative, I suggest that the conference should meet at Inverness on the 20th inst.

The Irish answer to this had been delivered by Sept. 12. Though its text was not officially published, it was understood that de Valera and his associates had accepted the invitation to the proposed conference at Inverness. A new courier was sent from Dublin to Lloyd George at Inverness on this date. The Dail Eireann was already selecting its plenipotentiaries for this all-important conference. Prominent Irish personages mentioned as likely to be selected were Arthur Griffith, Foreign Minister of the Dail Eireann Cabinet, Professor John MacNeill, Speaker of the Irish Parliament, and Commandant Barton, the

former Irish special courier to Lloyd George and a cousin of Erskine Childers, who is a nephew of one of Gladstone's Chancellors. The name of Austin Stack, the Dail Minister of Home Affairs, was mentioned as a fourth possibility.

A strong and emphatic warning was issued by Ulster at this time through Hugh O'Neill, Speaker of the Ulster Parliament, at an address at Ballymena. Mr. O'Neill said in part:

Any diminution of the rights and privileges of the new Ulster Parliament as a result of the projected negotiations, would lead to a bitter civil war in Ireland which would become world-wide. * * * There would be in Ireland a war which would embroil Great Britain and the United States and would spread horror over the earth.

While the long and anxious negotiations were being carried on, the truce which made them possible was being faithfully observed throughout the greater part of Ireland. Factional strife, however, again flamed up in Belfast during the last week of August. Serious rioting occurred on Aug. 21, and again on Aug. 29. On the 31st, with a list of fifteen persons killed and thirty-four seriously wounded and with all signs pointing to a widespread increase of the disturbance, the authorities appealed to the military to take charge of the city. Action by the Crown forces restored outwardly normal conditions by Sept. 1.

CANADA AND OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

A GENERAL election is to be held in Canada before the New Year. Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, the Prime Minister, made this announcement in an address at London, Ontario, on Sept. 1. The exact date has not yet been stated. In effect the Premier declared that the continuance or rejection of a protective tariff was the issue. He considered the farmers' political movement to be the real challenge to the Government, arguing that the Liberal Party could not be regarded as a serious contender.

The Premier's announcement was somewhat of a surprise to the general public. A census of Canada had been taken in June, and no general election had been expected pending a redistribution bill based upon this census. As matters now stand, the election will be contested on the census of 1911. That the Premier recognized that the question of redistribution was likely to be used in strong criticism of the Government, was indicated in his speech. He said that the rural portion of western prairie Canada would gain by redistribution, but

the Government would lose more in the East than they could possibly gain in the West. The advantage was now with them. He also said that there was no means of redistribution except at the price of holding the country in suspense through very difficult times for eighteen months or so on an issue (protection) that was formidably challenged. It was his contention that the rigors of an election campaign in January or February should be avoided.

At the present time there are seven vacancies in the House of Commons. To fill these, by-elections would have to be held with the knowledge that the life of Parliament automatically expires next year, and a general election would then have to be held. No doubt the Government's decision to hold a general election this Fall was to some extent based on the hope that further losses in by-elections might result in a defeat on a vote in the Commons, thus forcing them into an appeal to the people, instead of giving them the prestige of a voluntary appeal.

The last general election in Canada was held in December, 1917, when a union Government was voted into office by an overwhelming majority. The previous Government, under Sir Robert Borden—since retired from the Premiership—was Conservative. Union Government was effected by the coalition of a number of leading Conservatives and Liberals for the express purpose of putting conscription into effect. Since the end of the war a number of the Liberals have left the Cabinet, which now largely consists of Conservatives. Premier Meighen intends to reorganize the Cabinet before the elections.

Since the coalition, or union, of 1917, two important new parties have made their appearance—the Farmers' Party and the Independent Labor Party. These have a coalition of their own. In constituencies where the rural element is preponderant, the laborites support farmer candidates; in urban centres it works the other way. In the Canadian or Federal field the Farmers' Party is known as the National Progressive Party. In the provinces it goes under the name of the United Farmers of Ontario—or whatever the name of the province is. The farmers have come into power, with the aid of the Labor Party, in Ontario. They

have a strong position in Manitoba, and they have swept Alberta. In all these provinces, and wherever else they are organized, they will turn their votes and influence to the aid of the National Progressive Party in the federal campaign.

The general election will therefore witness an alignment of three parties, counting the farmer and labor organizations as one, namely, the Government Party, largely conservative and led by Premier Meighen; the Liberal Party, led by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, and the National Progressive Party, led by Hon. T. A. Crerar. It will be the first general election in Canada in which parties other than the traditional Liberal and Conservative parties, or a coalition of these two, have been serious elements. The Conservative Party, generally speaking, stands for a high protective tariff; the Liberal Party for "tariff for revenue," or a more moderate tariff than that advocated by the Conservatives, while the National Progressive Party is practically for free trade.

AUSTRALIA—Great Britain and her dominions stand before the world as one great Commonwealth as a result of the deliberations of the Imperial Conference, according to an address by Premier William M. Hughes of Australia at a farewell banquet given in his honor in London on Aug. 22. He advocated a protective tariff, so that high wages might be maintained in the British dominions.

Premier Hughes at Amiens on Aug. 25 unveiled a "cross of sacrifice" erected in Bonny cemetery, where thousands of Australian and British soldiers are buried. Later he presented to the city of Amiens a flag sent by Australian mothers in memory of the part played by the Commonwealth's armies in the defense of that city.

An electric line bringing high-tension power from Victoria Falls to Melbourne, a distance of 112 miles, is about to be constructed by the State, the power to be sold for manufacturing purposes. There will be 634 steel towers to carry a current of 132,000 volts. The contract was awarded to a New York firm by the Electricity Commissioners of Melbourne.

Australia has offered a reward of \$125,000 and the State of New South Wales has offered \$50,000 to any one who discovers

petroleum in paying quantities. Thus far the discoveries have been practically negligible.

NEW ZEALAND—An imperial constitution which should include within its scope the United Kingdom and all British dominions was advocated by Lord Milner on Aug. 23 at a farewell dinner given in honor of Premier W. F. Massey of New Zealand, who left England on Aug. 25 on his return home by way of Canada. At Cobalt, Ontario, on Sept. 6, he predicted that the "next war" would be fought with the Pacific as the centre of activities. He favored a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Sentiment in New Zealand is against the granting of favorable tariff terms to countries such as the United States which impose prohibitive duties on the products of New Zealand; this statement was made in a cable dispatch from Wellington to The London Times on Aug. 18. The question of revising the tariff will come before the next session of the New Zealand Parliament and local secondary industries are pressing for greater protection.

EGYPT—An Egyptian delegation headed by Adly Pasha was in London several weeks, conducting negotiations with Lord Curzon, the Foreign Minister, regarding the political claims of the nation. The conferences were adjourned in August to Sept. 24, when they were resumed. The recent rioting in Alexandria and Cairo was instigated by a lawless element of the lowest classes in those cities and is not regarded seriously. The Egyptians are demanding broadened autonomy and independence. One of the chief obstacles to an agreement is the insistent demand of the Egyptians that the British troops be withdrawn from the country.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA—Deep depression is felt in British East Africa—now known as Kenya Colony—as well as in the adjoining British territory of Nyassaland. The last budget of Kenya showed a deficit of \$800,000. It is now proposed to float a

loan of \$45,000,000, to be spread over three years, for development works. This will be expended chiefly in harbor developments and railroads. The principal exports are coffee, flax, copra and hides. There are 26,000 acres of coffee and 33,000 acres of flax under cultivation. In Nyassaland a railroad is now being built across Zambesi. This road may eventually be extended to link up the great lakes to the waters of the Upper Nile, thus carrying out the design of Cecil Rhodes. The low prices of tobacco and cotton produced a gloomy situation in the colony.

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (formerly German East Africa)—Work has been begun on the bridge that is to span the Zambesi River at Chinde, the British concession in Portuguese East Africa, which is to open trade with Lake Nyassa and Tanganyika Territory and form a link of the Cape-to-Cairo railroad. This road is finished as far as Salisbury in Rhodesia and the northern end is completed as far as Sennar on the Blue Nile. From Salisbury a branch runs to Beira on the coast, which it follows northeast to the Zambesi. Crossing the river here, it will again strike inland to Fort Johnston, at the southern end of Lake Nyassa, by way of Blantyre. The Zambesi bridge will be the longest in Africa.

UGANDA—One of the pioneers of missionary work in Uganda, Mother Mary Paul of the Franciscan Order, died at Kampala in August, aged 64 years. She had labored there fourteen years. She was Miss Mary Murphy and was born in New York City. She was the first white woman to go to Uganda. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt in his book on his African hunting trip pays a warm tribute to her and describes the mission, which he visited and of which she was Superior.

GOLD COAST—A surprising increase of trade of the Gold Coast is noted in the returns for 1920, the biggest in the history of this British colony, totaling £26,000,000, or £8,500,000 more than in 1919. The chief gain was in imports, which increased 77 per cent.

HOW GERMANY WILL PAY FRANCE

Payment in kind agreed upon in the new Reparations Agreement concluded at Wiesbaden—France to obtain materials for reconstruction on easy terms, and Germany to be relieved of difficult cash payments—Visit of the American Legion to France

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

AT last France has gained assurance that she will receive her reparations due from Germany, and, what is more, that they will be made according to a plan of the most practical character that could be found. By the special agreement with Germany signed at the end of August, Germany bound herself to pay France in kind. The importance of this to France is that the materials to be furnished her by Germany within the next four or five years will enable her to rebuild her devastated provinces in the quickest, least expensive and easiest way possible.

This new compact, which was negotiated by M. Loucheur, French Minister for Reconstruction, and Herr Walther Rathenau, the German Minister of Reconstruction, at Wiesbaden on Aug. 27, brought new hope to the French people, and exorcised the depressing effect of the financial agreements reached by the allied Finance Ministers and experts in Paris on Aug. 17. Under these agreements, to which M. Doumer, the French Finance Minister, subscribed with the utmost reluctance, France received no part of the first \$250,000,000 to be paid by Germany on reparations during the current year. The ground for this apparent discrimination against Germany's greatest creditor was a simple one—both France and Belgium had already received in payments in kind a value considerably in excess of the costs of their occupation forces on the Rhine, while Great Britain had received less than her disbursements. The British deficit, in fact, reached a total of from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000. The French, however, sought to have coal deliveries excepted from the payments in kind, on the ground that the yield of the Sarre coalfields was not immediately realizable, and pointed out that if such exception were made the French themselves would have a deficit to show of some 150,000,000 gold marks, in contrast with the

300,000,000 excess which the Reparations Commission had charged up against her.

Under the Versailles Treaty there was no special provision that coal deliveries should be charged against the first \$250,000,000 payment to be made by Germany. The allied financial experts, however, pointed to the Spa agreement, under which coal was to be charged against this initial payment. They further pointed out that France was exporting and re-exporting coal, and that notes of small denominations were being circulated in Paris bearing the inscription "*Mines de la Sarre.*" All in all, the French Financial Minister got the worst of the argument, and the allied distribution agreed upon by the experts held in France's despite.

The Loucheur-Rathenau agreement, consequently, came as a welcome relief to the French Government, for it embodied a definite and satisfactory solution of virtually the whole reparations issue, so far as France was concerned. It was noteworthy as being in effect a separate treaty with Germany, the first that France has concluded with her former enemy since the end of the war. The meeting at Wiesbaden (Aug. 25-27) between the French and German negotiators was the second held by them within several months. The preliminary basis for this treaty was reached in the first interview. For many weeks M. Loucheur and Herr Rathenau have been working out the details. The draft of the whole compact was submitted to the Reparations Commission early in August, and although it was understood that there was considerable objection from the British side, the commission approved it. With this approved draft scheme in hand, M. Loucheur and Dr. Rathenau made quick work in concluding it. The treaty was signed on Aug. 27. Though a number of details still remained to be finally settled, the main provisions were incorporated.

Under the plan agreed to, France will receive in the next few years materials for reconstruction far surpassing what she would get as the recipient of 52 per cent. of cash, her originally allotted share of German reparations payments. In return for these materials she will be allowed to pay back over a number of years the cash which she is scheduled to receive under these payments. This main project is full of common sense, as it supplies France immediately with supplies which she cannot wait for, and gives Germany a much-needed outlet for her products. The specific terms of the agreement are briefly as follows:

France is given the right to demand up to May 1, 1926, deliveries of material by Germany up to a total value not to exceed 7,000,000,000 gold marks. This sum will be paid back to Germany as follows: Up to 1933, the sum which France must pay in any one year, inclusive of 5 per cent. interest, shall not exceed 1,000,000,000 gold marks. In 1935 and 1936 the balance is to be paid in four semi-annual instalments, payments to be made in any one year not to exceed what France receives as her 52 per cent. of German reparations payments. The agreement further settles a number of other points. The coal price to be credited to Germany is to be that paid by the big German consumers. Any excess materials over that which France finds she needs is to be used by Germany for her own export trade, and the value will be paid by her to France in other deliveries. France agrees not to continue her search in Germany for the cattle driven out of France by the German Army, and accepts in final settlement a delivery of 62,000 horses, 25,000 cows, 25,000 sheep and 20,000 hives of bees. A similar arrangement is to obtain respecting the industrial material stolen from France by the German invaders; Germany is to restore 120,000 tons of machinery as demanded by France, and to pay the latter country 158,000,000 marks in gold. To take the place of French rolling stock removed from France, Germany is to send her former enemy 6,000 railway cars.

The importance of this agreement to France, and also to Germany, is very great. It will eliminate many causes of friction still existing between the two nations. It gives France assurance of payment in the most useful way, and it admits that Germany must pay France in kind, and not in cash—an arrangement highly appreciated by struggling Germany. It does not replace the allied reparations terms, but it makes it far easier for Germany to pay them.

Hailed by both the French and German Governments with a sigh of relief, the

agreement still runs the risk of rejection by both the French Chamber and the German Reichstag. The French leaders expected trouble in the Chamber, but believed that it would pass by a small majority. The Germans also foresaw difficulties with the Reichstag delegates, but the German Government leaders were prepared to present such strong arguments of the advantage which it would bring to Germany that it would be put through. The falling value of the mark, said Herr Rathenau, was so serious as to make it increasingly difficult for Germany to obtain cash abroad, and she would probably be forced to default in her cash payments by next Spring. He expected this consideration would insure the treaty's acceptance.

France still remained highly displeased with the trials of German war criminals before the Leipzig tribunal. This dissatisfaction was voiced at the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris on Aug. 13. After full discussion, the Council decided to carry out its previously formed intention, announced to Germany in a note of May 7, 1920, of naming a commission to report to the Council the results of these trials and to express its official opinion of the way in which they were carried out; also to present suggestions for future guidance under the articles of the Versailles Treaty referring to war criminals (Articles 228-230.) It was agreed that this commission should be composed of representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy and Belgium, each of these countries to be empowered to send two delegates.

The visit of a delegation of the American Legion to France was made the occasion of many signal honors, dinners and animated speeches on both sides. The primary object of the visit was to present formally to France the statue of Jeanne d'Arc at Blois, donated by Mr. Sanford Saltus, and also to visit the devastated districts, and to make a holy pilgrimage to the cemeteries where America's fallen heroes lie. All Paris turned out to do the Legion delegates honor on Aug. 13. The first thing the Legionaries did was to march to the Arc de Triomphe to pay homage to France's unknown soldier who rests in the shadow of the mighty arch. This act went to the heart of the Parisians, who cheered the Americans with delirious enthusiasm as they marched through the

streets upon this pious mission. The ceremonies at Blois were solemn and impressive. The departure of the Legion from Paris on Aug. 27 was marked by a review of a large parade of the Republican Guard and the Paris police. Major Barney Flood of the New York Police Department presented an American flag from the New York police force to the Prefect of Police. Decorations were conferred on the Legion delegates by President Millerand, who received the American visitors subsequently at his country home in Rambouillet. The delegates left for Belgium the following day.

At a luncheon given the Legion representatives before their departure, Premier Briand announced that the American Gov-

ernment had sent a formal invitation to Marshal Foch to visit the United States in October, and that the Marshal had accepted this invitation, as well as that given by the Legion to attend its annual session in Kansas. This news was confirmed by Marshal Foch in person, in a special visit paid by him to Mr. Myron T. Herrick, the American Ambassador. The Marshal explained that he wished to give this confirmation "by word of mouth," and to express "how deeply touched I have been by this invitation and by the echoes from America of my projected visit." He further said that the visit of the Legion had brought France in closer touch with America than at any time since the conclusion of the war.

GERMANY SUPPRESSES MONARCHISM

Murder of Erzberger unites discordant forces of Republicanism to quell reaction and lay the ghost of Kaiserism—The Government completes payment of 1,000,000,000 gold marks on reparations—Continued business revival

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

SHOT to death in the Black Forest on Aug. 26 by two men, presumably inspired by the campaign of vilification carried on by the German reactionaries, Matthias Erzberger, leader of the progressive elements of the Centrist (Clerical) Party, may go down in history as a martyr whose blood cemented the discordant forces of German Republicanism into a body solid enough to resist the attacks of the Monarchist reaction and lay the ghost of Kaiserism once for all.

The news of Erzberger's murder was the signal for a fierce outburst of partisan political strife, the Socialist, Democratic and Centrist press calling for suppression of the Junker and reactionary Big Business papers, which had been busy stirring up civic strife for many months preceding the crime. The latter defended themselves by reiterating their charges that Erzberger had betrayed the Fatherland, and by pointing to the alleged danger of a communist revolt.

Chancellor Wirth had counted upon the slain Deputy's active support in the coming battle in the Reichstag over the taxation

program, and was one of Erzberger's closest friends and disciples. The Chancellor quickly took advantage of the opportunity to try to line up all the Liberal elements of the nation for the fight for which the reactionaries had evidently been longing. Apparently determined to show the people that the Government could be as firm in putting down the Junkers as it had been in suppressing communist revolts, an order was issued prohibiting a meeting scheduled for Sunday, Aug. 28, in Potsdam, in commemoration of the battle of Tannenberg, won by Von Hindenburg over the Russians early in the World War. The Junkers did not hold the meeting, but there was a clash between the police and a crowd of communists and Socialists who had taken possession of the Lustgarten to see to it that there would be no Tannenberg celebration. Two Socialists were killed. The day before a Tannenberg parade had been broken up by radical workingmen.

Following a meeting of the Cabinet on Aug. 29 President Ebert issued a decree prohibiting meetings, demonstrations, pro-

cessions and the publication of periodicals, if, in the opinion of the authorities, they were calculated to promote the violent change or abolition of the Constitution of the Republic. Fines up to 500,000 marks and jail sentences were fixed as the penalties for violations of the order. A proclamation to the people signed by Chancellor Wirth stated that:

The Government is determined to do what the circumstances of the time and the menace to the Constitution imperatively demand, and to employ the most drastic means to check the anti-Republican movement in the German Commonwealth.

This was followed by an order from Minister of the Interior Gradenauer suspending the publication of several rabid Nationalist newspapers, including the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and *Der Tag*. They were permitted to resume publication after a few days. When some members of the People's Party (the Big Business group) attempted to hold Sedan Day meetings in Berlin and Chemnitz on Sept. 2, despite police orders to the contrary, crowds of workmen raided the halls and broke up the celebrations. There were similar happenings all over Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, and in nearly all cases the reactionaries were put to flight.

President Ebert also issued an order forbidding the wearing of army uniforms by persons not in active military service. This was intended to put an end to the frequent displays of war trappings by Generals Ludendorf, Hindenburg et al. at monarchist demonstrations and to make it easier to enforce an order prohibiting members of the regular army and the security police from taking part in Nationalist demonstrations. The uniform order was subsequently modified so as to allow the wearing of army regalia by ex-soldiers at funerals of their comrades and upon other occasions to be determined by the authorities. Both Admiral von Scheer, last chief of the German High Seas Fleet, and General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German commander in East Africa, were forbidden to make speeches in public.

The Wirth Government was strengthened in its determination to squelch the reaction by the appearance before the Chancellor of delegations representing some 11,000,000 German union men and the Majority and

Independent Socialists, with the assurance that the organizations they spoke for were ready to go to the limit in backing the authorities in their war upon the monarchists and reactionary business leaders. Then, on Aug. 31, while Chancellor Wirth was attending the funeral of Erzberger in Biberach in Württemberg, some 100,000 Berliners quit work at the call of the two Socialist Parties and paraded through the streets to the Lustgarten. There, with 100,000 others, they listened to scores of orators who denounced the reaction and all its works. Red flags were mingled with the black, red and gold colors of the republic. Good order was maintained, largely due to the fact that the reactionaries were too thoroughly cowed to attempt any counter-demonstration. Although the communists had not been particularly invited to participate in the pro-republic demonstration, thousands of them were on hand, and their speakers joined the Socialists in asserting that the republic must be maintained, despite its faults.

On the other hand, the reactionaries of the Nationalist Party, at a convention opened in Munich on Sept. 1, voiced open defiance of the Government and, through the mouths of Karl von Helfferich, ex-Minister of Finance, and Dr. Hergt, an ex-Prussian Minister, warned Chancellor Wirth against sowing the wind which might result in a Nationalist whirlwind. Hergt declared his party would eventually change the Constitution so as to effect the restoration of the monarchy.

A meeting held Sept. 2 of the Reichstag Committee of Eight, which keeps an eye on the Government's actions during Parliamentary recesses, voted unanimous approval of the Chancellor's acts. Even Dr. von Kahr, the reactionary Bavarian Premier and a leader of the People's Party, said he and his party would stand by the Republican Constitution. Dr. Stresemann, chief of the People's Party, made the same statement. Both these men, however, are avowed believers in monarchism. Chancellor Wirth was quoted as having said to the committee:

There is danger that the German Nation may fall apart into socialistic and bourgeois halves, which must inevitably lead to civil war. We must counteract this danger. But I want to leave no doubt in any one's mind. If, despite all my efforts, this break-

up comes to pass, then I shall stand on the side of the working class.

In Bavaria the reaction believed itself strong enough to defy the orders from Berlin suppressing two anti-Republican newspapers and prohibiting the wearing of army uniforms; but when the various Socialist and labor union groups served notice upon Premier von Kahr that they would back up Chancellor Wirth with the general strike if need be, a committee representing the Bavarian Government was sent to Berlin to try to patch up a truce.

Apparently impressed by the firmness of the Wirth Government in insisting upon the extension of national control to Bavaria, the delegation yielded to most of the Government's demands. This decision was rejected by the Nationalist and People's Party members of the Munich Cabinet, and on Sept. 12 Dr. von Kahr and the whole Cabinet resigned. This was expected to result in the formation of a more liberal Government in Bavaria.

Matthias Erzberger was born at Bittenhausen, Württemberg, Sept. 20, 1875, in humble circumstances. His brightness as a boy caused a wealthy landowner to pay for his elementary education, but aside from this he was a self-made man. He soon got into politics as a progressive Clerical, and his home district of Biberach-Leuthkirch kept him in the Reichstag from 1903 to the day of his death. Erzberger was the object of violent attacks from both sides of the House, both during and after the war. His Pan-German professions when it looked as if Germany were sure to win drew the fire of the Socialists and Moderates, while his work for a compromise peace later, and his drastic plan of taxation while Minister of Finance in 1919, aroused the anger of the Junkers and capitalists. Early in 1920 an attempt was made on Erzberger's life, for which his assailant was sentenced to serve eighteen months in jail. It was Erzberger who, as chief of the German peace delegation, signed the armistice terms laid down by Marshal Foch on Nov. 10, 1918, which ended the World War. Erzberger is survived by a widow and two daughters. His only son was killed in the war.

On Sept. 13 the Baden police announced that the murderers of Erzberger had been

identified as ex-officers and former members of the notorious Ehrhart Marine brigade which captured Berlin for the Kapp reactionaries in March, 1920. A reward of 100,000 marks was offered for their capture.

Through heavy purchases of bills of exchange, and by taking some 68,000,000 marks from the gold reserves of the Reichsbank, the German Government managed to complete the payment of the twenty \$10,000,000 three-month notes due on Aug. 31 under the terms covering the payment of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks provided for in the final reparation plan agreed upon last May. On Sept. 6 the Reparation Commission in Paris issued the following statement:

On May 31 Germany had paid the Reparation Commission 160,400,000 gold marks and had supplied drafts at three months on the German Treasury for the remainder of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks. The Reparation Commission has now received in approved foreign currency from the German Government 770,000,000 gold marks in redemption of these drafts. Moreover, the German Government has shipped gold to New York to make up the balance of the 1,000,000,000 marks. Subject to final adjustment of accounts, the payment due under Article 5 of the schedule of payments has been effected.

Under a reparation plan signed by Dr. Walter Rathenau, German Minister of Reconstruction, and Louis Loucheur, French Minister for the Devastated Regions, on Aug. 27 in Wiesbaden [details of which are given in the article on France in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY], material to the value of 7,000,000,000 gold marks is to be furnished to France during the next five years. This agreement must be ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies and the Reichstag.

Coincident with the return from Paris to Berlin on Aug. 19 of General Nollet, chief of the Interallied Military Control Commission, it was reported that the commission intended to prolong its supervision of German armaments, as the Germans were refusing to furnish an inventory of the arms on hand, thus making it impossible to estimate accurately the potential strength of armed German forces. A Berlin report of Sept. 8 said that large numbers of the formally disbanded Bavarian Home Guards had been organized into an "emergency

force," led by the old commanders of the Guards and presumably ready to put down communist uprisings or to support a monarchist revolt, if need be.

Another step toward the final settlement of the problem of Upper Silesia was taken on Sept. 1, in Geneva, when the Council of the League of Nations appointed a commission composed of Paul Hymans, Belgium; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, China; Count Quinones de Leon, Spain, and Dr. Castoa de Cunha, Brazil, to hear all experts, except those Germans and Poles already involved in the controversy, and to submit a plan for the approval of the League. The Allies informed Germany that they intended to send more troops into the disputed plebiscite territory to make sure that the decision of the League of Nations would be respected.

Prompt ratification of the Treaty of Peace between Germany and the United States, signed on Aug. 25 in Berlin by Dr. Friedrich Rosen, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ellis Loring Dresel, American Commissioner to Germany, was expected in Germany on the Reichstag's re-assembling Sept. 27. [For text of treaty see Page 58.]

The general business revival continued

during the month, and was accompanied by wild speculation in German industrial stocks. The Berlin Bourse was compelled to suspend operations several times in order to catch up with the volume of trading. To some extent this speculation was due to the drop in the exchange value of the mark. This fell on Sept. 12 in New York to .91 cent, the lowest on record. An official report by the Prussian Ministry of Trade received in London on Sept. 8 stated that the German manufacturing boom was still on. The clothing and millinery producers had sold their entire 1922 output in advance, while the demand for cotton goods and for iron and steel products and automobiles could not be met.

An echo of the communist "putsch" of last March was heard in Berlin when Minister of Justice Schiffer announced that the last of the extraordinary courts set up to try the leaders of the rioters had been abolished on Aug. 15. Four days later President Ebert freed forty-two of the imprisoned communists and reduced the jail sentences of several hundred others. None of the eight death sentences pronounced by the extraordinary courts has been reported as carried out.

POLITICAL FEUDS IN HUNGARY

Enemies of Count Karolyi get a tart answer from Clemenceau—New attacks on the Horthy regime by the Hapsburg partisans—Trouble over cession of Burgenland to Austria

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE campaign conducted by Prince Louis Windischgraetz against Count Michael Karolyi, former leader of the anti-German party and ex-President of the Hungarian People's Republic, took an unpleasant turn for the Prince himself. He had accused Karolyi of having communicated Austro-German war secrets to the French Government and of having received a subsidy from Soviet Russia. To substantiate these charges, the Prince quoted verbatim a speech of M. Clemenceau, made in the French Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 18, 1918. Count Theodore Batthyany, a former Cabinet Minister and now prominent

in the Opposition, doubting the authenticity of this revelation, telegraphed to Clemenceau himself for confirmation and received the following answer: "I have not said a single word of what Prince Windischgraetz attributes to me." Count Batthyany's publication of the telegram created consternation among the enemies of Count Karolyi, who is now an exile in Jugoslavia.

The feud between the "Legitimists," or partisans of Hapsburg restoration, and "Free Electionists," who maintain that the Hungarian throne is vacant and should be filled by popular election, continues with unabated bitterness. A Legitimist leader,

Edmund Beniczky, one of the closest friends of Charles IV., aroused a series of storms in Parliament by his continued disclosures of horrors perpetrated by officers of the Horthy army. He described the massacre at Orgovany in the Winter of 1919, where the so-called Hejjas detachment murdered with unspeakable tortures a batch of communist suspects; he also referred to the assassination of numerous Jews by Horthy's officers. These outrages had been denied officially, and reports concerning them were attributed to a Bolshevistic campaign of slander. Now, however, some of the prominent Conservative leaders, members of the aristocracy, come forward with charges about a White Terror in order to discredit the Horthy régime and increase sympathy for the Hapsburg King, who, they say, would punish the terrorists and restore law and order. One of the results of these disclosures was that Lieut. Col. Pronay, most dreaded of the terrorist chieftains, addressed a threatening letter to Stephen Rakovsky, Speaker of the House and prominent Legitimist, for having dared to criticise the activities of Pronay and his officers. Rakovsky resigned, saying that if army officers who attempt intimidation of representatives are not immediately removed parliamentarism itself becomes a farce.

Contingent upon the ratification of the Peace of Trianon by the Hungarian Parliament, two of its territorial clauses were to be executed in August. One of them returns to Hungary the city of Baja and the county of Baranya, since 1918 occupied by Yugoslavia. The Magyar inhabitants of this region protested against being incorporated in Horthy's Hungary, and organized an autonomous administration under Yugoslav protection. They declared that they were eager to rejoin a democratic Hungarian Republic, but that they preferred Yugoslav occupation to the White Terror of Horthy's army. Their protests, however,

though supported by the Yugoslav Government, were overruled, and on Aug. 22 Horthy's troops entered the territory, the Yugoslav troops having left the night before. Several thousand Hungarians, opposed to the Horthy régime, fled to Yugoslav territory in order to escape persecution.

The other territorial clause to be put into effect—as stipulated also in the Treaty of St. Germain—was the cession of Burgenland, or the three westernmost counties of Hungary, inhabited by Germans, to the Austrian Republic. This should have taken place on Aug. 22, but when, after several postponements, an Austrian force entered the district, on Aug. 28, it was met with violent resistance by armed bands of Hungarians. Skirmishing continued for several days; the Hungarian irregulars, besides fighting the Austrian gendarmerie, committed a series of atrocities against the peaceable German population. This led to energetic protests on the part of the Austrian Government, which accused the Magyar Government of bad faith, and demanded that the transfer be enforced and Burgenland cleared of Magyar soldiers by Entente troops, as Austria had fulfilled her obligations under the treaty of peace and disarmed, whereas Hungary still maintains a large army. The situation was rendered more serious on Sept. 11, when Burgenland was occupied, not by Entente troops, but by a detachment of the regular Hungarian Army.

The territory in dispute has an area of 1,700 square miles and a population under 350,000. The proximity of Burgenland to Vienna, with the remarkable productivity of this small strip in respect to milk, fruit, vegetables, poultry, eggs, cereals, potatoes, sugar and wine, gives it especial importance to the Viennese, and, as it now belongs to the Austrians by treaty rights, they are determined to hold it at all hazards.

HARMONY IN THE BALKANS

Bulgaria not to be disarmed by the Interallied Commission, lest it render her helpless—Passing of King Peter of Serbia simplifies the situation in Jugoslavia—Czechoslovakia signs a military alliance with the Jugoslavs

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

WITH the problems of a defeated or a victorious Greece still undefined by the Supreme Council, and with the problems of Albania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia intricately interwoven with the doings of the Council of Ambassadors at Paris or the League of Nations at Geneva, Rumania seems to be about the only Balkan State which has not faced serious questions since the middle of August. In the last week of August Také Jonescu, the President of the Rumanian Council of Ministers, was caught by Paris reporters at the Hôtel Maurice. He was on his way to take the cure at Vichy. On the length of that cure, he smilingly intimated, would depend the date of the coronation of King Ferdinand at Belgrade. He said:

We Rumanians work hard. Our country is calm and free from agitation of all sorts. Yet we are not unfashionable, for we have had a drought. That has reduced our crop of Indian corn. But our crop of wheat will be enormous and we shall export large quantities. We have alliances with our neighbors—that is, with three of them, and with Bulgaria our relations are sympathetically friendly. There is the Little Entente, which protects us from the Magyars on one side and Bolshevism on the other. The world is buying our exchange as fast as it can. What more can we desire?

ALBANIA—On Aug. 30 the Albanian delegation at the League of Nations was vainly trying to have the Assembly of the League rescind the decree of the League's Council referring Albanian complaints against Greece and Jugoslavia to the Council of Ambassadors. At both the Assembly and the Council Italy backed up Albania, partly to oppose the aspirations of Greece and Jugoslavia, and partly in her own interests. Denied a military pied-à-terre at Valona, Italy wishes to have her title cleared to the island-rock of Saseno, which lies at the mouth of Valona Bay and commands, with Brindisi on the Italian side, the

Strait of Otranto, and hence the entrance to the Adriatic. According to a dispatch from Geneva published Sept. 6 in the *Idea Nazionale* of Rome, the Albanian delegates make no objection to Italy's having a clear title to Saseno.

The Jugoslav and Greek claims, however, form a problem not so easily adjusted, for these claims strike at the territorial entity of Albania. Meanwhile, the Council of Ambassadors has settled the Albanian-Grecian frontier question, quite contrary to the numerous interallied agreements and memoranda exchanged in the days of Wilson and Venizelos. These agreements are still opposed by Italy, although at the time of the Peace Conference Italy reluctantly gave way and allocated to Greece the districts of Korytza and Argyrocastro. On the present occasion Italy, backed by France, has had her way, and British support of the Greek claims, then decided purely on ethnic grounds, has not been in evidence. But the northeast frontier, the Serb-Albanian boundary, is a much more delicate question. Here the Serbians are actually administering Albanian communities, although with less rigor than they did some months ago, just as they have now changed their policy in Montenegro.

BULGARIA—Neither the Bulgarian Government nor the Interallied Military Commission of Control at Sofia expects the military clauses in the Treaty of Neuilly to be executed by Oct. 1, as was decreed by the commission on Aug. 6. It is now known that the commission is not in sympathy with the decree, does not see how it can be carried out, and issued it only under pressure from the Council of Ambassadors and under a misapprehension. This last phase of the question caused the Sofia Government to issue the following démenti on Aug. 21:

Some foreign agents have furnished to the Interallied Military Commission of Control in Sofia certain apocryphal letters relating to some imaginary secret orders of the Bulgarian authorities about concealing war material, &c., with the obviously sole object of discrediting Bulgaria before the Allies. The Bulgarian Government has pointed out that these documents are forged, and has demanded that an inquiry shall be made on the subject by the commission itself with a view to finding the malefactors.

Aside from the specific trouble, which will presently be dealt with, Bulgaria, in spite of her seemingly correct attitude toward the Treaty of Neuilly, in all its reasonable demands, in spite of the high esteem in which Premier Stambolisky is held in the chancelleries of the Entente, appears to be the victim of malicious propaganda of various sorts. There are about as many Bulgars outside of Bulgaria as there are within; that is to say, 5,000,000. Some of those outside have affiliations with the Turkish Nationalists, some with the pro-Teutonic plots of those, within and without the Kingdom, who desire the return of "Czar" Ferdinand. Added to all this is the heritage of hate and suspicion entertained for the Bulgars as a people, not as a constituted nation, by the Greeks and Serbs, and the belief of their Governments, either well or ill based, that the Bulgars have not been sufficiently bled.

Then there is the specific problem of disarmament. Under the Treaty of Neuilly Bulgaria was obliged to abolish compulsory service and reduce her army to 20,000 men, including officers and *dépôt* troops, while the maximum of police was to be 10,000 and of frontier guards 3,000.

Such a force, military authorities of the Entente agree, would be quite adequate for Bulgaria as a member of the League of Nations; but this force means a volunteer force adequately paid by the State. Volunteers have not been forthcoming and there would have been no money to pay them had they been enrolled. Pay varies according to the civil status of the volunteers—that is to say, whether they are married men or bachelors, or whether they have to support families. A minimum of 700 leva (\$35) per month has been fixed for privates and 1,200 for non-commissioned officers. They will, moreover, be housed, fed and clothed, and will receive three or four months' holiday every year. Meanwhile,

the Interallied Military Control Commission, through arrangements with the General Staff, has been discharging the old conscript army. So, by Oct. 1, there will be none left. Bulgaria will have no army to speak of, and a diminished police and frontier guard corps. If this should occur Bulgaria might become a prey to the worst conflicts within and to attacks from without. None realizes this better than the commission.

At Belgrade and Athens, however, they tell a different story. There they say that the Sofia Government has concealed large amounts of war material secured from Germany during the war. With this material, including large and mid-calibre guns and nearly 1,000,000 rifles (which, however, the keenest agents of the commission have failed to uncover), Bulgaria has 856,000 veterans ready with very little training to take the field.

How can that be possible, and if possible, what could be done without a reserve? They answer in Belgrade and Athens that the Bulgarian law on the organization of the army and the guard of the frontiers, promulgated on May 27, taken in connection with the law of enforced labor, would sufficiently supply recruits for a reserve force, while the military instruction under the guise of gymnastics, which is being introduced into the schools, would do the rest.

M. A. Dimitroff, the Minister of War, has declared to General de Fourton, the French officer at the head of the mission, that if the decree be executed Bulgaria will be entirely helpless, and that this situation would make possible the revival of the *comitajis* on the Greek, Serbian and even Rumanian frontiers. For their acts the Sofia Government, reduced to helplessness, could not rightly be held responsible.

General de Fourton sympathizes with M. Dimitroff, but he believes that Bulgaria may count on the League of Nations in case trouble arises through an inadequate military, police and frontier force. He also believes that Bulgaria can raise by the volunteer system from 3,000 to 4,000 men a year, should the Government take steps to make the service popular, as it has not done hitherto. On his own initiative he sent a scheme to the Council of Ambassadors by which each year's quota might be made up by ballot, but this the council promptly re-

fused. M. Dimitroff has also pointed out to him that the idea that the Bulgars are a nation of warriors is a pure delusion based on the fact that they have always given a good account of themselves when fighting for their country. "The truth is," he says, "we are a peaceful nation, who have learned by experience to abhor war—one who would volunteer only if our independence were endangered." In proof of this he quoted the drastic conscription rules for the old army, whose peace footing, in spite of popular clamor, was kept at 80,000.

JUGOSLAVIA—While the Prince Regent Alexander, who was also the heir presumptive to the throne of Yugoslavia, was incognito at a Paris hospital suffering from appendicitis, his father, King Peter, died in the lonely palace at Belgrade on Aug. 16. The third member of the Karageorgevitch dynasty to reign, he had succeeded when King Alexander of the Obrenovitch line was assassinated in 1903. Peter was born in 1844, and had lived in exile since his father's banishment in 1868. He received his military education at the French military school of Saint-Cyr, where he translated John Stuart Mill's reflections on "Liberty." With the French Foreign Legion, in which he was first a Lieutenant, then a Captain, and finally a Major, he fought against Germany in 1870. He was living among his books in Switzerland when called to the throne in 1903. His great military achievement was driving the Austrians across the Danube in December, 1915, with an army one-tenth the size of the enemy's. In the following Autumn he shared the privations of the great retreat with his men.

But the new King, Alexander, has an elder brother, George, who resigned all rights to the throne in 1909, when he came under suspicion of having slain a servant. Late in August there were rumors from Paris that George, urged on by Croat and Slovene factions, had denounced his renunciation and would claim the throne.

MONTENEGRO—With the death of King Nicholas of Montenegro the question of that State's independence became quiescent. With the death of King Peter, who had married one of Nicholas's daughters, it has probably ceased to be of grave import. It had been kept alive principally by the Italians as a propagandist instrument against Yugoslavia, although shortly after

the armistice the Montenegrin National Council had voted to become a part of Yugoslavia and had denounced and dethroned King Nicholas for his alleged treasonable relations with Austria. His personal following, inspired and paid by Italy, continued to keep the question of independence alive. It was even favorably reported on by Count de Salis in the Spring of 1919, and given to the Peace Conference for settlement; then the Supreme Council, which inherited most of the unsettled questions of the Conference, took the matter up, but failed to act upon it, owing to Italian opposition to incorporation in Yugoslavia.

Now, since the death of Peter, Italy has assumed a different attitude, partly due to the desire of more friendly relations with Yugoslavia. Italy had been supporting a Montenegrin Consulate at Rome at a cost of 20,000,000 lire a year. It was discovered that some of this money had been used in anti-Yugoslav propaganda. On Aug. 23 the Rome police visited the "Consulate" and secured, it is said, incriminating evidence against the occupants. At about the same time, Signor Magrini reported on Montenegro in a manner favorable to the Yugoslav administration. He discovered no atrocities, no cruelties, no sufferings inflicted on the ancient population. On the contrary, the Serbians have wisely respected the "vested interests" by allowing many Montenegrin officials to retain their posts, and by giving to Montenegrin officers the same rank in the Yugoslav army which they held in that of old King Nicholas. They have also, declares Signor Magrini, humored the very national Montenegrin sentiment for local administration of Montenegro by Montenegrins, in other words, administrative autonomy. Thus, "all the prefects, functionaries, and officials of Montenegro are Montenegrins," and Cetinje, the capital, is no mere prefecture of Belgrade. Moreover, Montenegrin students, who may desire to attend Yugoslav universities, are furnished with scholarships for so doing by the Belgrade Government. Finally, the Italian investigator emphasizes the fact that the chief argument for Montenegro's being a part of Serbia is economic, for Montenegro, during the last two-and-a-half years, has received, in the form of public works, pensions and subsidies, from Yugoslavia

93½ million dinars (about \$5,000,000), and has paid, in the shape of taxes, only five million.

In these circumstances, which seem to indicate the removal of all Italian opposition to the incorporation of Montenegro in Yugoslavia, it is expected that the Supreme Council will at least refer the problem to the League of Nations, if it does not, indeed, solve it itself.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia signed at Prague late in August a military compact which gives the two countries the means to execute and defend their treaty of alliance. The compact places at the disposition of the two States sufficient forces for their security, with provisions for a mutual organization and unified command. On Oct. 1 Czechoslovakia will take possession—at Budapest, Vienna and Ratisbon—of the Danube steamboats allocated to her under the treaty. These boats will ply the Danube chiefly in the transportation of cereals.

An unpleasant incident occurred at Prague following the decree against the display of German colors at the Richenberg Fair. Several German Deputies and Sen-

ators protested and made impassioned addresses advocating revolt. The Senators from Slovakia joined in a protest against the propaganda industriously conducted abroad to convey the impression that Slovakia was dissatisfied with the union and wished separate existence; they denounced these sentiments as false, and warmly asserted that their people are loyal to the Czechoslovak State. On the other hand, the American and European newspapers are flooded with leaflets—issued at Budapest—indicating widespread dissatisfaction among the Slovaks. The chief grievance of the Slovaks, according to Hungarian reports, is against the schools and the alleged inferiority of the teachers assigned to them by the Czech authorities. The Hungarian press announces that a Slovak National Council has been organized with 100 members. Dr. Francis Jehlicska, a Deputy of the Prague National Assembly, was elected President. The purpose of this body is to advocate secession from the Czech Republic. The Hungarian politicians are industriously engaged in stirring up strife among the Slovaks against the Czechs and do not disguise their motives.

NORWAY'S PROHIBITION DILEMMA

If absolute prohibition is adopted the wine-producing countries threaten to put on the Norwegian fish trade a tariff that would mean bankruptcy and famine

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

WITH Norway's vast fishing industry already threatened with ruin through the high tariffs that wine-growing Spain and Portugal have imposed in retaliation for Norway's limited prohibition, and with the "drys" as well organized and active in Norway as in the United States, the present Norwegian Government is struggling for life between counter-currents. The fishing population, in despair over the loss of their chief markets, threaten to go over to Bolshevism unless the Government does something at once for their relief. The pressure of the prohibitionists keeps the Government afraid to rescind its ban on the stronger Spanish and Portuguese wines.

This complication creates one of the leading political issues of the day in Norway. The outcome of the campaign for absolute prohibition before the October elections to the Storting is uncertain. Meanwhile, negotiations are being conducted in order to reach an agreement with the wine-producing countries and to forestall further retaliatory measures on their part against the Norwegian export trade in fish.

The Cabinet that has to steer the ship of State through these uncertainties was organized by Premier Blehr last June. The complete list of its Ministers is now available. The distribution of portfolios was as follows:

Premier and Minister of Finance, M. Blehr.
 Foreign Minister, Dr. Raestad.
 Minister of Cults and Education, Olsen
 Nalun.
 Minister of Justice, O. Amundsen.
 Minister of Public Works, M. Mjelde.
 Minister of Commerce, M. Mowinkel.
 Minister of Social Welfare, M. Ostedahl.
 Minister of Agriculture, M. Fivet.
 Minister of War, General Aavatsmark.

Premier Blehr is 74 years old and has held many important posts in various Norwegian Government. His Cabinet is classified as bourgeois radical.

The Odelsting (lower house) of the Storting adopted on Sept. 8 a bill forbidding importation of liquors or wines containing more than 14 per cent. of alcohol, thus confirming the status quo of prohibition in Norway. It was expected that the Lagthing (Senate) would approve this measure. The incorrectness of a statement, "the Lefts favor the present system of absolute prohibition," in the September CURRENT HISTORY, has been pointed out. There has never been absolute prohibition in Norway, though the "bone-drys" there have hopes, regardless of any afterclap. During the war Norway put a ban on all wines and liquors containing more than 12 per cent. of alcohol. Lately, however, following urgent representations from France, this maximum was raised to 14 per cent. in order to obtain the recently concluded commercial agreement with that country.

By the terms of this commercial treaty, after France had threatened retaliation similar to that which Spain and Portugal carried out, Norway agreed to unlimited importation of wines containing up to 14 per cent. of alcohol, and to a certain minimum amount of strong wines and brandies for medicinal and technical purposes which would be commercially satisfactory to France. Negotiations with Portugal and Spain have met with greater difficulties. When Norway barred the stronger Spanish beverages from importation, Spain added 50 per cent. to its import duty on Norwegian *klippfisk* (dried cod and other stockfish). Portugal passed a law which raised considerably the harbor dues of ships belonging to countries which restricted the importation of Portuguese products and also the import duty on goods from such countries.

Already these actions are causing dis-

tress in the Norwegian fishing population, which for many years has depended on the shipment of vast amounts of cod and other stockfish to Spain and Portugal. Codfish forms one of the main staples of diet of the Spanish and Portuguese people, especially the poorer classes; nevertheless, these two Latin countries threaten, if Norway adopts absolute prohibition, to put a complete embargo on the Norwegian fish trade and to import all their codfish from Newfoundland. Such a change would mean widespread bankruptcy and famine in Norway, where fishing is one of the largest industries.

The Prohibition Party is strong and not inclined to make concessions. A plebiscite taken in Norway about two years ago showed a large majority in favor of prohibition. Many Norwegian fishermen who then voted for the present system of limited prohibition are now bemoaning its afterclap in the depression of their industry. The prohibitionists may yet have to accommodate their demands to the pressure of economic necessity.

Meanwhile the labyrinthine fjords that indent the coast of Norway and the multitudinous islands and skerries that fringe it afford unparalleled advantages for smuggling. Large numbers of Norse seafaring folk have taken to rum-running. They bring their stocks of "drinkware" (*drikkevare*) from Sweden, Denmark and Germany, in which countries there is nothing to limit the supply but the length of the buyer's purse. As it is impossible to employ a revenue patrol sufficient to catch or even to discover many of these smugglers, almost every cargo is disposed of at wholesale or retail, either within the three-mile limit or beyond it. Moonshining flourishes also, and the production of home brew. The usual complaint is that, although there is plenty of the legalized 12 to 14 per cent. wines, these are obtainable only at prices prohibitive to people of moderate means, who are therefore impelled to undergo the dynamic effects of "home brew" and "moonshine."

Norwegian commercial representatives were officially in Stockholm all through August while two dramatically contrasted events were taking place in the Swedish capital—the secret trial of those involved in the Bolshevik conspiracy in Northern

Sweden and Norway, and the commercial conference between delegates from Norway and Sweden and representatives from Soviet Russia. After prolonged negotiations the Norwegians made a commercial agreement with Russia, but it was criticised severely by the conservative press of Christiania. Aftenposten published an assertion that this commercial agreement implied *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government, and deplored the circumstance that the Norwegian Government had not obtained recognition of compensation claims for Norwegian property seized in Russia by the Bolsheviks. These claims amounted to about 300,000,000 kroner.

The continued sinking in value of the Norwegian krone caused the prices of goods to rise all over Norway. Taking the lowest prices of 1913 as 100 per cent., the rise for the month of July was 292.5 per cent.

Captain Roald Amundsen's power-schooner, the Maud, is undergoing repairs at Seattle, preparatory to recommencing the quest for the North Pole early next May, with the present native crew, besides Drs. Sverdrup, Olonkin and Wisting. Captain Amundsen is to have two new men from Norway, aviators and machinists. One of these is to be the Norwegian aviator, Odd Dahl, between whom and the American aviator, Naulty, there will probably be a race for the North Pole, in the opinion of Aftenposten. Besides the new appropriation granted to Amundsen by the Storting, new provisions are being collected in Norway under the direction of Professor Torup, the noted scientist. The relief expedition sent out to look for Tessem and Knudsen, the two men missing from the Maud in Siberia, returned to Christiania on the power-cutter Heimen about the middle of August, without news of the men. The expedition had sought in vain for them from the middle of August, 1920.

DENMARK—Depression from the great slump in values caused by German competition in the Danish markets has reached a critical stage, according to a long editorial in Dagens Nyheder, Copenhagen, on the Industrial Council's report to the Ministry of Commerce presented late in August. The amount of unemployment is startling. The comparatively few industries that keep in operation retain only from three-fourths

down to one-sixth of their normal working forces. In speeches made throughout the country, the Commerce Ministry repeatedly attributed the depression to the public's withholding its purchasing power. This view the editor of Dagens Nyheder belittled, declaring that the importation of German goods while Danish industries lie idle is patently to blame. Conditions in the tinware industry are cited as typical. Tinware has been bought extensively because it has to be used. But while the Danish tinplate factories are depopulated, the imports from Germany have mounted to 450 per cent. Other industries are in propor-

Since the return of the Danish sovereigns from their visit to the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, the Faroese Senate has been debating vehemently the proposal of the Faroe Islands Government to alter the islands' status in the Danish Kingdom. This is the only essential question that separates the two Faroese political parties. The Union (Samband) Party wishes to keep the communal county (amtskommunal) position now in force, while the Autonomous (Selvstyre) Party works for a separation, so that the Faroe Islands shall occupy a relation to Denmark equal to that which Iceland has.

SWEDEN—While the trial of the Bolshevik conspirators has progressed in Stockholm, Soviet agents have been going about all over Sweden buying up grain. The authorities have kept a sharp watch on this traffic, with a view to forbidding grain export on a large scale. The harvest of beet-root, rye and wheat promises an unusually good yield.

Hugo Stinnes, the German financier, arrived in Sweden early in September and went to his estate in Smaland. Although he is said to be seeking recreation after a recent automobile accident, the Swedish papers insist that his visit has to do with the Swedish-Russian trade negotiations.

Sweden is not feeling as severe a business depression as Denmark, but German competition here also is making itself disagreeably felt. Decline in most industries was gradual, but the 70,000 to 80,000 unemployed workmen were the greatest number yet recorded in Swedish labor history. Bankruptcies increased in the last fiscal year.

ITALY OUT OF HER QUANDARY

The Bonomi Government suppresses the Arditi del Popolo without reprisals from the Fascisti, who remain quiescent—Widespread denunciation of extremists in other parties, and subsidence of militant communism—Winding up the Fiume affair

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Parliamentary recess which began Aug. 6 is expected to last into October. There is comparative tranquillity in political circles, for, where now the parties are trying to put their houses in order and little is heard about members of the Cabinet except their *villeggiatura*, two years ago Nitti was demoralizing the country by trying to govern by decrees, and a year ago Giolitti seemed powerless against the red flags bobbing up every day in the metallurgic region of the north.

The attempt of the militant communists to develop an organization to wipe out the Fascisti, calling it the Arditi del Popolo, proved a flash in the pan. The carabinieri, who for months had reflected the growing authority of the Ministry of the Interior and its firm directions to the Prefects, kept things well in hand; so the Fascisti had no excuse for reprisals.

The Partita Popolare, or Catholic Party, has recognized more and more the leadership of intelligent Catholics and has denounced those extremists who wished to make common cause with the Socialists. The liberal views of the Vatican, recently expressed on several occasions through both the Princes of the Church and the Osservatore Romano, have tended to close its ranks and to pledge its support to the Government as long as the Government will insist on law and order. The Congress of Catholic Young Men of Italy (Il Congresso della Gioventù Cattolica Italiana), which closed in Rome on Sept. 6, had a strong moral effect on the party and on the country at large; for, when the Catholic associations entered the Vatican to receive the Apostolic blessing from the Holy Father, they bore at their head the *Tricolore* of the Italian monarchy with the emblems of the house of Savoy—possibly a significant oriflamme of peace between Vatican and Quirinal.

Deputy Acero of the Parliamentary Fascisti (Gruppo Fascista), who was instrumental in aiding the President of the Chamber in bringing about a truce between the Fascisti and the United Socialists in the last days of the session, made an important declaration on Sept. 1. While he deplored the disrapture wrought among the Fascisti, mainly because of misconstruing the attitude of their leaders in regard to socialism, monarchism and republicanism, and the withdrawal of Benito Mussolino from among them, yet all that was needed to unite them, Acero declared, was a political program with definite and easily comprehended political ideals. On Sept. 9 Signor Mussolino announced the formation of such a party as an accomplished fact.

While the Communist Deputy from Trieste, Nocila Bombacci, continued to make speeches eulogizing the twenty-one points of Lenin and the Third International, he was periodically "shown up" by his erstwhile "comrade," Giacinto Menotti Serrati, in the columns of the *Avanti*. Other Socialist leaders, Turati and Treves, were trying to bring order out of chaos in order to present a respectable front at the Milan Socialist Congress, which meets in October.

At Turin, where the communist dictatorship has kept 70,000 out of work, the Socialists, in trying to break the power which held the men in bondage, came to blows with the communist leaders and vanquished them, while groups of Fascisti looked on smiling. On Aug. 20 a communist manifesto was issued calling a general strike. Thereupon the Labor Confederation, which a year ago was actively leading the demand of the workers for the control of the factories, issued a counter-manifesto, saying, among other things:

It is time to do away with this mad policy of communism, which threatens to ruin the

proletariat, especially during the present unemployment crisis.

Just what the Socialists look for at the Milan congress in October has been imparted by the Socialist Deputy Morgari in an interview printed in the *Messaggero*. He was noncommittal as to whether the intransigents would secure a majority, but added:

If they do a scission in the party will be inevitable. If Signor Turati's party is successful the congress will not adhere to the Moscow or Amsterdam International but to the International which has already received adhesion of the German Independent Socialists, the British Independent Labor Party and the Austrian Socialists.

Italian and Yugoslav commissions continued at various places to settle the problems presented by the Treaty of Rapallo—from fishery rights off the Dalmatian coast to the most important question of the Porto Baros. That the latter shall become Yugoslav is said to have been conceded, but the terms which were being arranged toward the middle of September, it is learned, would not deprive Fiume of the use of the harbor for commercial purposes. On Sept. 7 the Legionaries of Gabriele d'Annunzio quit both the harbor and Fiume, and the Italian General Amantea assumed military command. All other powers were taken over by the special Italian Commissioner, Commandant Castelli, who will attempt to organize the Government of Fiume. It is believed that matters will now make rapid progress, for the present situation of civic and industrial inactivity is costing Italy some millions of lire a month, which the Fiumese were content to have spent on them so long as nothing more was required of them than to cry "Viva l'Italia!" The real situation was brought home to Commandant Castelli when the Italian and Yugoslav delegates arranged how the Zagreb railway should be operated and the delegates of Fiume arose in opposition. With no railway or shipping movement, of course there is no commerce, and for this

stagnation Italy has been paying, while Jugoslavia has no returns.

On Aug. 31 the new Italo-German commercial treaty became operative for nine months. After this period it will be automatically renewable, unless denounced on a month's notice by either of the contracting parties. Its chief feature is to facilitate the import and export of food, clothing, and manufacturing necessities. On the same day the Italo-Russian trade agreement was signed. It is similar to the Anglo-Russian pact—a mere basis for further negotiations while removing all obstacles to a renewal of commercial and consular relations.

On Aug. 23 a decree of the Treasury announced that in the future the United States dollar and not the English pound would be the standard of international payments. This was done on account of the stability of the dollar as the practical exchange unit.

The cost of replacing the war ruin wrought in the Asiago and Trentino regions has been placed at 3,000,000,000 lire at the present rate of exchange. Over 130,000 homes were destroyed. Of these 50,000 have been rebuilt. It is estimated that in two years the task will be completed. In the historical Magistrato alle Acque of Venice more than 1,500 engineers are at work. Here 600 co-operative societies, varying in politics from Socialists to Catholics and Fascisti, have taken matters into their own hands and are rebuilding much more quickly than the Government could do. At the same time they are learning to appreciate one another's good qualities.

In the north amid the mountain torrents the electrification of water-power (Italy's white coal) has made great strides during the Summer. The Lake of Santa Croce has been turned into a reservoir containing 120,000,000 cubic meters of water, which will shortly produce 250,000 horsepower. Even the Piave has been harnessed and its wires from Pola to Ancona will next Winter save the consumption of 1,000,000 tons of coal.

SPAIN'S COSTLY ADVENTURE IN MOROCCO

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Spaniards launched an offensive on Sept. 10 against the insurgent Berber tribes from Melilla and other selected tactical points on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. According to report from the Headquarters Staff at Melilla, the object of the offensive is to raise the siege of that city, recover as quickly as possible the lost Spanish posts in the interior, and drive the tribes into the mountains before the rainy season sets in, which will be in the first week in October.

The force operating from Melilla is said to consist of 45,000 men; that distributed at other points, of 20,000. Before the revolt the Commandant General at Melilla had at his disposal (on paper) 25,000 men, of whom 5,000 were native troops. At the various posts there were 18,000 white troops and an unknown number of native.

In Paris it is stated that the operations of Spain are merely intended to re-establish Spanish honor. In Madrid the press and public are opposed to a costly punitive expedition, devised to establish Spanish authority solely by force of arms. In both Paris and Madrid it is believed that the Spanish offensive, although brief, will be of such a character as to open the way to an armistice; this is thought to be all the more certain since many of the more intelligent of the tribal chiefs have already withdrawn from the conflict. They have become disgusted, it is said, with the atrocities committed by their less civilized colleagues and have appealed to Marshal Lyautey, the French High Commissioner, to mediate between them and the Spanish High Commissioner, General Domaso Berenguer, who has planned the present offensive. Indeed the leader of the insurgents, Abd-el-Krin, has already sent a mission to Marshal Lyautey defining the grievances of the Moors and stipulating the conditions of peace. All the same, the French have disarmed the natives in their zone and have concentrated 6,000 Senegalese on the frontier.

On Sept. 9 the Spanish losses, according

to official reports, were set at 20,000 men and 200 guns, 30,000 rifles, 500 machine guns, and an immense amount of war material.

All signs at Madrid point to the unpopularity of a war in Morocco. A credit of only 19,000,000 pesetas was decreed by the Government and ratified by Parliament with some hesitation. The Spanish Consulates at London, Paris, New York and other cities opened their books to recruits for the Foreign Legion. Nearly 500, mostly war veterans, were enrolled in New York, but it has not been learned that any have been embarked. On Sept. 12, Spaniards of the 1920 class were called to the colors.

Meanwhile, between Aug. 15 and Sept. 10 there were a number of operations, usually favorable to the Spaniards. On Aug. 16, Sidi Amaran, which commands the approach to the Tres Forcas peninsula, on which Melilla is situated, was captured by troops under General Sanjurjo; from Aug. 20 to the 27th Spanish warships bombarded Moorish gatherings on the coast between Alhucemas and Cape Tres Forcas; the Spaniards also raised the siege of Mezquita, on Sept. 4. On the other hand, Sheshuan, seventy-five miles south of Ceuta, in the western part of the zone, fell to the enemy on Aug. 19; as did Peñón de Valez, an island eight miles east of Ceuta, held by the Spaniards since 1664, on Aug. 20; also, a few days later, Tefer, thirty miles from Alkazar Bekir.

The political situation at Madrid is most complicated. King Alfonso has presented flags and has made speeches to departing regiments, but what little news of these things the censor has allowed to transpire does not reveal any great amount of enthusiasm. The Liberals under the Conde de Romanones will place no obstacles in the way of the new National Ministry under Don Antonio Maura, provided the Government does not attempt to conduct military operations on a large scale—which, however, seems most unlikely.

In the crisis brought about by the revolt

of the Moors there are beneath the surface social forces at work which make the position of the Government most hazardous. The question asked by the press of Madrid is: Will Maura have the influence and

power to restore the authority of the State which has recently been little more than a shuttlecock between rival greed and ambition, and bankrupt in a rich country? He has a great task; also a great opportunity.

SETTLEMENT OF THE MEXICAN OIL QUESTION

Conference between oil producers and Mexican officials ends in an understanding apparently satisfactory to both sides—American Government still refuses to recognize Obregon unless a treaty is signed

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

PRODUCTION of oil in Mexico, which had been suspended by the American companies owing to the export tax, was resumed on Sept. 5 and the taxes on oil held in storage were paid by a majority of the companies the same day. This was the result of an agreement reached between large American companies and the Mexican Government. These companies, seeing that the demand of the Washington Administration on a neighboring State to rewrite its Constitution to suit them was aggravating rather than calming the situation, decided to take the matter out of the hands of the State Department.

This was all the more imperative, as the British companies, recognizing the right of Mexico to manage its own affairs, had paid the tax and continued to export oil right along. Therefore, Walter C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; J. W. Van Dyke, President of the Atlantic Refining Company; Harry F. Sinclair, Chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Corporation, and Amos L. Beatty, President of the Texas Company, left New York on Aug. 24 for Mexico City, being joined en route by E. L. Doheny, President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, to confer directly with the Mexican authorities, having previously ascertained that opportunity for such a conference would be granted. President Obregon, when asked for his opinion regarding the visit of the five company executives, said: "I believe this is

the first step they have taken over the shortest road."

The American Association of Mexico, an organization formed to represent the interests of landowners and other Americans who formerly lived in Mexico, sent a protest to Secretary Hughes and Secretary Fall against the trip of the oil men, saying: "An adjustment of the present controversy over taxes would be far from a settlement of the oil question in Mexico and much less a settlement of the attitude of the Mexican Government with regard to property rights and the interests in general of Americans in Mexico." But the great oil companies having decided, the State Department acquiesced.

The oil men were met on Aug. 28 at San Luis Potosi by representatives from Mexico City and Tampico, with whom they conferred on their way to the capital, which they reached the next day. They lost no time in formalities and began their conferences with Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury, on the afternoon of Aug. 29, and saw President Obregon the next day. Six days were devoted to conferences and by Sept. 3 all difficulties had been settled and the oil men signed an agreement arranging the oil taxes. They were photographed in a group with Secretary de la Huerta, who then took the agreement to President Obregon at Chapultepec to sign. The latter described it as "a happy and satisfactory solution to all concerned."

Meanwhile a decision involving the famous Article 27 was rendered by the Supreme Court of Mexico on Aug. 30, in a suit brought by the Texas Oil Company in 1919 against the Mexican Department of Commerce and Industry. The decision upholds the contention of the American oil operators that Article 27, which vests in the nation the ownership of subsurface mineral wealth, cannot affect private titles validly acquired before May 1, 1917, when the new Constitution went into effect. By a unanimous vote the Court decided in favor of the Texas Company and enjoined the Department of Commerce and Industry from denouncing rights to lands held by the company before that date.

Justice Adolfo Arias, who prepared the decision, argued that such a denouncement would be in direct violation of Article 14 of the same Constitution, which states that "no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." He was emphatic in declaring that the nationalization of petroleum deposits under Article 27 of the Constitution must not be made retroactive and applicable to lands legally acquired under the mining law as it stood prior to May 1, 1917. The decision sets a precedent, according to Benito Flores, one of the Justices, for the Court's action in dealing with nearly 150 other cases.

Mexican opinion regarding the effect of the decision on the question of recognition was that the American State Department probably would maintain its insistence that President Obregon sign a treaty first, inasmuch as the Supreme Court's action or even a Congressional enactment might be subject to revision or modification by any succeeding administration. It was pointed out that the Supreme Court two years ago declared Article 27 retroactive, and the Mexican Foreign Office is reported to have similarly informed the American Embassy six months ago. In Washington it was said if careful study of the decision convinces the State Department that Article 27 must be held non-retroactive it would go further toward settling pending controversies with Mexico than any other step.

Mexican taxes on American oil held in storage amounted to a levy on some 30,000,000 barrels, and under the arrangement

with the companies production taxes will be paid every three months, instead of monthly. The Government is studying a new sliding scale of oil prices, taking the English and American markets as the base on which the present export tax may be reduced. In commenting on the Supreme Court decision, Herbert G. Wiley, Vice President of the Mexican Petroleum Company, said that if the taxes were reduced to suit the oil companies the State Department's objection to recognizing Mexico would be waived.

"No special privileges" was the keynote of President Obregon's message delivered in person on the opening of the Mexican Congress on Sept. 1. He declared that the signing of a treaty with the United States was "neither possible, convenient nor necessary" and was contrary to Mexican ideas, inasmuch as it would create special privileges for Americans. Mexico asked for recognition only on the ground of her legal and governmental ability to fulfill her international obligations. Making it dependent upon conditions, as the United States demanded, he said, was unjustified.

Three questions in dispute had been placed in the way of settlement—Article 27, claims for damages and the foreign debt. There were 1,440 damage claims, aggregating 221,331,891 pesos, of which claims for 93,965,045 were by foreigners. Mexico's invitation to form an international commission to adjust claims for damages during the last ten years of revolution had been accepted by China, Spain and Holland.

Twenty-four nations, President Obregon said, had recognized Mexico, and he enumerated them as follows: Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Germany, Guatemala, Holland, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Cordial messages had been received from France and Switzerland.

Reports submitted by members of the Cabinet were unanimously optimistic.

The army has been reduced by 30,000 men and the War Department budget has been decreased 26,000,000 pesos. All groups which were in arms against the Government had been exterminated or had surrendered. Scattered uprisings, the

Secretary declared, were not due to popular desire, but represented personal ambitions.

Twenty-one banks which were closed during Carranza's administration, had been reopened and only three remained for final adjudication. More than 8,000,000 pesos had been spent for the rehabilitation of the railroads, and several more millions to improve port conditions. The credit of \$2,500,000 extended by the Baldwin Locomotive Company is to be used to purchase rolling stock and construction material for the national railways. Ramon P. Denegei, who is President Obregon's personal representative on the Board of Directors, says that the railroads have lost more than \$300,000,000 by graft, and as a result have become lamentably inefficient. Vera Cruz, Tampico and Laredo have been congested, but the situation is gradually clearing.

Henry P. Fletcher, Under Secretary of State, in an interview on Aug. 11 with Señor Ugarte, Director of the Universal of Mexico City, showed that the Harding Administration had no intention of recognizing the Obregon Government in advance of the signing of a treaty. A translation of this interview was given out by the State Department on Aug. 20. In it Mr. Fletcher said: "It is absolutely untrue that oil influences are determining the action of the American Government."

Senator King of Utah on Aug. 15 denounced President Obregon, saying that his policy was to confiscate American property and divide it among Mexicans without giving any return. In defense of Obregon, Senator Ashurst of Arizona asserted that his State had suffered more than any other, nevertheless had unanimously petitioned Washington for recognition of Mexico. The State Legislatures of Michigan, Illinois, Oklahoma, California and Texas had taken similar action. President Obregon, he de-

clared, was a man of integrity and high impulses.

Celebration of the centenary of Mexican independence on Sept. 12 precedes by one month Spain's celebration of the 400th anniversary of the conquest of Mexico, postponed from Aug. 13 to Oct. 12 on account of the Spanish reverses in Morocco. The Mexican celebration is marked by a brilliant season of opera, which began on Sept. 3. The company includes singers from the Metropolitan Opera, New York, the Chicago Grand Opera Company and notable opera companies of Europe. Latin America is to be represented in force at the celebration, many States sending official delegations. Passport requirements for Americans were waived and railroad fares to Mexico City were reduced 20 per cent. for the occasion.

A campaign of economy in expenditure and expansion in production has been inaugurated by the Obregon Administration. It includes the abolition of petty graft in the use of Government automobiles, discontinuance of supplying gorgeous gala uniforms to officers gratis, and a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of all Federal employes. A tax is placed on all lottery winnings running from 2½ per cent. to 10 per cent. on prizes above \$5,000.

To encourage the production of homes and offices in Mexico City, all buildings for residence or business purposes, construction of which is begun within six months, will be exempt from taxation until June 30, 1926. National lands in the territory of Quintana, which have stood idle since 1909, are to be divided into small tracts and sold on easy terms to farmers. The export duty on sisal has been reduced from 6 to 2 cents in an effort to revive the industry in Yucatan. Import duties on automobiles and flour have been removed. The Government is sending a party of agricultural experts through Western Canada to study the workings of agricultural colleges.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

Constitution of the new Federation signed at Tegucigalpa—It grants woman suffrage—Settlement of the Panama-Costa Rica dispute enforced

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

THE Constitution of the Federation of Central American Republics was signed at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on Sept. 10, by representatives of Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, and it was announced that on Oct. 15 elections would be held in the three States for members of the Federal Council. Tegucigalpa is to be the Federal capital. The Constitution grants woman suffrage. Nicaragua, it was thought, would join the union if the Constitution would permit any member State not only to live up to any treaty obligations already incurred, but also to negotiate and carry out any future treaty agreements that might be necessary. Nicaragua had in mind the treaty with the United States granting permission to build an interoceanic canal across her territory. As this treaty is only general, a more definite agreement as to details will be needed when the time comes to build the canal, and Nicaragua wants her liberty of action assured. Costa Rica and Panama have made no move to join the union.

NICARAGUA—A state of war was proclaimed in the northern part of Nicaragua on Aug. 23 against armed bands which invaded the country from Honduras and captured the villeges of Limay and Somoto, near the Pacific Coast. Three thousand troops were sent to the scene and forced the bands to flee to Honduras, where they were captured and disarmed. They numbered 1,208 soldiers and 103 officers.

GUATEMALA—An uprising of Indians in the Department of Zacapa, Guatemala, near the Honduran border, occurred in August. Two chieftains, Urango and Zula, as the result of a dispute concerning the possession of lands, joined forces, entered a village, killed the commandante and held up the day train on its way to the plantations. A trainload of soldiers from Guatemala City quelled the disturbance.

PANAMA—Costa Rica has sent troops to occupy the Coto region in dispute with

Panama and the incident is closed, although President Porras, in a manifesto issued on Aug. 24, protesting against the occupation, said:

Panama reserves the right to occupy, whenever opportunity offers, the territory adjudicated to her by the Loubet award and also to make effective all rights originating from an unprecedented act by which Costa Rica violated the existing status quo between the two nations.

Secretary Hughes on Aug. 18 sent a note to Panama saying there was no reason why the United States should suggest to Costa Rica

that it delay longer taking jurisdiction over the territory which is now occupied by Panama and which was adjudged to belong to Costa Rica by the terms of the Loubet award.

Costa Rica meanwhile had notified the United States that it was ready to assume immediately jurisdiction over the territory referred to.

At Secretary Hughes' request, a battalion of marines, consisting of 18 officers and 388 men, was sent to the Canal Zone, leaving Philadelphia on board the battleship *Pennsylvania* on Aug. 21. At the Canal Zone the men were to be transferred to a gunboat and sent to the Coto region on the Pacific. It should be remembered there never was any question that Coto belonged to Costa Rica, but Panama had been occupying it to force boundary concessions from Costa Rica on the Atlantic side.

Panama, yielding to force, ordered Coto evacuated by civilian authorities so that Costa Ricans on their arrival would find no Panama Government representatives there. Narciso Garay, Panama's Foreign Minister, who was in Washington endeavoring to present Panama's side of the dispute, on Aug. 23 was ordered to leave after filing a protest at Washington. Secretary Hughes on the previous day notified Panama that "because of its special treaty relations to Panama" the United States Government could not permit Panama to renew hostili-

ties against Costa Rica when the latter proceeded to occupy the territory.

Chief Justice Taft, on Aug. 24, appointed Professor John F. Hayford, dean of the College of Engineering, Northwestern University, and Professor Ora Miner Leland of Cornell University to delimit the boundary in co-operation with one engineer named by Costa Rica and one by Panama, in accordance with the Porras-Anderson Treaty. These are the same two professors who were selected by Chief Justice White some years ago.

Panama refused to name any commissioner or to recognize those appointed by Chief Justice Taft. Dr. Garay left Washington for Panama on Aug. 24, after filing a protest stating that the action of the United States shows that "force still rules" the relations between nations and that the rights of people are esteemed only in proportion to the rifles, machine guns and cannon they can employ to enforce those rights. He asserted that the United States had assumed powers which were not conferred on it by the Canal Treaty or the Panama Constitution. Panama, he said, "cries to Heaven against the injustice" and "will look to the future to see that redeeming justice comes some day by the inexorable design of God." In reply, Secre-

tary Hughes said he was "unable to find that any of the statements made by your Excellency require further comment from me."

Panama evacuated the disputed territory on Sept. 5, and on Sept. 9 the State Department announced that Costa Rica had taken peaceful possession.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE—It had been agreed (Aug. 15) to take a final vote Oct. 10 on Senator Borah's bill providing exemption from tolls by American coastwise vessels passing through the Panama Canal, but it was later said that it would be postponed until after the Disarmament Conference at the urgent solicitation of President Harding. As Great Britain is to be the principal foreign power at the Disarmament Conference, it was not thought politic to offend her by previously passing a bill in violation of what the late Ambassador Walter Hines Page described as the "specific and solemn agreement of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty," the former attempt at which so "amazed" the British. Moreover, the British Government had indicated that it did not regard with favor the proposal to exempt American coastwise shipping from paying Canal tolls, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Washington dated Aug. 12.

BRITISH WEST INDIES DEMAND SELF-RULE

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 12, 1921]

BRITISH colonies in the West Indies are demanding of the home Government a larger measure of self-rule. The Windward Islands, with headquarters in Grenada, hitherto administered by officials and members of a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, are to have four elected members in the Council, according to a decision by the Secretary of the Colonies. Trinidad also is out for representative government, a public meeting in Port of Spain on Aug. 11 having unanimously voted that "the time has come when the inhabitants of the colony should have a voice in the government thereof."

BAHAMAS—Never since the days of piracy has such an opportunity for gain come to the inhabitants of the Bahamas. Money is circulating in Nassau in quantities undreamed of, and all other business has been practically abandoned for that of supplying American customers with liquor. Care is taken to restrict their trade to their own island, the goods being delivered only to the nearest wharf. Some vessels under the British flag engage in supplying Americans beyond the three-mile limit. The United States Treasury's contention of the right to seize British ships twelve miles from shore is not conceded, and Great Brit-

ain has protested against any overhauling of foreign vessels outside the three-mile limit.

CUBA—Havana newspapers have been attacking Major General Crowder for his prolonged stay in Cuba, calling it a "potential menace." The State Department, in view of these criticisms, made it plain that the Administration is satisfied with the work of General Crowder and has no intention of recalling him.

American marines sent to Camaguey at the beginning of the World War were still there in August. This was revealed by an attack on Major Leroy Foster on Aug. 6 by two Cubans, who injured him so seriously that he was still in the hospital on Sept. 5, when his father, George Foster, of Scribner, Neb., asked for a Government investigation, saying that the two assailants were permitted to go free.

Cuban loans are proposed in bills passed and laid before President Zayas in August. One is for \$50,000,000 to be negotiated in the United States, and another is for an internal loan of \$45,000,000. As the Platt amendment forbids any loan, external or internal, unless revenues of the republic are sufficient to meet expenditures, including amortization and interest, a new tax bill was passed raising revenue sufficient to meet those items. Approval was sought at Washington by the Cuban commercial mission, headed by Sebastian Gelabert, the Finance Minister.

Señor Cespedes, Cuban Minister at Wash-

ington, on Aug. 30 formally protested against the Fordney tariff bill as ruinous to Cuba's trade. The emergency tariff bill, he declared, had already caused an "overnight loss of \$32,000,000" to Cuba. The proposed duties would seriously impair American investments in Cuba and injure exports from the United States amounting to \$515,000,000.

PORTO RICO—Governor E. Mont Reily, by a rather brusque letter to Antonio Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate, on Aug. 17, has aroused a storm of indignation. Señor Barcelo had recommended three persons for local offices, and Governor Reily replied: "I want you fully to understand that I shall never appoint any man to any office who is an advocate of independence. When you publicly renounce independence and break loose from some of your pernicious and un-American associates, then I will be glad to have your recommendations." Governor Reily, who was the Harding pre-convention Western campaign manager, also wants Spanish eliminated in favor of English in the curriculum of the public schools. Members of the Porto Rican colony in New York on Sept. 4 adopted resolutions calling upon President Harding to remove Governor Reily.

Pope Benedict has appointed the Rev. George C. Caruana, secretary to Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, to be Bishop of Porto Rico, succeeding the late Bishop Jones. Father Caruana is a native of Malta and was educated by English Jesuits.

LOSING OUR TRADE IN SOUTH AMERICA

MOST Argentine firms have only a small stock of American goods left and when that is gone no more will be ordered," said W. K. Ackley, head of the American Foreign Banking Corporation at Buenos Aires, to an interviewer on Aug. 12. "During the war, while the European nations were helpless to defend their commerce in South America, the United States secured a brilliant and imposing position. Americans are now losing it through laxity, and it is returning to the hands of British,

French, Germans, and Italians." The Epoca of Buenos Aires says North American investors have shown little inclination to put their money into South American enterprises or to consult Latin-American tastes. While praising the "open door" policy which is to eliminate unjust privileges, the American Government adopts an emergency tariff in protection of its own producers which constitutes a severe blow to Argentine exportation.

ARGENTINA—Although the first oil

well in Argentina was drilled thirteen years ago, the fields are only now beginning to attract attention from foreign capital. English, Dutch, French and German interests are competing for concessions and have obtained comparatively large areas. Swiss and Belgian capital is also interested. * * * Bids opened for bridge work disclosed German offers at one-third American costs. German deliveries are prompt and ample and American articles are being ousted from the market, but the Germans are less effective in selling heavy machinery, locomotives, rails and other large steel products. * * * Germany is awaiting the return of the Argentine Minister to his post to perform at Kiel the ceremony of atonement which she has agreed to make for the sinking of the steamers *Monte Protegido* and *Toro* during the war. * * * Traffic between Argentina and Russia was resumed on Sept. 2, when a Norwegian steamship left Buenos Aires for Petrograd with a cargo of flour purchased by the Soviet Government. A Spanish mission arrived in Buenos Aires on Aug. 24 to study a plan to establish airship communication between Spain and Argentina. On the ocean a record voyage was made by the *Vestris* of the Lamport & Holt Line, from Buenos Aires to New York in 16 days 11 hours and 54 minutes.

BOLIVIA—A request was forwarded by Bolivia to the League of Nations Secretary to present one phase of the Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile, Peru and Bolivia to the Assembly of the League at Geneva for adjudication. Consideration was set for Sept. 6, but the Chilean delegation threatened to withdraw if it came up. Bolivia asked the League to revise the Treaty of 1904 with Chile, in which Chile's authority was recognized in Antofagasta, while Chile gave custom houses to Bolivia there and at Arica, besides promising to build a railway from Arica to La Paz, the Bolivian capital—a railway which has been in operation since 1913. Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation, argued that the League cannot revise peace treaties, otherwise it must concede the right to Germany, Austria and Turkey. Finally, at the suggestion of Mr. Karnebeek, who presided over the Assembly, discussion of the sub-

ject was postponed. Chile, on Sept. 11, consented to refer to a commission of three jurists her dispute with Bolivia over the Treaty of 1904. * * * Bolivia has a minor dispute with Chile regarding the use of the waters of the Mauri River, which starts in Peru, crosses the Tacna district, and enters Bolivia. Chile proposed to use the river to irrigate part of the Tacna region, but Bolivia opposes it.

BRAZIL—An American engineering firm has received a contract to supervise the reclamation of Brazil's semi-arid States. Five large dams are to be constructed in Ceara and Parahyba, turning several valleys into reservoirs to store up the water of the rainy season from January to April and distribute it during the dry season from May to December, when scarcely any rain falls. * * * The second half of an issue of \$50,000,000 in twenty-year 8 per cent. gold bonds of Brazil was offered for sale in New York on Aug. 30 and oversubscribed within an hour. * * * One thousand German emigrants left Hamburg for Rio Janeiro on Aug. 23, completing the contingent of 3,000 to whom the Brazilian Government offered free passage.

CHILE—A general lockout at the Port of Valparaiso was begun on Aug. 18 by direction of the Commercial Association. Non-union workmen were hired to unload foreign vessels. The new Premier, Hector Laso, declared that the Government would protect any one who wished to work. On Aug. 29 the maritime workers who had been locked out declared themselves ready to work under the old conditions.

COLOMBIA—The Colombian Cabinet resigned on Sept. 4, announcing that the step was taken to promote harmony between the Executive and the legislative body. * * * The National City Bank of New York on Aug. 19 announced that its branches at Barranquilla, Bogota and Medellin, Colombia, had been closed owing to unprofitable business and slow collections.

PERU—A dispatch from Lima on Sept. 6 announced that a group of American farmers, comprising the advance guard of a colonization scheme involving 200 farmers from the West, had arrived on its way to the Pampa del Sacramento Valley, along the headwaters of the Amazon River in

Northern Peru, where the colony is to be established. The party was in charge of J. B. Schoenfelt of Okmulgee, Okla., formerly United States Indian Agent for Oklahoma Territory, who obtained for colonization purposes a grant of 650,000 acres of agricultural and forest lands from the Peruvian Government in October, 1920.

URUGUAY—President Brum has sent to the Uruguayan Congress a bill providing suffrage for women and all other legal rights held by men.

VENEZUELA—General Jose Manuel Hernandez, at one time one of the most spectacular figures in Latin-American history, died in New York on Aug. 25, at the age of 68. He was the leader of many revolutions in Venezuela, generally known by the nickname of El Mocho, "the crippled," because he had lost some of the fingers of his right hand in a battle. In 1914 he made his last revolutionary effort, but found little support and later lived in Havana.

STORM CLOUDS IN INDIA

IN the face of things, all is well in India, from the viewpoint of the British *raj*. So at least the India Office officials in London declare to the British people in the public press. The reform measures initiated by Lord Chelmsford, the former Viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the British Secretary for India, it is declared, have begun to give the Indian people that for which they have longed—representative Government. The work of the new Assembly Council at Delhi, it is asserted, has been such as to inspire great confidence that it will ultimately prepare India for the consummation of her national desires—independence as an integral member of the empire with Dominion status. Mr. Gandhi's movement of non-co-operation is proving itself impotent. Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, and one of the most brilliant judicial minds of Great Britain, has taken hold of the Indian situation with a strong hand. From his first encounter with Mr. Gandhi the Viceroy has come out triumphant, and Mr. Gandhi, under the threat of prosecution, was forced to exact a signed retraction from his Mohammedan allies—the Ali brothers—of violent statements made by them in public addresses inciting to rebellion. Free speech is allowed short of direct subversive propaganda. The population is generally peaceful. The Malabar uprisings in Southern India, which occurred in August and which cost hundreds of lives, were staged not by native Indians, but by a fanatic sect—the Moplahs—the descendants of Arab Mohammendans who emigrated to India long ago, and who have

never lost their warlike proclivities and their hatred of Hindus and Europeans alike. The status of Indian citizenship outside of India has been raised by the Imperial Conference. The political development of India is progressing favorably, and there is every ground of hope for the future of India within the empire.

Such is the rosy-tinted picture limned by the India Office. How far do the British people accept it as a true depiction of affairs in the mighty Indian empire whose population totals 300,000,000 souls, one-fifth of the world's entire population? Numerous letters of protest against this roseate view have been printed of late in the English press, emanating from men whose knowledge of India is first-hand and intimate. The most striking contradiction thus far published was an impressive article contributed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, late Lieutenant Governor of India's stormiest and most disaffected province, the Punjab, in the August number of *The Fortnightly Review*, under the title "Present Conditions in India." This article is devoted in the main to an analysis of the working of the Chelmsford-Montagu "Reforms." Sir Michael, it should be remembered, was in control of affairs in the Punjab when the Amritsar massacres occurred, the responsibility for which was thrown on General Dyer, who was subsequently reprimanded severely by the Government and dismissed from Indian service. What the late Lieutenant Governor says has weight, both because of his former high official rank and because of his long and close contact with

conditions in India. Briefly summarized, his conclusions regarding the reforms are these:

The so-called democratic régime now established in India is a mockery. The members of the Provincial Councils represent the voices of less than 1 per cent., and those of the Central Assembly at Delhi less than one-tenth of 1 per cent., of the population. The great masses are debarred, and will be debarred for many years to come, from the electoral franchise. Realization of this fact makes them easy victims of the Gandhi-Ali anti-English propaganda. The Indian members of the Councils and the Central Assembly are drawn exclusively from the English-educated lawyer class. Indians who are not afraid to speak their mind have long leveled against the British Indian Government the reproach that it has imposed on India a "*Vakil Raj*," or lawyers' rule. The lawyer, the journalist and the professional politician, many of whom are secretly disloyal and of a trouble-making tendency, have been selected for the Government of the empire which the rural classes, the Indian aristocracy, the landowners and industrialists maintain by their labor and loyalty. All these have no representation in the Government of India. This augurs ill, not well, of the future. Gandhi has not failed to use it as a new argument to prove the futility of trusting the British rulers to give India any effective form of popular government.

It is, however, Sir Michael's picture of the mood of the people as a whole, and their attitude to the British political officers and their families, which gives most food for thought. The situation he sets forth is little less than alarming, as may be gathered from a passage such as this:

The officers of Government, from the highest down, are regularly obstructed and insulted in public; the masses, hitherto loyal and courteous, are being embittered against the hated foreigner, whether official or non-official; shops are shut in protest when they appear on tour, supplies refused, transport facilities withheld. In many parts of India the district officer, on whose vigilant watch over his subordinates, maintained by constant touring, the efficiency of the Administration largely turns, is unable to move outside headquarters. Isolated Europeans in remote stations are living in constant fear of attack; their servants are intimidated into deserting them, their property is raided or burned.

Various writers of the British press declare that the situation in India is ominous, that the British are living there in a virtual state of isolation and constant apprehension. Gandhi, the most formidable enemy England has ever had in India, is unremitting in his activities. The "victory" won by Lord Reading was an empty one, consisting merely in the pledge to tone down the violent utterances of the brothers Ali to a point just short of liability to prosecution. It is essential that these powerful allies to the Gandhi cause should conserve their liberty of action. The latest advices indicate that though they are observing more caution, they are showing no decline in anti-English bitterness.

Other propagandists of less luminance are daily transgressing the limits prescribed and are being arrested and tried for sedition. And Mr. Gandhi marches on. His latest demonstration was one in favor of the public burning of all cloth of British manufacture, the example for which he set himself. Many of his fanatic followers are consigning to the flames all the foreign cloth they possess. The first two stages of the Mahatma's program—refusal to accept Government titles and honors and refusal to attend Government schools—have been executed with a much wider success than is generally believed. The next two stages, refusal to serve in the Government police or the Indian army and refusal to pay Government taxes, loom in the future. What cares Gandhi—this dark little wisp of a man, who lives like a Hindu monk and fanatically believes that India can be saved only by a return to the teachings of the ancient Vedas and to a primitive state of society—for the public renunciation of his movement by Indians of lofty intellectual rank such as Rabindranath Tagore? Tagore is a poet. England, the national enemy, must be dispossessed. And so powerful is Gandhi that the Government of India is afraid to arrest him, and Gandhi and the people of India know that the Government is afraid to arrest him. Wherever he goes he is treated with love and veneration. The people bow down before him at railway stations and kiss the hem of his garment. Lord Reading has yet to show that he can keep this situation from developing into another Indian mutiny.

THE RIGHT ROAD TO BUSINESS RECOVERY

Foundations for a new era of prosperity indicated by Otto H. Kahn and other financial leaders—Prices now the crux of the whole problem—Adoption of a monetary policy that will give producers an opening for activity without inflating prices again

TO turn for encouragement and testimony of forthcoming improvement in world affairs, toward a land of utter misery, of starvation and pestilence, of political misrule and social ignorance, a land which seems to have exhausted the range of human distress, has in it something of the grotesque. Yet it is toward Russia, the unfortunate, that the eyes of Europe are turning and toward which the eyes of America should turn. For there can be seen the earnest of better times which are to come over the whole world, if only the nations of the world grasp the opportunity which is offered.

In Russia lies the salvation of war-exhausted Europe. The acreage of a continent, its fields, its forests, the minerals that lie beneath the ground, could supply the wants of practically all the transatlantic nations, could they be worked scientifically under a stable and wise Government. And therein is the hope which may be a recompense for the agony which has come upon Russia.

Under the Bolsheviks the land was truly the dark continent which it has been called, as dark as Darkest Africa in the days before exploration. Today famine has broken the grip of the rulers whose own crazed ideas brought it on. The Russia which Hoover and the relief workers of Europe leave will be a different Russia from the Russia they entered. The change cannot come abruptly and at once—at least, it probably will not—but come it must, and it is possible now for those who are trying to guide Europe through a period of reconstruction to see ahead a Russia which, economically, shall somewhat resemble the Russia of the Czars, and shall differ from

it not in any lessened, but probably in a wider, field of usefulness.

Otto H. Kahn is among those who have seen these possibilities. Upon his recent return from Europe he cited the Russian situation as one of the most significant developments he had noted in comparing his impressions recently formed with those with which he returned to the United States a year ago.

First in importance he put the fact that the theories of Bolshevism have been wholly discredited and have ceased to be a contagious influence and an article of faith with all but a small fraction of the bonafide working people of Europe. Second, he found that the eyes of the industrial nations of Europe were on Russia, as the new land of unlimited possibilities, and, third, that there seemed to be almost universal recognition, even in strongly antagonistic quarters, that for the commercial penetration and the proper economic ordering and development of a regenerated or to-be-regenerated Russia, the active co-operation of Germany was requisite and essential, owing to her contiguity and her knowledge of Russian ways and qualities and conditions.

"England and France," said Mr. Kahn, "are alive to that situation, and their financial and industrial leaders are astir, especially those of England, with traditional enterprise, skill and foresight. American co-operation would be welcome at this time. It would appear to me that this situation should receive the careful and prompt attention of American industry and finance, lest by standing aloof too long we may find ourselves foreclosed from desirable opportunities when the proper time arrives. This suggestion is, of course, entirely apart from

the political or moral question of according any recognition to the Soviet Government until and unless it be sanctioned by unmistakable action through the free vote of the Russian people."

America, Mr. Kahn pointed out, looms so large as an actual, and still more a potential, factor in world affairs that our domestic affairs formed an appropriate subject for discussion in even so cursory a survey of world matters as his trip abroad had enabled him to make.

"It was inevitable," Mr. Kahn asserted, "that the artificially stimulated boom period of the war years and the period immediately following should be succeeded by a drastic and painful process of readjustment to normal conditions, though it need not have been as drastic and painful as it was and, indeed, still is. At any rate, it seems to me the time has come when we should rouse ourselves out of the slough of industrial despond. And I believe we can do so if we make a determined effort and pull together and follow that road which is marked by the signposts of economic soundness."

GUIDE TO THE RIGHT ROAD

What are these signposts? Mr. Kahn has summarized them so well that his words may be used:

First, a wise taxation policy. After all, the total sum required to be raised by taxation for our Governmental needs, while vast in comparison with ante-war years, is relatively light in comparison with what it is in the principal countries of Europe, as proportionate to our wealth and population and theirs. The burden of taxation, direct and indirect, resting on the man of small or moderate means in America is many times lighter than it is in any of the leading countries of Europe. That is as it should be, and no revision of taxation would or should be considered by Congress which would relieve the well-to-do at the expense of the masses of the people. If our system of taxation has been, as undoubtedly it has been, a strongly intensifying factor in bringing about the present situation in business collapse and unemployment and in retarding recovery, the reason is not so much the total size of our tax bill—though that, of course, was extravagantly swollen and must and will be greatly reduced—but the fact that

taxation was dumped on the back of business and capital most clumsily and crudely. We cannot have a return to normal business conditions, we cannot have vigorous enterprise, until we shall have corrected the most glaring, at least, among the faults of our present system of raising revenue.

Second, a wise credit and loan policy. There has been too much willingness in certain quarters to promote enterprises, to float securities for public sale and to facilitate business expansion when prices were abnormally high and a policy of caution and restriction was indicated. The concomitant of that attitude was insufficient willingness or ability to grant loans and credits when the danger flag of unduly swollen prices had disappeared. In times like the present, the attitude of those who are in charge of the business of loans and credits should be one of active encouragement and of a ready willingness, within the limits of prudence and capacity, to extend adequate facilities to borrowers for legitimate needs at home and abroad.

Third, a wise tariff policy. Our Government, during the war and for some time after, extended huge loans to European Governments—I venture to think with undue and unnecessary lavishness. Private loans and credits have likewise been extended to foreign applicants to a very large aggregate, and perhaps not always with sufficient discrimination. Whatever may be the merit of suggestions put forward for dealing with this question, it appears manifest that public opinion and Congress are unwilling at this time to consider any disposition of the loans owing us by foreign nations except their refunding. But we cannot eat our cake and have it. There are only a very few ways in which foreign nations can discharge the interest on the debts owing us, let alone the principal, and of these ways the most available is to furnish us with goods and services. Furthermore, if we want the foreigner to buy from us, we must be willing that he should sell to us. Trade, in the long run, cannot be a one-sided matter of sensational export balances. I am in favor of the principle of a protective tariff for America to the extent that its application is necessary to preserve our industries and the American standard of wages and living. But that principle can no longer be applied, with safety and ad-

vantage to the country and with fairness to the consumer, in the old-fashioned, somewhat haphazard and sometimes extreme way. New factors have entered into the problem which must be carefully studied and taken into account. And the American standard of wages and living does not and can not and should not mean that extravagant and wholly fortuitous standard which resulted from the war and from its after effects. In order to use the capacity of our industrial plants and to give full employment to our workers we must make every effort to hold our own in the markets of the world. And that is possible only if the cost of production can be brought into line with existing conditions. To that end the prerequisites are that waste and slipshod methods in business be eliminated, costs brought down, the "get-rich-quick-and-easy" period considered definitely at an end, and that both capital and labor recognize the need of adjusting their respective compensations to the circumstances which the country has to meet. All of us, including labor, will be better off in the long run by getting away from an artificial level, which has been of genuine benefit to no one and of considerable charm to a large fraction of our population.

FARMING AND EXPORT

Fourth, sound and effective measures to aid the farming industry. The vital importance of that industry and the critical situation of the farmer who, for some time past, has been receiving pre-war prices for his product while paying inflated prices for his needs, and who, moreover, has been laboring under inadequate credit and distribution facilities, are so manifest that it seems needless to put forth any arguments on that score. Second only to agriculture in national importance is the railroad industry, affecting, as it does, the public at large, the shipper, the investor and many industrial and commercial activities dependent on it to a considerable degree. It is greatly to be hoped that the long-pending settlement between the Government and the railroads will at last be consummated without further delay.

Fifth, cultivation of our export trade. That is a difficult task at best, in the face of depreciated currencies, cheap labor and

other stimulating factors operative in foreign countries. It requires, first of all, careful study of that field on the part of our merchants and bankers, and the setting up of organizations and machinery to be as effective, and the training of men to be as competent and expert, as those that have been developed by our competitors. It requires us to project our thoughts and plans internationally and to establish serviceable affiliations and appropriate co-operation abroad. It requires co-operation and comparison of views and experiences between exporters and bankers among each other and between them and the proper departments of the Government. The somewhat costly mistakes which have been made within the past few years ought to be turned to account as lessons for the future. In connection with this problem, the question of what, if anything, can be done to "stabilize the exchanges" ought to receive the close attention of the Government, and might profitably form the subject of an international comparison of views or of a conference in which the American representative should be more than a mere observer.

These are the views of Mr. Kahn, and the number of those who think like him is legion. A sound tax and tariff policy, wise handling of loans and credit, proper handling of the agricultural and railroad problems and the cultivation of an export trade are certainly chief among the essentials of prosperity for this country. But what constitute sound policies, proper handling and wise cultivation are open to argument. Were there accord on these subjects it would certainly be possible to record greater strides along the road marked by these economic signposts than can be done now. Tariff and tax are still unsettled by Congress, farm and railroad problems are problems still, and the cultivation of export trade is notable chiefly for its absence. Even our banking situation has its critics who complain loudly of the very deflation which others contend has not extended far enough. But there is satisfaction to be had in the knowledge that conditions are improving with steadiness, even if with slowness. We are better off today than we were a month ago, and better off than the month preceding. We are making progress.

MOSTLY A PROBLEM OF PRICES

Business is beginning to pick up in many lines, though the improvement is slight, except in the cotton field, where something resembling a real boom has recently developed. There is a little more activity in iron and steel, and there was surely room for it. Other textiles besides cotton have improved their position somewhat.

We are still far from what we are pleased to call normal, however, and the problem of reaching this desired end seems tremendous, when examined with an eye which takes in its most remote ramifications. A broader view of the question makes it less puzzling, however. After all, prosperity is simply a matter of production, trade and consumption. All other problems fall under these heads. If goods can be produced at a price which will find a ready market and still yield a fair profit to the maker, conditions will rapidly become as normal as conditions ever are, for every producer is also a consumer, and the whole problem is really one of balance—to find the point of greatest volume at which supply and demand will offset each other.

From the consumer's viewpoint the matter is largely one of price. Much of the readjustment which has already taken place in industry has failed to reach the retail markets. The merchants who bought at inflated prices are still hopeful of passing these high-priced goods along to their customers and of restocking their shelves with the lower-priced goods which the jobbers and manufacturers are offering. Consumers are reluctant to buy while they feel that this desire exists, and injury is done even to the man who is offering his goods at a fair price, because the buying public is still suspicious of all prices.

It is a question of finding the right price, and the right price may be said to be the one which will move goods. Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson Jr., Ph. D., economist of the Chase National Bank of New York, expressed this thought succinctly before a recent meeting of the West Virginia Bankers' Association. He called attention to the fact that there was too much discussion of right prices, as if the matter were a moral question, and asserted that the idea that prices are morally right or wrong, just or unjust, was an idea which had real meaning only in

the case of a very narrow market, where one party to a buying and selling contract is pretty much at the mercy of the other. In the great markets, where there are many buyers and sellers, questions of moral right and wrong have little to do with the matter. The question is an economic one. Those prices are right from the economic standpoint which keep the industrial machinery moving. Right prices are prices which will move goods, and the way to find out what are right prices is to have a flexible, competitive, two-sided market, and to let prices go up or down in such a market until the supply and demand become equalized.

OBSTACLES TO RECOVERY

In such a situation, Dr. Anderson pointed out, goods will move and the markets will be cleared, new supplies will be called for and business activity will go on. If prices are held above the point which open, two-sided competition would bring about, the tendency is for consumption to fall off and for stocks to accumulate, causing a glut. If prices are artificially set below the level which open market conditions would bring about, the tendency is for consumption to go too fast and for production to be checked, leading to a scarcity. If prices are left free from artificial control, however, and if sellers, as well as buyers, really compete vigorously and effectively with one another in the price-making process, right prices can be reached and business revival can come. Dr. Anderson listed under six heads the main classes of resistance points which were preventing the establishment of right prices. These, he said, were:

1. The prices of finished manufactures are still much too high as compared with farm products and raw materials.
2. Retail prices have not yielded adequately.
3. Wages are still too high by and large, though scaling down of agricultural wages in the South has gone very far, and agricultural wages have yielded greatly in some parts of the country. But wages in manufacturing industries generally, and very especially wages on the railroads, in the bituminous coal fields, and in the building trades are still much too high.
4. Building materials are too high.
5. Steel has not yielded adequately.
6. Railway rates on steel, building materials, and other bulky goods are much too high, though some readjustment has been made.

Right railroad rates, from the standpoint of the railroad company itself, said Dr. Anderson, are rates which will move traffic, rather than rates which stop traffic. The old-fashioned railway rate-makers knew this. They made their rates, not wholesale, but piecemeal, with reference to "what the traffic would bear," and found it best for the railroads themselves to charge low rates on bulky stuff, which would cover the direct costs of moving the bulky goods, together with some contribution to the overhead expenses of the railroads, rather than to charge much higher rates at which the bulky goods could not move in volume. Right wages are wages at which full employment can be brought about. It is far better that labor should have full employment than that a part of the labor force should be employed part of the time at very high wage rates. We cannot banish moral principles from the determination of wages, as we can from the determination of market prices of goods. But the very best friends of labor must appreciate that wages which are so high as to make it impossible for employers to produce goods at prices which the market will pay are of no advantage to labor. The far-sighted business man will not be eager to reduce wages more than is necessary. The far-sighted union leader will seek to reconcile his followers to such wage readjustment as is necessary to facilitate business revival, knowing well that greatly prolonged depression would lead to disastrous breaks in wage standards.

BRITISH FINANCIAL RECOVERY

Perusal of the British economic and financial magazines discloses that Great Britain and the Continent are going through much the same phase of perplexity that we are. The problems of readjustment to the post-war situation are much the same in all countries and differ practically only in degree, with the distinction, of course, that the United States is solvent beyond all question, while the European countries, none of them firmly on a gold basis, are struggling to return there. The London Economist, commenting upon some cheerful signs of recovery in industry, gives this advice:

On the other hand, there is no need to be too complacent. We have a long row to hoe

before we can get back to anything like our old prosperity, and the position is still full of difficulties and anxieties. What we need most now is neither exaggerated depression nor headlong gayety, but calm, determined confidence, hard work, all together, and sensible spending.

It is interesting to note that the monetary policy—and by this is meant the credit situation as well—is a chief topic of concern in England, even as it is here. The Economist calls attention to the fact that the currency and financial policy are only machinery designed to help production and asserts: "If we do not get the goods that are real wealth, the most perfect currency system will not fill our cupboards; but the use or misuse of the machine is of the greatest importance, second only to the most serious question of all, the need for inducing the manual workers to work well and contentedly and heartily."

The United States has been held up as a "horrible example" by at least one critic of the British financial policy, Arthur Kitson, who, The Economist says, "has long been well known as a critic of our system, and he now, with that fearless frankness which leads him so straight along the path of what he believes to be the truth, says that deflation has caused the United States greater losses than the whole of their war expenditure; that we are suffering from the same 'lunatic policy,' and that Germany, having reduced her mark to the lowest point in her history, is purposely keeping it low by issuing fresh notes, and that she has only to continue this policy for the next five years and the 'bulk of the world's trade will be in her control.'"

THE INFLATION FALLACY

This is the inflationist case carried to its logical conclusion, and the comment of the editor of The Economist so amply answers the position that it will serve here as well as in England. Says he:

If these things are so, the way to prosperity is easy. We have only to stop all this talk of economy, encourage our wasters to waste as much as possible, print notes and expand credit in the process, and the world's trade is ours, as long as other people do not seize this bright idea and put it into practice still more effectively. Ultimately, it would seem, the fight for the world's trade will resolve itself into the question which nation can get paper and

print notes fastest, and the control of the paper supply will be the real key to industrial victory. It is easy to reduce this extreme view, as expressed by Mr. Kitson, to absurdity. It was prettily done by a letter signed "Economist in Wonderland," and published in our issue of Aug. 6.

Mr. D. M. Mason, of the Sound Currency Association, also suggested that, on Mr. Kitson's theory, Poland and Russia would be our most formidable competitors, and Mr. Kitson says that this is not argument, and that if Poland could add to her cheap currency an unlimited supply of labor, raw material, and capital, then she would be a dangerous competitor. Thereby he dispels the whole sweet vision, and tells us not only to print, but also to work and save. If we worked as hard as Germany—and in this connection we must remember that the number of hours worked per day are not the only test—it is possible that if we succeeded in depreciating our currency in the same way as hers, we might get a temporary advantage in export. If we depreciate all around, so that our currency loses buying power at home as much as abroad, we shall surely be just as we were. Germany's currency is worth more at home than it is abroad, and this gives an advantage to her exporters and foreign customers at the expense of the home consumer. The question is whether this advantage will last. It seems to be artificially promoted and preserved by Germany's need to pay reparation, and those who believe that reparation will seriously damage our trade, point to it as one of the means by which Germany will undo us. She has to make this compulsory payment, and to that extent cannot import, and so the demand for her currency abroad is lessened and it remains depreciated in foreign centres more than at home.

But many nations have in the past made compulsory payments in the shape of interest without producing this effect. They were, of course, smaller, and the remedy in Germany's case seems to be to encourage her export trade to grow instead of employing stupid measure to restrict it, so that the relation between the reparation payment and her total exports may be reduced. In any case, if we take Mr. Kitson's advice and inflate for the good of industry, it seems that

we must be careful to depreciate sterling abroad more than we do at home, and it is rather hard to see how to do this. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the view that America and we have been a little too hasty in deflation, or rather, in producing the fear of deflation, for we, at least, have so far produced little or no reductions in credit, though a considerable decline in currency circulation.

America is deliberately sitting on her "mountain of gold" and not allowing it to produce its natural effect of currency expansion, which would have tended to depreciate the dollar. In the Chase Economic Bulletin of July 20, Messrs. A. B. Hepburn and B. M. Anderson argue that "we must recognize that we hold much of our gold in trust against the time when Europe will need it to restore sound currency. We must not let it depreciate on our hands or tie it up in illiquid credits." But if the gold is thus to be cherished it cannot work the cure that expansion based on it might produce, though it is natural enough for the Federal Reserve Banks to check the expansion in view of other consequences that might ensue from it.

Here we have had a policy of dear money, through advances in bank rate and Treasury bill rates, which was questioned from its outset, and is now abandoned by some of its most distinguished supporters; and there are some interesting passages in the recently issued report of the Netherlands Bank which show that in Holland the rationing policy has succeeded without any increase in the discount rate. What we want is a monetary policy which will give genuine producers a chance without setting us off again around the vicious circle of rising prices. If a new currency committee demanded by the Federation of British Industries can produce it, by all means let us have one.

American business will endorse the wish: a monetary policy which will give genuine producers a chance without setting us off again around the vicious circle of rising prices. That is what business everywhere desires, and, in the United States, it should get it first.

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PERSONNEL OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

BY RICHARD V. OULAHAN

Characteristics of the chief delegates who have been intrusted with the task of limiting the nations' armaments and removing the dangerous elements from problems of the Pacific—A glance at the agenda and the larger obstacles to be overcome

FROM the viewpoint of American internal politics the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments has an importance which cannot be ignored by those who are concerned over its chances of success and are seeking material with which to counteract a prevailing pessimism. The element of doubt has entered largely into the discussion of possible accomplishments of the conference. Recent efforts toward harmonizing international differences have exemplified the fact that the burnt child dreads the fire—with the peoples of the world visualizing themselves as burnt children. They have lost faith in international statesmen, whom they regard as actuated by motives too selfishly sordid to permit of sympathy with the great mass of humanity, which hates wars and hopes for an international application of the Golden Rule.

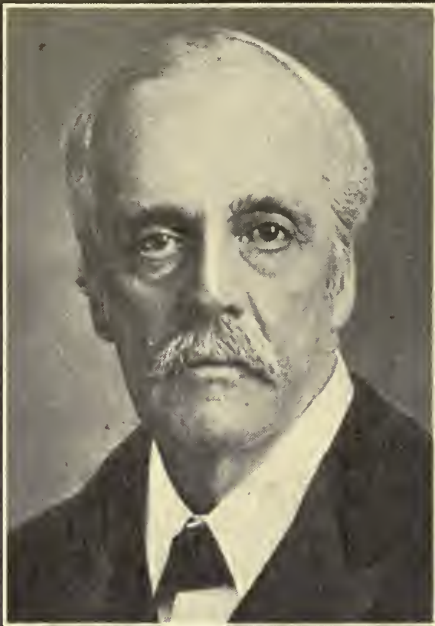
American internal politics affects the situation vitally, for upon the success or failure of the objects sought by the conference may depend the success or failure of the party in power in Washington. If we are willing to concede that the outcome of President Wilson's experiences in Paris had a marked influence in causing the defeat of the Democratic Party at the polls last November, an inkling may be obtained of the vital interest the present Republican Administration has in seeing the conference succeed. Leaving aside the con-

sideration that President Harding was actuated by the highest motives in calling the conference, and coming down to a hard, practical fact, an abortive ending of the Washington gathering would bring an outcry of resentment which the Administration would find it difficult to combat.

In these circumstances there is an added incentive to translate into deeds the slogan, "It shall not fail!" Fortunately, the Washington conference has been kept free from domestic influences purely partisan. Behind it is the fervent desire of the generality of American people whose attitude is shown in their prayers for its success. There were no party lines drawn in the overwhelming vote by which Congress declared for a conference between the leading naval powers to discuss the limitation of armament, and since the purpose underlying that declaration was amplified to include problems of the Far East and the Pacific which appeared to menace world stability, there has been a ready and enthusiastic acceptance of the wider application of the business the statesmen of many nations will be called upon to adjust.

It was a triumph of no mean character that came to Secretary Hughes in the endorsement he obtained of the purposes for which the conference was called. But the difficulties overcome are as nothing compared with the obstacles to success which will confront the conferees. A maze of

BRITISH DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE



ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR
President of the Council



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Premier of Great Britain.

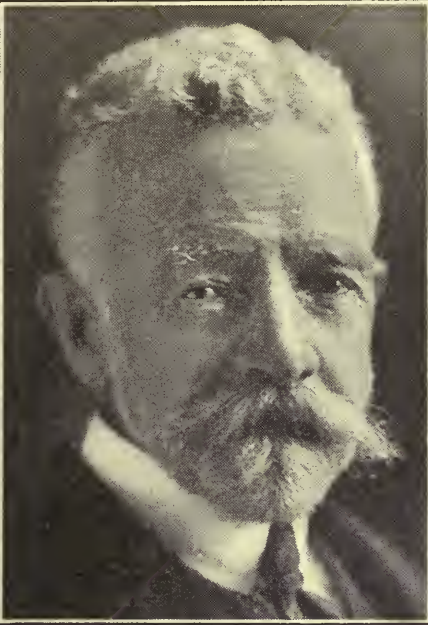


LORD LEE OF FAREHAM
First Lord of the Admiralty

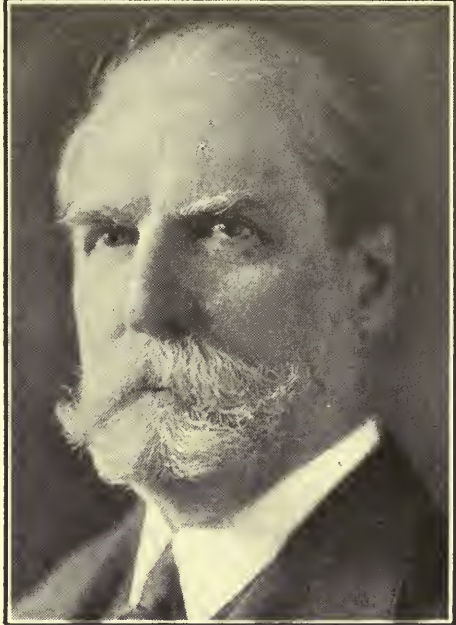


ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN
Former Premier of Canada

THE AMERICAN DELEGATES



HENRY CABOT LODGE
Rep. Senator from Massachusetts
(© Harris & Ewing.)



CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
United States Secretary of State
(© Harris & Ewing.)



OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
Democratic Senator from Alabama
(© Harris & Ewing.)



ELIHU ROOT
Former Secretary of State
(© Harris & Ewing.)

FRENCH MEMBERS OF CONFERENCE



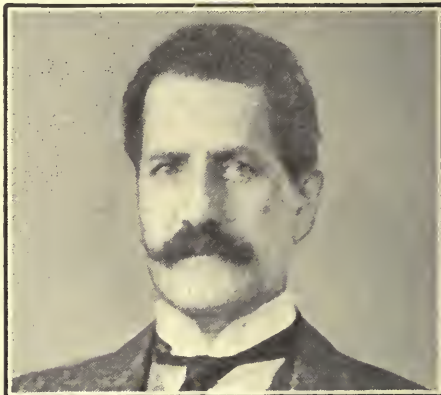
RENE VIVIANI
Ex-Premier of France



ARISTIDE BRIAND
Premier of France



ALBERT SARRAUT
Minister for the Colonies



PHILIPPE BERTHELOT
Secretary to the Foreign Office

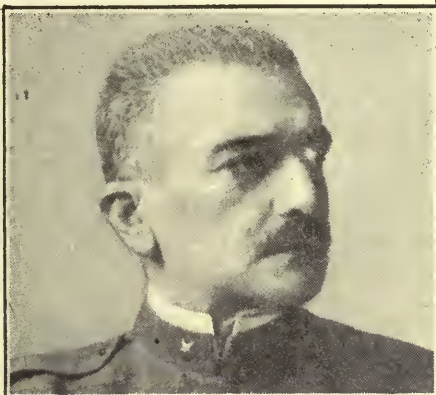


MARSHAL FOCH
Military Adviser

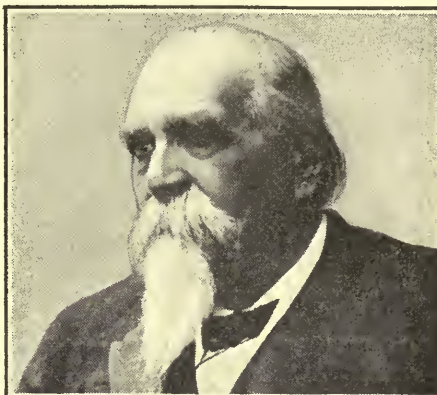


JULES J. JUSSERAND
Ambassador to United States

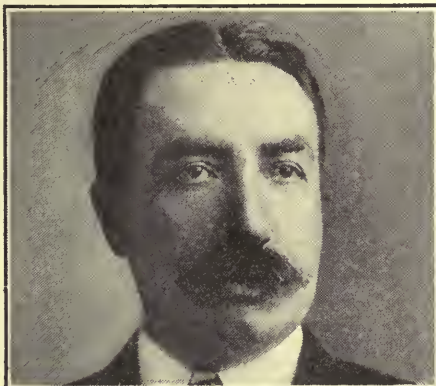
DELEGATES OF OTHER COUNTRIES



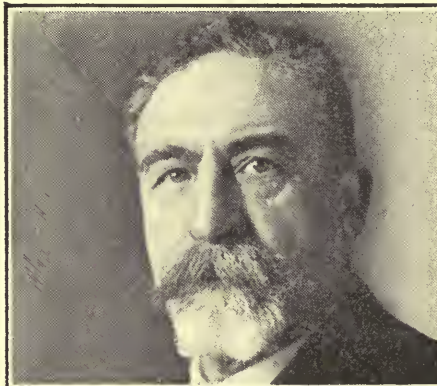
GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ
Italian Military Adviser



LUIGI LUZZATTI
Former Italian Secretary of Treasury
(© Bain News Service)



De CARTIER de MARCHIENNE
Belgian Minister to United States



ROLANDO RICCI
Italian Ambassador to United States
(© Harris and Ewing)



WELLINGTON KOO
Chinese Ambassador to London



SAO KE ALFRED SZE
Chinese Minister to United States





LEADING JAPANESE DELEGATES



PRINCE TOKUGAWA
Head of Delegation



ADMIRAL KATO
Minister of Marine



VISCOUNT SHIBUSAWA
Economic Expert
(Keystone View Co.)



MIJURO SHIDEHARA
Ambassador to United States



(© Harris & Ewing)

THE PAN AMERICAN BUILDING IN WASHINGTON, HOME OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION,
WHERE THE CONFERENCE FOR THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS WILL BE HELD,
BEGINNING NOV. 11, 1921



(Photo International)

SIGNOR SCHANZER
Head of the Italian Delegation



(Photo International)

ADMIRAL LE BON
Head of the French Naval Delegation

problems, intricate in ramifications and interlocking significance, is to be penetrated. National ambition and inspiration, patriotic attachment to certain political ideals, insistence upon commercial extension, territorial valuation, national security, the wish to hold, will each play a part in the great game in Washington.

Paris taught the world, and particularly trustful America, that every nation is so imbued with the justice of its own nationalistic aspirations as to fail to see the justice of antagonistic causes involving other nations. One's mind here instantly reverts to the unhappy outcome of President Wilson's earnest endeavor to bring the nations into an association designed to keep peace in the world. The Senate's rejection of the League Covenant, with the overwhelming defeat of the Democratic Party in the next ensuing Presidential and Congressional elections, is construed in Europe as an example of national selfishness run mad, whereas those who voted for Republican candidates in order to swat the League regard themselves as having done a highly patriotic duty. If it may be said that Mr. Wilson thought in terms international, it may be advanced also that the American people, generally speaking, think in terms national.

HOW AMERICANS FEEL

Perhaps, after all, this lack of close interest in international goings-on may have an important favorable bearing on the things President Harding seeks to accomplish at the Washington conference. Most Americans are not greatly worried over whether Japan extends or retains her "spheres of influence" in China. They have a hazy knowledge of what "spheres of influence" means. Their sympathies go out to China because they believe China to be the under dog; but China, as far as they can see, does not touch their lives. They do not like the Anglo-Japanese alliance because they think it is inimical to America. They may believe that the Philippines

are a liability, but they would be ready to fight to the end if any nation attempted to take them from us. They have been indignant over Shantung, but it is an academic indignation. They have no racial antipathy to the Japanese, but they think the Californians have the right to object to them as neighbors. Shantung and other incidents have made them forget that their sympathy was with Japan in her war with Russia, and have caused them to classify Japan in their minds along with other great powers which they regard, almost indiscriminately, as a parcel of land grabbers. They dislike monopolistic tendencies and think most big nations are monopolistic. The quarrels and little wars of nations make them laugh, but excite their interest merely casually or not at all. Railroad concessions in China, electrical communications in the Pacific, the separation of South China from North China, the twenty-one points, the occupation of Saghalien, the Far Eastern Republic, extraterritoriality, the British at Wei-hai-wei, secret treaties, financial consortiums, four-power, five-power or six-power loans, preferential economic privileges, preferential railway rates on "spheres of influence" railways, administrative integrity—these and many other questions present vague and indefinite and rather uninteresting possibilities which they are inclined to dismiss with an indifferent "I should worry!"

If they are not bothered about knowing the details, the American people have, however, a deep interest in some general aspects of the conference. For, other than the purely material influence of the taxation which comes from heavy armaments, they are keenly sympathetic toward the desire to place a limitation on great fleets and armies, because they believe these things breed wars. Above all else they desire the conference to succeed, because success, they feel, means the assurance of a long peace.

With that state of popular feeling to sustain them, President Harding

and the American delegates to the Washington conference are placed in a favorable position. They are cheered also by the conviction that world sympathy is behind the effort to bring about a limitation of armaments. There is a little fly in the ointment of optimism in a strong American tendency to believe that complete disarmament must be arranged to make the conference a success. President Harding and his advisers have been concerned over this tendency, and the President has taken occasion in a letter furnished to the press to make known that no expectation existed of "universal disarmament," which, he declared, "will be beyond hope of realization." What he hoped for was "reasonable limitation," which the President defined as "something practical that there is a chance to accomplish, rather than an ideal that there would be no chance to realize."

OBSTACLES TO SUCCESS

What are the currents and cross-currents which those who desire the conference to be a success will have to combat with determined vigor in order to accomplish that end? In the optimistic sense we have the knowledge that the sympathy of a large portion of the world goes out to the objects of the conference. On the pessimistic side we find national aspirations and ambitions which seem hopeless of harmonizing with the purpose of the conference. But the problems they present will not appear so insurmountable when they are viewed in the light of the earnest effort which, from present prospects, is to dominate the conference proceedings. If we start with the premise that Japan's desire to expand is not justified, an important, even vital, element of discord, which might spell failure, is injected. There is no justification, however, for any such assumption. On the contrary, it is certain that the conference will be so ready to recognize that Japan is entitled to her aspirations to find new fields for her

rapidly growing population, where that expansion does not trespass on the sovereignty of other people, that the principle will never be brought into question, except, possibly, by China. If Japan, for her part, should insist upon excluding from discussion her existing arrangements with China, which give her great advantages in that vast country, minds would come into play to find a way out of the apparent impasse. Failure is possible, some think likely. If such should be the outcome the United States Government, charged with the responsibility of making the conference a success, could furnish its defense only by attempting to place the responsibility for failure.

With the Paris Peace Conference we learned that agenda meant "things to be done." The agenda of the Washington conference is broad and elastic enough to be almost a catch-all of problems affecting the nations concerned. Under the heading, "Questions Relating to China," we find listed territorial integrity, administrative integrity, the open door, concessions, monopolies and preferential economic privileges, development of railways, "including plans relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway," preferential railroad rates and "status of existing commitments." The whole "Chinese question" seems embodied in these topics. Though Russia will not participate in the conference, "Siberia" is found in the agenda, and "Mandated Islands" suggests a comprehensive discussion of matters growing out of the peace treaties arranged at Paris.

ATTITUDE OF MR. HUGHES

Before he became President, Mr. Harding began to preach his "gospel of understanding," and his delegates will go into the conference imbued with the spirit of that gospel. In liking men he has learned to know them, and he attaches importance to the personal side. When he chose Mr. Hughes to be Secretary of State, his old friends of the Senate were up in

arms. But the apprehension of Senators that Mr. Hughes would present a repelling demeanor to them was not realized. On the contrary, he has shown himself to be possessed of a charming personality, which some describe as fascinating, and it is certain to be a tower of strength to the American cause at the conference table. Mr. Hughes supplements Mr. Harding's "gospel of understanding" by "the gospel of facts." He lives and dreams facts, and it is to be expected that the presentation of facts will be the *motif*, so to speak, of the American procedure. In all things he is practical. He digs below the surface to find a firm foundation and builds his facts upon it. With that enthusiastic vigor of which he is capable he sought to adjust the Yap controversy before the conference assembled, because adjustment would mean the removal of a trouble-breeder; and he exercised a sympathetic if indirect influence over the negotiations between Japan and China for an amicable settlement of the Shantung issue, which might cause an awkward situation at the conference table. Like President Harding, he has striven to counteract efforts to create prejudice against Japan, and by patience and diplomacy has shown the participating nations that the American Government will enter the conference actuated by a spirit of fair play and square dealing, with an earnest desire to achieve results beneficial to the world.

MESSRS. ROOT AND LODGE

Those agreeable personal qualities displayed by Mr. Hughes, which may have such an important influence on the temper of the conferees, have their counterpart in his American associates. Any impression that Mr. Elihu Root was a cold, hard, mental machine, interested in little save the laws affecting corporations, was dispelled years ago when he came to Washington to be Secretary of War. Colonel Roosevelt delighted in Mr. Root's sense of humor, and his genial

qualities made him popular among his associates in the Senate. Like Mr. Hughes, he has a passion for facts, and, like Mr. Hughes, an ability to present them in the most telling way. Each has the ability, too, of absorbing information—a valuable asset. Root likes diplomacy, and his experience in it as Secretary of State was considerable. He and Hughes have another common bond, for when Hughes's chances of being elected Governor of New York were in danger in 1906 it was Root who came to his rescue with his remarkable speech at Utica. That speech was generally considered to have turned the tide for Hughes, and his victory was all the more striking because his running mates on the Republican State ticket went down in defeat.

When Mr. Root was a Senator he and Senator Lodge were in the habit of walking home together from the Capitol nearly every afternoon. Their intimacy was obvious. Lodge, now 71, is five years younger than Root. One was a scholar, the other a lawyer, but both were interested and concerned in public affairs and they had a bond in their close friendship with Roosevelt. Whether recent events made any difference in their relationship has not appeared. The Senate, of which Mr. Lodge was so conspicuous a part, did not want Mr. Root to be Secretary of State in President Harding's Cabinet. Root was too sympathetic toward the principle of the League of Nations. But as between Root and Hughes it preferred Root. Now Hughes and Root and Lodge find themselves touching elbows at the conference table. The chances are that they will find it most agreeable association.

As there are misconceptions as to the personal qualities of Root and Hughes, so are there concerning those of Lodge. A tradition exists that he holds himself aloof from those who cannot boast lineage equal to his own; that he is a pedigreed and mental "aristocrat." The tradition is not reflected in the election returns, when the common people vote

on Mr. Lodge's candidacy for office, and it has no standing among the many who have been thrown in personal contact with him in Washington. If "the Cabots speak only to God," as a satirical rhyme goes, Henry Cabot Lodge has not lived up to this restrictive rule. His knowledge of international affairs is far-reaching, and in conversation with his friends and associates he expresses himself on foreign questions with a freedom and frankness quite in harmony with the desire that freedom and frankness shall exist at the Washington conference.

STATUS OF MR. UNDERWOOD

Senator Underwood's appointment as a member of the American delegation exemplifies President Harding's scrupulous care to take every means of making the conference a success. Treaties or a treaty may emerge from the conference, and President Wilson's bitter experience showed that the Senate must be reckoned with in making a treaty effective. Senator Underwood is the Democratic leader of the Senate, as Senator Lodge is the Republican leader of that body. Mr. Wilson's failure to have a Senator on the American Peace Commission at Paris irritated the Senate, while its Republican members were doubly displeased in the designation of Mr. Henry White in recognition of the Republican Party. Mr. White was well-liked personally, but it was said with sarcastic humor that he did not know he was a Republican until his appointment as a Commissioner was made. Senator Harding knew the feeling in the Senate, and President Harding determined to profit by it. He did not appoint one Senator, but two, to represent the United States in the Washington conference.

Senator Lodge was a natural selection, because he is not only the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, but the chosen leader of the dominant party in the upper house. As the leader of the Democratic minority in that body, Senator

Underwood's choice gave full recognition to the opposing party.

But Mr. Underwood's selection had other reasons behind it. He has a full share of common sense, his courage is unquestioned and his ability has a monument in the Underwood tariff law, with its application of the untied income tax and other provisions for direct taxation new to the American people. Besides these qualifications, he has a charming personality, a way of getting along with men, a willingness to see the justice of the contentions of his opponents, and, if this may be regarded as one of the reasons for his designation, a very warm place in President Harding's heart. So the American delegation appears to have the qualities which will count tremendously in the delicate exchanges across the conference table.

The agenda agreed upon tentatively in advance of the conference place "limitation of armament" at the head of the list of "things to be done." It is well understood, however, that this important topic will be deferred until there has been an earnest effort to adjust the causes of international worry embodied under the heading "Pacific and Far Eastern Questions." The agenda provide that the armament problem shall be discussed in three groupings, the first of which embraces "Basis of Limitation, Extent and Fulfillment"; second, "Rules for Control of New Agencies of Warfare," and the third, "Limitation of Land Armament."

If the participating nations are to recognize Japan's claims to the necessity of finding outlets for her surplus population it is equally likely that the conference will recognize the peculiar dependence of Great Britain upon her fleet. The United Kingdom is a manufacturing nation, which produces little in the way of food and raw materials to sustain its population. Britain's far-flung empire requires the protection of trade routes between the mother country and her dominions, and that fact will be taken into con-

sideration in devising a formula of armament restriction.

LLOYD GEORGE'S PERSONALITY

It is to be expected that this topic of the agenda will bring the British delegates on tiptoe. Colonel E. M. House used to say during the Paris Peace Conference that if you wanted to give an Englishman a ship and opened the subject delicately he became excited when the word "ship" was mentioned, evidently thinking you were actuated by selfish motives and wanted to take something away from him. Mr. Lloyd George was not different from the other British delegates in Paris in this regard. His strong personality as a negotiator is too well known to the world to need further explanation. Full of the fire of the Celt, quick and resourceful, ready to change his line of attack if he sees an impregnable barrier before him, adroit, eloquent, with a sense of humor that has relieved tense situations, he presents a picturesque figure whenever he pleads the cause of his Government. He eagerly welcomes the opinions of his associates, and, while always a leader, is prepared to follow where popular sentiment points the way.

In the British delegation will be found representatives of the empire's overseas dominions, and they are certain to play an important part. The invitation to a conference on Pacific and Far Eastern questions came at an opportune time for Britain. It came at a moment when the statesmen of the Imperial Government and the dominions were engaged at London in the endeavor to harmonize sentiments in regard to renewing the expiring Anglo-Japanese alliance. That this agreement was inimical to America was believed by a large number of the British people; and the opposition which this condition produced was accentuated by the unwillingness of some of the dominion statesmen to maintain further close partnership with Japan. The Anglo-Japanese alliance continued, but it

was not formally renewed. Out of the discussion in the imperial conference came a suggestion to the United States of a conference, either in England or America, preliminary to the conference which President Harding had proposed, the object being to effect "some larger understanding" as a substitute for the Anglo-Japanese alliance. This suggestion was not accepted, for reasons which the United States believed to be imperative, but the sentiment developed in the imperial conference has indicated the important part the British dominions will play in the Washington gathering.

The picturesque W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, who crossed swords with Woodrow Wilson at Paris, is sending as his substitute at Washington a man of quiet demeanor with none of the surface qualities which we associate with political leadership. George Foster Pearce, Minister of Defense and Senator for Western Australia, has the appearance of a scholar and the methods of a business man. He has the reputation of being a deep thinker whose judgment is good. Mr. Pearce is no orator. He is not ready in the give-and-take of parliamentary debate. But he is accounted a shrewd politician, with a thorough understanding of Australia's problems and an ability to make them clear at the conference table.

TWO ORATORS FROM FRANCE

France has great possessions in the Far East, but, while she is not indifferent to the bearing the Washington conference may have upon them, her main interest lies in limitation of land armament. As at Paris in 1919, her question at Washington will be, What guarantees can you give us against German aggression if we are to reduce our armies? The Franco-American treaty of defense has been ignored by the United States Senate. France and all Europe know that an alliance with this country is out of the question. It is significant, how-

ever, that hope is entertained that a formula will be adopted which, while embodying no offensive or defensive undertaking, will afford France the guarantee she demands and enable her to reduce the heavy burden she is carrying through the maintenance of a great standing military force. If that can be accomplished it will be a great triumph of statesmanship, and the character of men France sends to the conference will have an important bearing in connection with it.

When Rene Viviani came to America with the picturesque Joffre as his associate to bring the greetings of France on America's entry into the World War, he delivered an address before the Senate of the United States of which men talk today in terms of wonderment. He spoke in French. It is doubtful if more than a handful of that considerable assemblage had any familiarity with his language. His remarks were punctuated by frequent general applause. It was not mere politeness which actuated his auditors, most of them knowing no language except their own, in showing their appreciation. Some of them have explained their attitude in the statement that the man's oratorical fervor was so vivid, his gestures so illuminating, his enunciation so clear, that perforce they caught his meaning even if they did not understand his words.

Such a situation is difficult to comprehend. Yet there is the testimony of those who, confessing their ignorance of the world's polite language, insist with evident sincerity that Viviani's utterances were clear to them. Senator Medill McCormick, whose French came to him in the days when his father was Ambassador in Paris found, when he offered to assist the official reporters in smoothing out the English translation furnished them, that the French words had burned so deeply into their minds that the translation merely confirmed their unconscious interpretation of what the statesman had said in his native tongue.

Aristide Briand is an orator, too, but of a different sort. Like Viviani, he is brilliant in expressing his thoughts, but he does not attempt to clothe them in those beautiful figures which mark Viviani's declamation. His method is more direct. His oratory is of the kind described as "native." He speaks to the point, and so convincingly that his hearers are charmed by the very simplicity of his logic. Persuasive, he turns men from the inclinations of their minds. He carries forward conviction of his sincerity. It is a trait that has stood him in good stead in many an awkward political crisis.

Briand is to remain only a short time in Washington, but long enough, it is supposed, to impress his personality on the conference. A man who has been seven times Premier of France must have qualities that command attention. His career is a succession of surprises, of being out and being in. Originally combative, aggressive and uncompromising, in later years he has become conciliatory, and so remarkable has been his metamorphosis that the Catholics, who hated him for his separation and congregation laws, and the methods he followed in carrying them out, have shown a disposition to meet him half way in his efforts to show moderation toward them. The enemies he made in his days of radical socialism were many, but it is now said that he is on good terms with all the political parties in France.

Viviani, who will succeed Briand as head of the French delegation in Washington, is well known in America through his tour of the country with Joffre in 1917 and his visit to New York and Washington last Spring. Unlike Briand, he has not succeeded in overcoming the hostility of the Catholics on account of the part he took in enforcing the separation and congregation measures of the French Government. When he appeared at Kansas City after America's entrance into the World War the Catholic Bishop of that dio-

cese refused to appear on the platform with him. Viviani was a busy man when he came to America last Spring, and he made acquaintance with Senator Lodge and others with whom he will be closely associated in connection with the armament conference.

THE JAPANESE DELEGATES

Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, who will head the Japanese delegation, is President of the House of Peers in the Japanese Parliament. Educated in England, he speaks English fluently. When he visited the United States years ago he was so well received and so cordially treated that he has never ceased to express kindly feelings for America and Americans. A picturesque atmosphere surrounds his personality in that he is "the last of the Shoguns," who gave up their feudal lordship at the Japanese restoration. With him will be associated Admiral Tomosaburo Kato, one of Japan's naval heroes. He is a sailor, not a politician, and has no known political affiliations. Baron Kijuro Shidehara, another Japanese delegate, is the Ambassador to the United States, a man of poise and high attainments, whose capacity for writing strong diplomatic notes has given him a high standing among diplomats the world over.

Washington will be glad to welcome Masanao Hanihara, the general secretary of the Japanese delegation. He served in this country for many years with the Japanese Embassy, and it is said of him that he was the most popular Oriental who ever lived in the American capital. "Honey," his friends in Washington called him in his younger days, and they will find it hard to realize that the dignified Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs—his present official title—is the boyish, enthusiastic young Japanese with whom they used to frolic.

THE CHINESE DELEGATES.

Three young Lochinvars are coming out of the East to represent China in the conference. All of them know America, all of them speak English, and if you would better understand their occidentalism it is necessary only to look at their names. W. W. Yen, Wellington Koo and S. Alfred Sze hardly suggest the bequeathed and silken Orientals whom one would expect to bring the case of China—even the New China—before an international body. They are redolent of the spirit of republicanism; there is little about them of that which we associate with the Flowery Kingdom. Would you have evidence of this in a nutshell? Then let it sink into your mind that Dr. Yen was editor-in-chief of the English and Chinese Standard Dictionary, that Dr. Koo was an editor of the school newspaper at Columbia University, and that Mr. Sze was a captain of the Washington High School Cadets.

The occidentalism of their front names is born of the new spirit of China. In his native land Dr. Yen is Yen Hui-ching, Mr. Sze is Shih Chao-chi, and Mr. Koo is Yen Kung-ch'ao. But for all essential purposes the new names serve and are a constant reminder that the old order passeth in China to a gradual replacement of what is new.

Dr. Yen received the finishing touches to his education at Columbia University and holds the degree of B. A. from that institution. He is also a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In a measure Dr. Yen is a connecting link between the old and the new China, for he was an officer of the late dynasty. Adopting diplomacy as his profession, he was Third Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington and Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the dynasty, and became Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs on the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912. Dr. Yen has served as Minister to Denmark and Minister to Germany, and was a plenipoten-

tiary to the Opium Conference at The Hague in 1913.

China best remembers Wellington Koo as one of that group which battled in the Paris Peace Conference against the transfer of Shantung to Japan and refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles because the principal allied and associated powers denied China's claim. His is an attractive personality. His years in America enabled him to catch the American spirit of humor, and his after-dinner speeches have charm and a witty naïvete. Dr. Koo is 41, but nobody would suspect it. He is active physically, with a buoyant temperament and a quick mind.

Dr. Koo topped off his education at the Government University at Peking by taking a law course at Columbia University. He, too, is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Under the Chinese Republic he has been an active figure with a wide experience of service to his credit. Joining the Ministry of Communications at Peking, he became Vice Minister, then Minister to Washington, Vice Minister of Finance, Minister of Communications, and lately was appointed

Minister to Great Britain. In the Paris Peace Conference he was nominally an adviser on communications to the Chinese delegation, but actually took an important part in the effort to make the Big Five see the justice of China's case. His work there brought him appointment as China's representative on the Council of the League of Nations. Everybody admits that he is clever and certain to take a prominent part in the deliberations at Washington.

Mr. Sze has been Minister to Great Britain and is now Minister to the United States. He is considered very pro-American. Educated at Cornell, he took up a political career in his own country and served in the Cabinet.

Upon the demeanor of these and other notable personalities in the conference—statesmen of Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal—much will depend. It may not be going too far to say that the character of the men who will participate in this great international gathering has raised high hopes of a successful outcome.

DOES THE MELTING POT MELT?

AN answer to the foregoing question was sought by eminent students of ethnology and biology at the Second International Eugenics Congress held at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, in September. According to some of the speakers, notably Dr. Charles B. Davenport, Director of the Eugenics Record Office, and Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, President of the Congress and an authority on evolution, the melting-pot theory is fundamentally false. "In the matter of racial virtues," he said, "my opinion is that from biological principles there is little promise in the melting-pot theory. Put

three races together, and you are as likely to unite the vices of all three as the virtues." Professor Osborn pointed out the danger of the fallacy to the United States, and put himself on record, with a number of others, in favor of a restriction of immigration, adding: "In the United States we are slowly awakening to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values. We are engaged in a serious struggle to maintain our historic republican institutions through barring the entrance of those who are unfit to share the duties and responsibilities of our well-founded Government."

CHINA'S DILEMMA AND AMERICA'S DUTY

BY STEPHEN BONSALE

Japan's unrivaled opportunity, by wise action regarding China, to maintain the peace of the world—A brief statement of the danger points of the situation that confronts the Disarmament Conference—Momentous words of Dr. Schurman, United States Minister to China

IN view of the approaching Pacific conference, I shall endeavor to state fairly the facts of China's present dilemma, of Japan's great responsibility and unrivaled opportunity to maintain the peace of the world and of the duty of the United States in the disturbing premises.

In the list of commitments which, as the provisional agenda of the conference indicate, will be taken up seriatim, our pledged support to China and our guarantee of her territorial and administrative integrity, now greatly menaced, will bulk large. Our pledge to support China against outside aggression goes back to the Treaty of 1858 and is only reaffirmed in the Open Door Agreement of more recent date. In the Treaty of 1858 we pledged ourselves to use our good offices in case any nation acted unjustly toward China. Today that pledge is China's main hope of salvation from the many dangers by which she is threatened. Should we be blind to our own interests, which are only a degree less menaced than are those of China by the recent course of events in the Far East, when China presents her case to the world court of public opinion which will shortly be convened in the capital of our country, the appeal to our national honor, implicit in it, will not be made in vain or go unheeded.

To minimize our treaty obligations

and to befog the issue, friends of Japan—who in my judgment are doing her a great disservice which she will seek an early opportunity to disavow—urge that conditions in Asia are greatly changed, and that our policy should change with them. It is stated by these advocates of might and militarism that China, divided up into innumerable factions, has ceased to exist as a nation, and that our traditional and treaty-covenanted attitude toward China was abandoned by the Ishii-Lansing Agreement. The second of these claims can be shortly dismissed. The agreement referred to binds Japan, in words at least, more firmly to the promise of the Open Door and the policy of mutuality and equal opportunity in China than do any of the other special agreements dealing with this world question since the proclamation of the Hay Doctrine. The negotiations which terminated in this agreement were entered upon at a time when the French and English Foreign Offices were seriously alarmed by the attitude, if not of the Japanese Government, at least of the Japanese people, toward Germany, then still in the plenitude of her great military strength. It was, of course, at the urgent request of these powers, with whom we had become associated in the battle to save civilization, that Japan was given such nosegays as

she could garner about the undeniable geographical propinquity of Japan to China, and Mr. Ishii went upon his way outwardly rejoicing, it is true, but, as the Tokio Foreign Office well knew, Japan was pledged more firmly than before to support the American policy in the great republic that had arisen so recently across the Yellow Sea.

FACTIONAL DIVISION

As to the other question, to what extent the civic disorders and the factional fighting until recently in progress in China change the situation and the obligations previously entered upon, Japan will come to the conference well primed and will be heard at great length. This, of course, is a factor in the situation that cannot be dismissed lightly or in a few words. The suggestion, however, heard in some quarters, that because civil strife is in progress the outside powers should take sides for or against one of the belligerents, will prove unwelcome to the ears of those who still recall the heritage of ill feeling which Gladstone's dallying with the Southern Confederacy left in many sections of our own country.

As a matter of fact, the complicated internal affairs of China are no concern of ours except in so far as we are bound to the established government until and when it should be disestablished. The South China group declares that it is the legal Government of the Chinese Republic, because it was created in pursuance of the government-making power vested by the Chinese Constitution in the Parliament in session at Canton. Another advantage attributed to the South China group is the fact that it has not, as has the Central Government, ever been forced by duress imposed by an outside power to make wholly illegal and most unpopular concessions.

It would, of course, be unwise to minimize the importance and the effect of this division in council and in forces that still obtain in a measure

in China today. True, China would present a stronger front to the world if she could appear at Washington, as she did at Paris, with a delegation representative of the whole country. But, as a matter of fact, there is much misrepresentation as to the prevailing want of harmony. The aroused people of many of the Chinese provinces, greater in population and larger in area than most of the European countries, after the experiences to which they have been subjected in the last ten years, are now exceedingly chary of conferring full powers upon a central or federal government, however representative and trustworthy it may at first sight seem to be.

Experiences in this direction, both North and South, among the young Republicans have been bitter and disillusioning. It took years for a Federal Government to develop in the United States after independence was gained, and we should not expect the Chinese to surpass us in the quick accomplishment of a task for which by our historic and ethnic antecedents we were better prepared.

NEW SPIRIT IN CHINA

There is no doubt much brotherly conduct going on today in the divided States of China, but we should not lose sight of the main fact of the situation, and that is that today, as of old, "between the four seas all men are brothers," at least as far as Japan is concerned, or any other power that may show an inclination to fall back at the expense of China into the predatory practices which so many of the European powers indulged in a short twenty years ago. Brushing aside the superficial criticism which is made upon this subject, let us emphasize the words of a man who has enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with the Far East for many years. "Today," says Doctor Schurman, our new Envoy in China, "despite serious division, a strong national consciousness is in existence and ag-

gressive patriotism is actuating the leaders of China and the rising generation." These words were carefully weighed, for the man who spoke them knew better than any one else that the success or failure of the great mission intrusted to him by



J. G. SCHURMAN
United States Minister to China

President Harding depends upon his correct diagnosis of the situation.

If these Chinese are determined to help themselves—and they are to a man, 400,000,000 strong—our pledged word and our interests demand that we help them help themselves. Very curious and interesting revelations as to the causation and the real instigation of the little revolutions and the sporadic factional fights which have harassed China for several years past will be made at the conference. We shall have very circumstantial accounts of Japanese adventurers—it is to be hoped, wholly without the support of their Government—who have started several of these movements, if for no more tangible and immediately profitable pur-

pose than to bring the Chinese Government into disrepute; and we shall hear of little revolutions that have been started by patriotic Chinese in the belief that there is safety in numbers, and that with so many parties and factions in the field Japan will not have sufficient capacity to swallow them all; we shall hear something, too, of that Day of Remembrance with which a patriotic people 400,000,000 strong commemorates with annually increasing fervor the anniversary of the day when the Shantung and other Japanese demands were forced upon a people who are as liberty loving and as resentful of foreign aggression and interference as we are ourselves.

But, of course, the great outstanding fact of the situation, as it will be revealed at the Disarmament Conference, is contained in the statement easily substantiated that beyond the Yellow Sea there are under arms at least a million and a half men trained to fighting. Some of the things they seem to be fighting for may appear trivial, but as a matter of fact they are training—consciously and with a fixed purpose—for the battle for the possession of an undiminished fatherland—a battle that is coming, unless wiser counsels than have been until recently dominant in Japan prevail.

CHINA AS A MARKET

There is a striking phase of the transpacific situation which should not be lost sight of at a moment when, according to economists, who for once are unanimous, the impoverished and indebted world is entering upon a stern international struggle for existence. China is a market which at this critical juncture of world affairs we cannot afford to lose. Many of those stately buildings of Columbia University which today crown the heights of "mast-hemmed and water-laved Manhattan" through the benefactions of the Lows, the Greens, the Olyphants and the Griswolds testify to the profits of

the China trade in the past, and the fact that Alfred Sze, Wellington Koo and many scores of the leaders of young China today studied with great advantage in these halls of learning indicates in a direct personal way how mutually profitable these past exchanges have been and how necessary and valuable they will prove to be to both countries in the future.

When I say that China was our great market I merely state what most people will admit; but when I add that China, far away and disturbed, today the Cinderella of world politics, is a market opening of almost limitless possibilities I shall be thought to indulge in a figure of speech or at best to be merely expressing a pious wish. Nevertheless, it is a fact that cannot be successfully controverted. For proof of my assertion let us look at the carefully compiled figures of our export trade for the first six months of the current year as furnished by the matter-of-fact statisticians of the Department of Commerce. These figures reveal that Russia is off the commercial map and that our German trade, naturally enough, is greatly reduced. In fact, in every column radical reductions are revealed, not merely from the figures of the boom years, but also by comparison with what were our exports in normal times. It is only when we come to China, in part famine stricken and with her trade and transportation disturbed and even crippled by unfavorable internal and external problems, that anything like a basis for optimism is noticeable. Now, these figures show that, in spite of all these unfavorable conditions and heavy handicaps that await adjustment at the Pacific conference, our exports to China for the first six months of 1921 have increased 12 per cent.! This fact is intrinsically important, but it also possesses a psychological value of great importance, for it gives the first indication of a favorable change in the commercial chart of our world trade,

upon the maintenance and growth of which depends, among other things, the high living standard of American labor.

Indeed, orders are coming in from China which promise a still greater increase of profitable trade for the closing months of the year, and today, as the vigilant look-outs of many chambers of commerce and boards of trade report, a number of American industries are reviving and a number of factories that were closed down are being opened up to execute orders from China. Here plainly, then, across the Pacific, with its hundreds of millions to be clothed and fed, is the cure for present unemployment and an available and most opportune substitute for European markets, which will be disturbed and may prove unprofitable for years, long lean years, to come.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

It is a matter of regret to Americans, and apparently to all British Colonials, that England enters the disarmament conference with the Japanese alliance, although not renewed, in full present strength and vigor. It must not be lost sight of for a moment that, sustained by this agreement, the rape of Korea has been accomplished, the absorption of Manchuria is being attempted, the Shantung grab is persisted in, and Eastern Siberia is still under Japanese occupation. Many of our British friends point out that Japan might well have advanced more disturbing policies and indulged in even more unruly practices but for the fact that her demands were restrained by British calmness and phlegm. Perhaps this delusion is sincere, but it leads us into the realm of pure guessing, where it is bootless to follow. If I did, I would certainly hazard the guess that none of these disturbing things would have been attempted, much less achieved, but for the assistance and the outspoken or tacit support of the Anglo-Japanese pact.

Of course, while engaged as she is in endeavoring to secure a monopoly of the coal of Kwantung, which would be so helpful to Hongkong and insure the dominant position of British shipping in the China trade, England feels hampered in any attempts she may be urged to make toward getting Japan to let go her hold of Shantung coal and iron. During the Peace Conference in Paris, General Smuts, the distinguished South African Prime Minister, said on several occasions: "The only path of safety for the British Empire is the path on which she can walk with America." It is deplorable that apparently the great South African is not to be with us in Washington. Perhaps he is detained by the duties of his high office. Perhaps his selection is obstructed by petty jealousies. But for the benefit of those who may be chosen for the difficult task of filling his boots and taking the place of Jan Christian Smuts at the Washington conference, it should be frankly stated that the devious paths that England is following in China indicates a course of action in which America can never be associated.

In Shantung England is the effective if silent partner of Japan. By treaty arrangements, open as well as secret, she has hitherto backed Japan's indefensible aggression in that cradle of the Chinese race. It is true that England is also a guarantor of the Open Door in China and shares with us full responsibility for the maintenance of China's territorial and administrative integrity. The English Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade interested in China have recently sent a strong pro-Chinese memorial to the Foreign Office—with what effect we shall perhaps see in Washington. British diplomacy is apparently in a dilemma that will try even the Persia-trained abilities of Lord Curzon. Either the burglary of Shantung or the Open Door in China will have to be disavowed, and in a last resort it would be well for Downing Street to remember that when Mr. Hughes said

"there would be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany now under consideration without the assent of the United States" he included Shantung as well as the Yap cable reservation.

OPEN DOOR IN CHINA

Last month, in the pages of this magazine—after stating that China's perplexity and weakness and Japan's unbridled strength were the fundamentals of a Far Eastern situation which, as President Harding well said and has since insisted upon, "should be discussed at the Pacific conference for the limitation of armament"—I, in common with many others, asked the following questions and proposed a silent plebiscite upon them: "Are we prepared to safeguard China in its present great extremity? Are we resolutely determined to keep open the greatest market in the world for our merchants, our manufacturers, our wares," which today are accumulating on the docks and in the warehouses with the resulting increase in unemployment?

Before my question was published it had been answered on the other side of the world by Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, that distinguished American diplomatist and educator, who has been selected by the President for the most difficult mission ever intrusted to an American envoy. Upon landing in Shanghai, Dr. Schurman was welcomed by the long-perplexed American Association of China and the American Chamber of Commerce in a joint reception, and from unofficial but absolutely reliable sources I am able to repeat here what were the Minister's words on this occasion, momentous for China and for the United States. These words were spoken by a Minister who had just concluded his period of instruction in Washington, where he had conferred at length with the President and the Secretary of State upon the disturbed conditions in the East and upon the details of the approaching confer-

ence called to adjust and to compose them.

You ask me [began the new envoy], What is the policy of the United States toward China? I answer in a word: We stand for the integrity of China and for the Open Door. We want China to remain in possession and control of her own territory and to be mistress in her own house. And we want in China the Open Door to the trade and commerce of all nations upon equal terms.

In regard to disarmament Dr. Schurman's language was equally frank and to the point. "Every one knows," he said, "that it is Oriental questions which today menace the peace of the world. We cannot lay down the tools of war until we have removed the causes of war." With reference to the thorny questions of spheres of influence and railway zones claimed by foreign powers, the new envoy was, if possible, even more explicit.

The question is [he stated], How may China get back her territory unencumbered and be reinstated in her sovereignty unimpaired? I note that eminent publicists in China are not agreed on the solution of this problem * * *. But the end aimed at by both schools is the safeguarding of China against foreign aggression and the restoration to China of her full sovereign rights, making China absolute mistress in her own unabridged domain; and what I am especially concerned to emphasize is that this object coincides with the standing American policy of the territorial integrity and unimpaired sovereignty of China.

In conclusion Dr. Schurman said:

It is my hope to see the dawn of this brighter day for China. I should count it the supreme joy and honor of my life if, even in the most insignificant degree, as American Minister, I might be of service in ushering it in. And it is not incredible that the dream, though without merit of mine, may be fulfilled; for, just in proportion as American policy, which I have the honor to represent and uphold, actually prevails in China, this great and venerable nation, with territory intact and sovereignty unimpaired, will march steadily forward to the glorious future.

In a word, then, the cards are on the table. The present Administration accepts the responsibility which Hay, McKinley and Roosevelt as-

sumed with good reason, and which Chief Justice Taft in his famous Shanghai speech on Oct. 10, 1908, re-affirmed in the winged words which flew from Siberia to Sumatra.

The United States has [he said] a fundamental interest in the Far Eastern situation, particularly in the fate and welfare of China, and the United States expects that her views shall be taken into consideration in any action affecting the future of China or the control of the Pacific.

PREMIER HARA'S ATTITUDE

Though it is pleasant to see how universally the justice of the claims with which China appeals to the conference is recognized by our press and by our public men, I should like to sound a note of caution. Let us be politic and achieve our end by the easiest path and by giving as little umbrage as possible. After all, what we want Prime Minister Hara to do is practically little more than to transmute into action the resolution of censure which, as leader of the opposition on June 3, 1915, he moved in the Imperial Japanese Diet against the Government of the day headed by Okuma and Kato. If, in power, Prime Minister Hara would only act as he talked when in opposition and secure support from the powers that be, or at least have been for so long in Japan, he would insure peace in the Far East for years to come and start a race for disarmament among the Pacific powers that would cover with imperishable honor all who contribute to its glorious realization. To illustrate my point, I find a number of leading American papers comparing the action of Japan in China to the behavior of the semi-barbarous powers of the thirteenth century. This may be correct, but to those of us who lived in the Far East at the time it seems more pertinent and perhaps more helpful to say that Japan's action in China of which the civilized world complains, and which is unsettling the world peace for which all the powers involved fought as allies, is almost slavishly fashioned and pat-

turned after the behavior of Imperial Russia and Imperial Germany in the days twenty-five years ago when they had their passing moment of supreme power, and strutted with the big stick across the Chinese stage. That, we should remember, was the formative period of Japan's foreign policy. This was the time when the Island Empire was plastic to receive impressions, and by belaboring her now we may only make her marble to retain them.

In his resolution of censure, which was supported by 133 votes of the Seiyu-kai and the Kokumin-to—parties now in power—Hara, then leader of the opposition, stated that the Chinese negotiations "had been conducted in a mistaken manner, had damaged the cordial relations between the two countries (China and Japan), had aroused suspicion in the minds of the foreign powers and had sown seeds of future trouble." We should be able to do business with a man who

talks in this way. If Mr. Hara or his delegates stand on the platform which was outlined in this resolution of censure, the greater part of our problems will not prove difficult of solution. In the meantime it is the part of wisdom and a requisite of courtesy that we cease belaboring the Japanese Government of today and eschew criticism which rasps the Japanese sensitiveness, which is acute. After all, our period of restraint will not be prolonged. In six weeks we shall know the kind of Japan with which we are confronted, and also whether Prime Minister Hara has abandoned his former policy of friendly helpfulness to China, which six years ago was shared by many of his associates in the liberal and progressive groups of the Diet, and which at times, at least, the present Premier of Japan, be it said in his honor, has held in solid phalanx against the dictation of the War Office.

THE CZAR, ENGLAND AND KERENSKY

INTEREST in the tragic fate of the late Czar of Russia has recently been revived by a controversy between Kerensky, the Premier of the first Provisional Government, and Kerensky's Russian enemies. The latter assert that Kerensky is primarily responsible for the Czar's terrible end, and their charge has recently been reflected by the European press. To this attempt to put the responsibility on his shoulders, Kerensky has replied in the *Volia Rossii*, a Russian newspaper published by émigrés at Prague, Czechoslovakia. In a vigorous article on Aug. 28 he declared that the Governments of the Entente Powers, and especially the royal family of England, were ultimately responsible for the ex-Czar's fate, inasmuch as they refused to give the Czar sanctuary in the day of his extreme peril.

After describing the attempt of the Bolsheviks to get at the Czar at Tsarskoe Selo, and the subsequent action of the Provisional Government in taking the safety of the Czar and his family out of the jurisdiction of the Minister of War and the commander of the troops—General Kornilov—

and intrusting it to Kerensky, the latter declares that preparations were made to send the royal prisoners abroad, and that to this end he began diplomatic negotiations with the London Cabinet. His specific charge against England is contained in the following passage:

But already in Summer, when the prolongation of the sojourn of the imperial family at Tsarskoe Selo had become absolutely impossible, we * * * received a categorical official declaration that until the end of the war the journey of the former monarch and his family to the British Empire was impossible. I maintain that but for that refusal the Provisional Government would have successfully conveyed Nicholas II. beyond the frontiers of Russia, just as we conveyed them within Russia to what was then a safe place—Tobolsk. [From Tobolsk the Czar and his family were removed for greater safety to Ekaterinoslav, in the Urals, where they were slaughtered in an underground cellar.]

Kerensky's defense is contradicted by a series of articles written by one M. Fenner and published by a German review, the *Nachrichten über Ostfragen* ("The Diplomatic Relations between the Entente and the Russian Government in 1917").

PERIL TO THE OPEN DOOR

BY OWEN STREET

Origin and development of the American policy which demands equal trade opportunities for all nations—John Hay's achievement imperiled by recent allied acts under the mandate system—The Open Door potent for peace

AT the conclusion of the Chinese Opium War in 1842, the British officials who negotiated the treaty of peace obtained from the Chinese Commissioners certain trade concessions and privileges for English merchants and their merchandise. Admiral Kearny, who was in command of the American naval vessels lying in the Canton River, had maintained an unobtrusive but observant attitude during the hostilities. On hearing of the commercial pact made by the British, he lost no time in opening negotiations with the Chinese Commissioners, and exacted from them a promise that the same trade concessions which had been granted to the English should be extended equally to the United States. This promise was ratified a few months later in the form of a commercial treaty negotiated by Caleb Cushing, who went as a special envoy from the President of the United States to the Emperor of China. Thus was the policy of the Open Door first given practical expression in American foreign relations.

This principle of equal opportunity in commerce was again brought forward in 1898, when the United States made peace with Spain in Paris. A clause was inserted in the treaty which accorded to Spain, for the space of ten years, the same rights of entry into the ports of the Philippine Islands for Spanish ships and Spanish goods as those enjoyed by the ships and goods of the United States.

It was not, however, until the year

following, when the Secretary of State, John Hay, sent his famous circular note on China to the great powers, that the Open Door as an American policy was brought to the attention of the world. Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany and Japan had forced China to lease to them large tracts of her territory which had come to be considered as "spheres of influence." Although these "spheres" were still under the nominal sovereignty of China, the actual administrative control rested in the hands of the foreign lessees. The United States viewed with alarm this wholesale acquisition of the territory of an independent nation, and, although we had no desire for Chinese territory, we did have a desire for Chinese trade. It was felt that inasmuch as the United States was in direct communication with China across the Pacific, our right to unhindered commercial intercourse with a free and sovereign nation should be respected. With this purpose in mind, Mr. Hay sent his note to the great powers, putting forth the doctrine that China, being a free nation, should be open on an equal basis to the commerce and industry of all the nations of the world. Assisted by the mutual fears and suspicions of the powers, Mr. Hay was able to get each one to subscribe to this doctrine, on the understanding that all the other interested powers would likewise subscribe. These events put the policy of the Open Door on a world basis.

Russia had long had envious eyes

on Manchuria, and in 1902 she managed, by manipulating corrupt officials in Peking, to induce the Chinese Government to accord exclusive railway privileges to her in that province. On the eve of the signature of this agreement between Russia and China, the United States protested in a note sent by Secretary Hay on Feb. 1 of that year to Austria, Belgium, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Russia and Spain. This note read in part as follows:

An agreement by which China cedes to any corporation or company the exclusive right and privilege of opening mines, establishing railroads, or in any other way industrially developing Manchuria, can but be viewed with the gravest concern by the Government of the United States. It constitutes a monopoly, which is a distinct breach of the stipulations of treaties concluded between China and foreign powers, and thereby seriously affects the rights of American citizens; it restricts their rightful trade and exposes it to being discriminated against, interfered with, or otherwise jeopardized. * * * It is for this reason that the Government of the United States, animated now, as in the past, with the sincerest desire of insuring to the whole world the benefits of full and fair intercourse between China and the nations on a footing of equal rights and advantage to all, submits the above to the earnest consideration of the Imperial Governments of China and Russia.

The principle of the Open Door, so lucidly enunciated by Mr. Hay, had three main effects:

1. It gave all nations an equal opportunity in developing the trade of China.
2. It checked the great powers from partitioning China to their exclusive advantage.
3. It diminished the likelihood of those jealous quarrels which lead to war.

THE POST-WAR MANDATES

Thus stood China, a vast territory containing untold natural wealth, a nation huge and unconscious of itself, needing the energy, the capital and the goods of the other nations of the world. These other nations, recognizing the farsightedness and practicality of the Open Door policy, subscribed to it in 1899. In 1918, the war left vast territories of great

natural wealth, great nations unconscious of themselves and needing the energy, the capital and the goods of the other nations of the world. The allied and associated powers recognizing that these territories, which had been thrown on their hands by the fortunes of war, were in the nature of a public trust, have expressed themselves to this effect in the covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22, which says in part:

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the state of the development of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience, &c., * * * and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

It should be observed that although the covenant of the League upholds the principle of the Open Door for mandated territories, the door is to be held open only for those nations which are members of the League. This exclusiveness is further set forth in Article 23, which says in part:

The members of the League will make

provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and of equitable treatment for the commerce of all *members of the League*.

STEP IN WRONG DIRECTION

It was doubtless with a deep consciousness of their "sacred trust" that Lloyd George on behalf of Great Britain, and Millerand on behalf of France, signed an agreement at San Remo with respect to the oil resources of Mesopotamia, a British mandate. According to the text which appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* of July 24, 1920, this agreement provided that:

The British Government undertakes to grant to the French Government or its nominee 25 per cent. of the net output of crude oil at current market rates which his Majesty's Government may secure from the Mesopotamian oil fields in the event of their being developed by Government action; or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent. in such company. * * * It is understood that the said petroleum company shall be under permanent British control.

The significance of all this is that Great Britain, the mandatary of Mesopotamia, takes to herself three-quarters of the entire oil output of this territory held in "sacred trust," and for political reasons accords to France the remaining one-quarter. Both nations are signatories of the covenant, and yet they do not even grant equal opportunity to the other members of the League, as provided in Article 22 and 23, much less to all the nations of the world. The practical result of this agreement is that foreign—and especially American—petroleum geologists are, at the present time, excluded from Mesopotamia.

The United States, not being a member of the League, could not protest against the San Remo agreement under the provisions of Article 22, but it could and did protest on another ground, the ground that having helped to win the war, it has a right to expect the principle of equal

opportunity to be administered in those territories which have come into the trusteeship of the victorious nation. This protest is set forth in Secretary of State Colby's note of Nov. 20, 1920, in which he said:

I need hardly refer again to the fact that the Government of the United States has consistently urged that it is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory transferred as a result of the war with the Central Powers should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce and to the citizens of *all nations*. Indeed, it was in reliance upon an understanding to this effect, and expressly in contemplation thereof, that the United States was persuaded that the acquisition under mandate of certain enemy territory by the victorious powers would be consistent with the best interests of the world. * * *

The United States as a participant in that conflict and as a contributor to its successful issue, cannot consider any of the associated powers, the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences, or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the treaties of peace.

PEACE AND THE OPEN DOOR

A vital blow would be struck at the roots of war if an international agreement could be made and abided by which would insure the policy of the Open Door in the development of those countries which, either because of inefficient Governments, lack of national consciousness, or native backwardness, need the assistance and energy of the advanced nations. Such an agreement should be international in the largest sense, in that it should comprise all the nations of the world who conduct themselves according to the dictates of international comity and international law. In the light of such an agreement, mandates would indeed be regarded as sacred trusts, not only for members of a League of Nations, but for all the nations of the world. The spirit of such trusteeships is well defined by General Jan Christian Smuts in his proposals for a League of Nations published in *The Nation* for Feb. 8, 1919. With regard to mandataries he says:

The mandatory State should look on its position as a great trust and honor, not as an office of profit or a position of private advantage for it or its nationals—no pegging out of claims should be allowed under the guise of the mandate.

It must be part of this suggested scheme of mandatory control that the mandatory shall in no case adopt an economic or military policy which will lead to its special advantage. In fact, for all territories which are not completely independent States, the policy of the Open Door, or equal economic opportunity *for all*, must be laid down. In this way a fruitful source of rivalry and friction between the powers will be removed. * * * I sum up as follows: * * * That the mandatory State shall in each case be bound to maintain the policy of the Open Door, or equal economic opportunity *for all*.

The applying of these principles as set forth by General Smuts would strengthen the confidence of the world in a system of mandates, and would constitute a very definite advance toward the avoidance of war. It is possible, however, to go a step further. Leaving to the mandatory States the political and administrative functions of the territories which they hold in trust, the development of the trade and resources of these territories could be put in the hands of an international syndicate, an organization based on the same principles of equal participation as those proclaimed for the consortium of international banking interests organized for the purpose of financing China; all nations to be allowed equal representation on the syndicate, regardless of size, population or wealth.

The prime function of the syndicate would consist in apportioning to each State an equal share in the development of the trade and natural resources under its jurisdiction, such as coal, iron, petroleum, railways, telegraphs, &c. It might seem that in giving a small State an equal share with a wealthy and populous one, an injustice would be done; this, however, would not be the case, as the matter would adjust itself according to economic laws, the small State being limited in its participation according to its resources. By carefully defining the administrative functions and responsibilities of mandatories, conflicts of authority with the syndicate would be avoided or would be justiciable before a tribunal of arbitration. The intent of this suggested plan is that it should apply not only to nations under mandate, but also to backward nations, such as China and Persia.

The United States is today better able to advocate the principle of the Open Door than any other nation in the world. She is not bound by treaty to carry out the precepts of a League of Nations based on the force of the few great powers; she is stronger physically, economically, financially and governmentally than any other country. Let her, therefore, continue to press forward the doctrine of equal opportunity, as she has so ably done in the past, and make the Open Door America's great policy for peace.

DISTINGUISHING THE VARIOUS COUNCILS

SINCE the close of the Paris Peace Conference, with its Supreme Council, it has been rather difficult to keep track of the various other councils that have figured in the European news. The Supreme Council, which had consisted of the two ranking delegates from each of the five chief powers, bequeathed its functions to a Council of Premiers and a Council of Ambassadors (Jan. 21, 1920), the former to deal with all large issues of international policy, and the latter to handle routine matters concerning the execution of the peace treaties.

The Council of Ambassadors, quietly pursuing its labors at Paris, has figured but little in the news headlines; but the Council of Premiers, which has met at irregular intervals and in many places, has continued to hold the centre of the stage and is still almost invariably called the Supreme Council. Meanwhile, with the creation of the League of Nations (Jan. 16, 1920), the League Council began functioning at regular intervals. The four different councils, three of which are still in active existence, require some watching to avoid confusion.

MILITARISIM IN JAPAN

BY RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, M. A.*

A striking analysis of the hidden forces that nullify the popular will in Japan, defying the wishes of the Government itself with impunity—Delay in evacuating Shantung and Siberia cited as examples—How our exclusion policy aids the Japanese militarists

WHEN the leader of the Japanese parliamentary party declared at a banquet in Los Angeles last June that the militarists no longer control the Government of Japan, he voiced a sentiment loudly applauded by many Americans. Even those who hesitate to believe in the reality of such a statement must hope that eventually it will prove true. For militarism in Japan is the very crux of the Oriental problem, as it affects not only China and Siberia, but America as well. In fact, it is the determinant factor in the future peace of the world.

And yet an unfounded optimism which lulls a critical opinion into somnolence is worse than unwarranted suspicion. For if the liberal movement in Japan is nothing more than a screen behind which the well-disguised activities of an irresponsible bureaucracy are hidden, America and the world are being duped, indeed. Copied as it was after the newly framed Constitution of the German Empire, the Japanese Constitution of 1889 in theory elevated the Mikado to a position paralleling in power that held by the German Kaiser. He has practically all his prerogatives: he can forestall the attempts of the Diet to pass laws over his head by his right of sanction and promulgation; he can declare war and make peace; he may dissolve the Diet,

which meets but three months out of the year; he appoints the Ministers and he dismisses them. They are responsible only to him.

Despite these sweeping powers, however, the Mikado has little more real authority than King George of England. At the same time the policies of the Imperial Government are seldom moved by the rise and fall of majorities in the Diet, or by the destruction of one Ministry and the elevation of another. How may this strange inconsistency of a Government in which neither Emperor nor Parliament steers the Ship of State be explained? The answer may be found in the existence of bodies unknown to the Constitution, and yet possessed of more power because unrestrained by written law.

Feudalism was not an institution indigenous solely in Europe. On the contrary, it was the basis of Japanese society as early as the seventh century, if not before. Just as it reduced the power of the Capets in France by its complicated system of subinfeudation and local allegiances, so in Japan feudalism reduced the power of the Emperor until he was little more than a Pope uninspired even with hopes of temporal ascendancy. The actual power was held by a Shogunate, the successful leader of one of the dozen or so feudal clans who were territorial lords of the empire. Up to the seventeenth century each one of these clans had a chance to dispossess the ruling Shogun and itself take over the Government. But with the rise to power of the

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Togugawa clan, its position became so firmly entrenched that the other clans individually had little chance of overturning it. Moved by jealousy, the western clans united to overthrow the Tokugawa rule in the Revolution of 1867. But though the Emperor was restored to the divine place which he occupied in Shinto mythology, and though feudalism was destroyed in so far as the system of land tenure and local Government was concerned, the actual control of affairs remained vested in the clans that drove out the Shogun usurpers. And in one form or another these clans have continued to control the important branches of the Japanese Government down to the present day.

CLAN RULE AND THE GENRO

Naturally, since these clans had restored the Emperor to power, they were given the most important places in the new Government. Even before 1853 the Satsuma and Choshu clans had begun the manufacture of arms and the practice of gunnery; and when the Department of War was organized, with its two offices of the army and the navy, these two clans logically assumed control. Satsuma took over the navy, while Choshu undertook to manage the army. In fact in 1876 it was said that four-fifths of all the Government offices were occupied by clansmen of Satsuma, Tosa and Choshu.

Despite the institution of a civil service régime and despite the fact that occasionally an outsider becomes the head of these offices, the policy of the army and navy has been virtually dictated by these two clans, who, when acting together, have withstood every assault. In 1894 their control was actually strengthened. Frightened lest the Diet might bring about the appointment of civilian ministers to these offices, the Privy Council passed an ordinance which declared that the two Cabinet positions of War and Navy should never be held by any but active officers of the rank of at least Lieutenant General or Vice Admiral. Ac-

tually, therefore, these two ministers can control the Cabinet. If they resign, and if other officers, controlled by a military esprit de corps, refuse to take their places, the whole Cabinet must fall. The Diet cannot even control their pursestrings, for if it refuses to vote a new budget the previous years' appropriations are automatically continued.

In addition to the control of the Army and Navy, the clans have entrenched themselves in the Upper House of the Diet. This body is composed of princes of the blood, peers created by the Emperor, and representatives of wealth. Since the Japanese peerage is hereditary, and since the Upper House, unlike the British House of Lords, is a powerful body, the clans also perpetuate their influence through this branch of the Government.

Besides the clans, another powerful body exists, called the Genro, or Elder Statesmen. This body is composed of the venerated group of men who framed the Constitution of 1889 and guided the new Government through the stormy days which first beset its voyage. Esteemed for this great service by a people steeped in centuries of ancestor worship, the Genro have since that time virtually dictated the policies of the Japanese Government. This tacit rule has been facilitated by the fact that practically all the Elder Statesmen are clansmen. Thus the Genro decided whether Japan should form an alliance with England rather than with Russia in 1902; and also that the war with Russia should be ended when it was in 1905. In fact, the three remaining Elder Statesmen, Prince Yamagata, and the Marquises Matsukata and Saionji, in addition to the semi-outsider, Marquis Okuma, were responsible for the elevation of the Hara ministry to power in 1918. The Genro's intrigues have frequently been responsible for the fall of ministries. The continual conferences which Premier Hara holds with Prince Yamagata are added evidence of the fact that a Japanese ministry exists at the sufferance of the Genro.

MILITARY DICTATION

A government of this character certainly does not represent the people of Japan, even if its Diet were representative. As a matter of fact, even under the new Election law passed by the 1918-19 Diet, the great masses of the laboring population cannot vote, since they do not pay the annual tax of three yen required. Of more importance to America, however, is this duality of power whereby a civilian member of a Cabinet, placed in office by public opinion, may sign a treaty or make a promise which the military party or the clansmen may totally disregard. For example, Viscount Ishii may promise the League of Nations by all that is holy in the Land of Great Gentleness that Japan will immediately evacuate Shantung, yet General Yamanashi of the War Department may refuse absolutely to have the troops withdrawn. And there is very little that the Foreign Office or the Diet can do.

At the present time the clans are doubtless strong enough to control the appointment even of civil officers; thus Baron Makino, one of the Peace Envoys to the Paris Conference, is a prominent member of the Satsuma clan. That misunderstandings, repudiations and bad faith have arisen over this emphatic division of authority can, nevertheless, be shown by several examples from contemporary Japanese politics.

Periodically since the joint occupation of Siberia, the Japanese Government has given out intimations that Japan's troops would be withdrawn as soon as the objects of the occupation had been accomplished. Now that the war has come to an end and the Czechoslovak troops are repatriated, it seems that the civilian members of the Hara ministry have been persuaded that because of the pressure of world opinion—likewise of the great financial expense required—the troops should be withdrawn. But the military party will not have it so. For the evacuation of Siberia will bring to an end their

most cherished dream—a Japanese hegemony over Asia. Despite repeated pronouncements of Japanese ministers, General Tachibana, the commander of the Siberian troops, saw fit to give an interview to the Tokio paper *Asahi*, in which he declared that, although the opinion was growing that the Japanese should evacuate Siberia, the policy was unwise and imprudent. Very naïvely he states: "It is strange that the false impression should now prevail among some Japanese that the Empire's diplomacy has been transferred to the military from the Foreign Office authorities." Yet in the same breath he proves what he denies by saying: "If the military men ever played the part of diplomats in Siberia, certainly that was only because the Foreign Office failed to take the necessary steps for the maintenance of national prestige as well as of national interest." Thus the War Office does not interfere with Japanese diplomacy as long as it conducts itself in a manner pleasing to the militarists—an astounding admission indeed.

After the Colonial Conference held in Tokio last May to discuss the foreign and colonial policies of the empire, the American press proclaimed the welcome news that Japan was now to evacuate Siberia and to return Shantung to China. As a matter of fact, this conference did decide to evacuate Siberia, but only upon the following conditions: that the newly organized government of the Far Eastern Republic at Chita should (1) maintain order in the three eastern provinces of Siberia, (2) desist from all communistic policies, and (3) facilitate the economic development of Japanese resources in Siberia.

Illiberal as these conditions were, they angered the military men, who returned to Siberia resolved that they should never be carried out. Within ten days after this announcement, which the well-wishers of Japan had expectantly awaited, a revolt broke out in Vladivostok and Nikolsk which

drove the local Governments out of power. The Japanese Army had made these revolts possible by disarming the Government forces, under the pretense of maintaining a strict neutrality; but at the same time they permitted the Kappelite and Kolchak remnants secretly to store up ammunition. Just before the coup occurred the Vladivostok authorities attempted to search a house occupied by Japanese under the suspicion that it harbored insurgents and contraband. They were summarily ordered out by a Japanese Colonel after they discovered a couple of dozen White Guards and a number of hand grenades in the outer rooms. The next day, after the Japanese had had time to clear up the premises, notice was sent to the Russians that they might search the house!

This constant intriguing with the Russian emigres has not been so much inspired by a fear of Bolshevism as by the desire to keep Siberia seething with disorder. If the Colonial Conference had not decided to evacuate Siberia as soon as order was assured, the Vladivostok revolution would quite probably never have occurred. Instead of bringing about peace, the Japanese occupation makes certain the persistence of anarchy.

AGGRESSION IN CHINA

In the Fall of 1920 the military party, under the pretense of punishing fugitive Korean malcontents for burning a Japanese consulate, launched a now-famous expedition against the Manchurian city of Chientao. The statement was publicly made in the Japanese Diet (March 1, 1921) that the Japanese troops while in Chientao burned a church merely because a newspaper pasted to its wall contained the word "independence." Dwelling places were also destroyed and a large number of Koreans killed. On top of this defilement of Chinese sovereignty, Colonel Mizumachi, in a communication to British missionaries, publicly charged them with being the cause

of the tragedy, since they had given assistance to the Korean independence movement. He went further and declared that if they did not desist from their treasonable activities, the Japanese would find a "legal cause" for encouraging the non-cooperative movement in India! The fact that the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs disavowed this brazen statement still more clearly illustrates the disaster which may result from an irresponsible military bureaucracy. As long as the actual administration of Japan's foreign policy remains in the hands of parties uncontrolled by those who ostensibly frame that policy, nothing but international ill-will can result.

The present Japanese Cabinet, however, cannot shift the responsibility for all its imperialism to the military party, for the Cabinet also has been frequently inspired by the Chauvinism apparently inherent in the upper strata of Japanese society. Despite the fact that T. Hara is the first commoner ever to hold the office of Prime Minister, and that his Ministry has been pledged to a policy of "non-interference" in China, the encroachments of Japan on China's sovereignty have continued unabated. Hara's Ministry has brought about the confirmation of Japan's hold on Shantung. It has indirectly set up financial control in Manchuria by driving out the unstable Chinese silver standard and replacing it with the gold currency of Japan, issued in the Liaotung Peninsula and along the Railway Zone. Actually this currency consists of paper backed by a gold reserve, which remains in Japan.

By her lease of the Kwantung Province, Japan controls the principal outlet for Manchurian exports, which makes her economic control still more secure. During the campaign in Siberia, the Chinese Eastern Railway was compelled to carry allied troops, but compensation has not yet been forthcoming. The Czechoslovaks are charged up with a bill of \$12,000,000, which Mr. H. Nagao of the Inter-allied Railway Commission admits

will never be paid. He goes on to say that the railroad is being run at a hopeless deficit, which he attributes partly to political disturbances! After having forced the road into near-bankruptcy, it is now rumored that Japan is magnanimously negotiating a loan—which means that the control of the road will pass into its hands. According to a dispatch to the *Asahi*, in "some quarters" a demand is being made that the road be garrisoned by Russian and Japanese troops, since the Chinese are so "unreliable." As this railway is the chief road in Northern Manchuria, the implications of the article are obvious.

VICIOUS CIRCLE OF "INTERESTS"

No doctrine can be more dangerous to the peace of the Orient than the doctrine of "special interests," which the United States, in an evil hour, recognized through the Ishii-Lansing agreement. Korea was annexed in order to defend these special interests of Japan; but now Korea has itself become an object of concern. In order to protect "interests" there, Japan is contemplating the dispatch of another cavalry brigade, and justifies the invasion of Chinese territory (Manchuria) to punish offenders. Meanwhile the Japanese forces remain in Siberia to cover Japan's interests in Manchuria. The last step taken was in the Pacific. Although it may not be true that Japan is fortifying the islands mandated by the League of Nations, the Mainichi declares that "the national defense program in the Pacific is steadily in process of materialization." The navy has already fortified the Bonin Islands and the Luchus, and a port of call and a watch-tower are to be established on other Japanese islands, located between the mandates and Japan. As a result of the system supposedly designed to minimize militarism, Japan has found an excuse to extend her fortifications in the neighborhood of territory bequeathed in trust to her by the Peace Conference.

Militarism rotates in a vicious circle. The ends it is designed to achieve constantly elude its grasp; to protect Japan, Korea is annexed; to protect Korea, Manchuria is invaded; to protect Manchuria, Siberia is occupied; to protect the whole nexus, the Japanese islands in the Pacific are fortified. And so it goes. The more territory Japan occupies, the larger becomes the population which will chafe against its rule. The upshot of this policy can only result in disaster to Japan. This is the paradox of imperialism.

Nothing could be more indicative of the real spirit which animates Japan's foreign policy than the replies which Foreign Minister Uchida recently made to questions submitted to him by the Kenseikai, or opposition party. Especially significant was the discussion of the Chinese consortium. It will be remembered that throughout 1920 negotiations were carried on for the joint financing of Chinese enterprises by a "full and equal partnership" of the powers. It was hoped that by this means future spheres of influence would be eliminated, as well as the political advantages which had gone with national loans. Japan originally had demanded that Manchuria and Mongolia be expressly removed from the operation of the consortium because of her "special interests" there. But in May, 1920, it was announced that Japan had agreed to withdraw this reservation on the understanding that the powers contemplated no acts "inimical to her vital interests," and that they were ready to give assurances safeguarding them. The Kenseikai, at this interview, wanted to know what these "vital interests" were, if they were limited to Manchuria and Mongolia, and if the consortium nullified the grants gained in the treaties with China of 1915. To these questions M. Uchida replied that he agreed that Japan's special interests were by no means limited to these two provinces; that they could not be defined except as they "may arise in the future," and (most significant of all) that "I

cannot believe that Britain and America will take exception to any proposal by Japan which she brings forward as a necessary step for ensuring the safety of her national defense and economic existence." Finally, he declared that the consortium did not nullify the rights granted to Japan by China after yielding to the Twenty-one Demands.

Mr. Thomas Lamont may justify this tacit understanding—in reality another "Gentlemen's Agreement"—on the ground that it was necessary to safeguard Japan's food supply. But the whole attitude of Japan toward the consortium has a very ancient smell, which, in fact, is made more "fishlike" by the suggestion of Viscount Takahashi, the Japanese Minister of Finance, that a Sino-Japanese economic alliance be negotiated. He says that Japan should abandon her policy of "non-interference" in China, and loan "ungrudgingly" to this sister nation in view of the latter's deplorable financial condition. His suggestion, which the Elder Statesmen are understood to approve, may have been made with all due sincerity. But when he goes on to say that if the other powers are hostile to the independent action of Japan in this regard Japan can secede from the consortium, the real purpose of his suggestion is immediately revealed. For the *raison d'être* of the consortium was to prevent any one power from securing monopolies or political advantages to the detriment of China. And yet M. Takahashi, a public official, is advocating the very policy the consortium is designed to avoid.

JAPANESE LOANS TO CHINA

During the Terauchi Ministry the Japanese Government unofficially followed this policy of loans toward China. Through the medium of a mysterious Mr. Nishihara, it lent its support to the Northern Government by lending it some 220,000,000 yen. Up to the present time even the in-

terest on these loans has not been paid since their principal was recklessly dissipated among Chinese Tutchuns, into whose hands the money ultimately fell. But the Japanese banks which, with shocking credulity, helped to float the loan are demanding that action be taken. No more striking warning of the danger of such a policy can be found than in the Nishihara loans. It affords the Japanese Government an opportunity to play one government in China against the other; it gives it an excuse for intervention which is in thorough accord with its conception of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. To cap the climax, some Japanese papers now suggest that these loans, advanced to Chinese renegades and spent in personal dissipation, should constitute Japan's contribution to the consortium!

It is no difficult task, however, for Japanese apologists to vindicate their attempts to buttress a *Pax Japonica* in the Orient. Certainly the annexation of Korea rests upon as specious grounds as the annexation of the Philippines. If France should insist so vigorously upon maintaining her protectorate over all Catholics in China, why should not Japan, as she did at the recent Communications Conference, refuse to surrender her Post Offices there? As long as England imports ten boxes of opium monthly into Hongkong, it is not strange that Japan should overlook the smuggling of morphia into China—at a reported profit of \$400 a pound. One need not accept the naive excuse which Marquis Okuma once gave for a large navy—that it was to be used against the Chinese pirates—to pardon Japan's readiness to carry out her plans for an Eight-Eight Navy (which means eight battleships and eight battle cruisers, to be replaced every eight years). It is quite probable that the Diet never would have voted the necessary appropriations if the American Congress had not insisted on carrying out its 1916 building program, de-

signed to make the American Navy equal to any other in the world. Japan may deserve all the epithets heaped upon her because of the tenacity with which she holds to Shantung. Yet Russia did the same thing to Port Arthur; Germany to Tsing-tao; England to Wei-hai-wei, not to mention Hongkong; France to Indo-China. As for Japan's policy in Siberia, it may find a counterpart in France's support of Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel. Both have had the same excuse: the fear of Bolshevism.

BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY

Despite the sluggish consent which the people of Japan have given to militarism in the past, it is meeting with obstacles at home which, if encouraged, may result in its downfall. Naturally the reduction in number of the Genro—today there are only three—will be accompanied by a diminution of their influence. The past year has witnessed a violent quarrel between the Elder Statesmen and the Emperor over a certain "serious affair" which the press is sternly inhibited from mentioning. The Emperor violated an established precedent when he permitted Crown Prince Hirohito to become betrothed to a young lady who was not a member of the clans. Furthermore, the journey of the Prince to Europe, in violation of a tradition which had lasted for twenty centuries, outraged the Shinto proclivities of these Grand Old Men. Whatever the issue, Prince Yamagata and Marquis Matsukata tendered their resignations; and it was only after the earnest entreaties of the Emperor that they decided to remain.

Furthermore, the growth of the democratic movement, which resulted in an overwhelming demand for universal suffrage and the emancipation of woman from 1918 on, is eating into the moats of militarist control. The rice riots of 1918 for the first time in the history of Japan aroused a feeling of class consciousness among the

laboring people. Living in one of the most heavily taxed countries in the world, the tenant farmers of Japan are beginning to wonder for whose profit they are being ground down. The labor movement—represented by the Socialists, headed by T. Sakai, and the Japanese Federation of Labor, headed by B. Susuki—condemns militarism out of hand.

Nor is labor alone in its denunciations. The disarmament campaign which Y. Ozaki launched last February has met with gratifying response, especially from the business men. Employing the novel device of charging an admission fee to his meetings, Ozaki explained to thousands the benefits of disarmament; and the Ozaka and the Yokohama Chambers of Commerce have gone on record in support of his views.

A new sect of Shintoism has also arisen, called the Omoto-kyo, which has aroused the wrath of the Government because it is bold enough to declare that "those who are above (the governing class) in this world are doing nothing really good," and that "henceforth things will be entirely changed * * * so that those who have so far been above will have a fairly bad time of it!" When it is remembered that Shintoism was the instrument which elevated Emperor worship to renewed heights in Japan, the pronouncements of this new sect are doubly significant. Little wonder that the Government is prosecuting its leaders for "dangerous thought"!

MILITARISM'S WEAPON

Unfortunately, the western world has done much to offset the influences of these forces of liberalism. Whenever Japanese immigrants abroad are singled out for treatment which is not accorded to immigrants of other countries, militarism is fortified in Japan. The militarists can readily convince a peculiarly sensitive people that such action on the part of western countries is due merely to racial prejudice. The exclusion of the Japanese from America is an

economic necessity. But the Japanese people will never be convinced that such a policy is based on economics as long as California, for example, adopts a land law which applies to them alone and not also to other aliens. Because of this discriminatory treatment, the accusations made against the activities of the United States in the Orient are strengthened. Thus the charge is repeatedly made in Japan that the United States has instigated the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods and has fostered the independence movement in Korea, in order to increase America's trade and to reduce Japan's position in Asia. These charges are false enough; but they are the more readily believed by the Japanese people when western countries deny to Japanese abroad rights accorded to other aliens. Convinced of the reality of the White Peril in the Orient, the Diet can be persuaded to vote huge budgets, the people can be convinced that western liberalism is blatant hypocrisy, and that Japan's existence rests on force alone. Thus enlightened, they will continue to venerate the wisdom of the Genro and to leave the control of the army and the navy in the parasitic hands of the Western Clans, still animated by the philosophy of a bygone age. As long as the United States discriminates against the Japanese, after their admission to this country, and as long as Europe still steeps in Briand-ism, the Japanese militarists will find a prop which the beardless forces of liberalism will find difficult, if not impossible, to shake.

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

The ambitions and tactics of Japanese militarism have been recently displayed, with uncommon boldness, by Lieut. Gen. Kojiro Sato, known as the "Japanese Bernhardt," in a book called "If Japan and America Fight." In his pompous words, "It is the duty of the Yamato race, who have at their head the gracious Imperial family of unbroken lineage, to undertake to

spread the benefits of the unbounding Imperial virtues to rescue the 600,000,000 people of East Asia." The real reason, however, for attempting such a "rescue" is not so much sentimental as it is military and economic. "We are firmly resolved," Sato says, "that in order to satisfy the demands for wartime materials and provisions, we should plan for the industrial development of the continent." By this a Japanese militarist can only mean the Closed Door—the development of exclusive sources of supply which in time of war will make Japan independent of the United States and Europe.

With Bismarckian duplicity, the militarists are hiding their real designs by inciting public opinion to believe that the very existence of Japan is being threatened by America. Once this belief becomes general, public endorsement of imperialism is readily given, because the people believe it is "defensive." Consequently, General Sato, among others, bases his whole case for Japanese militarism on the impure motives of America, which "haughtily insults our empire and is endangering our existence." He declares that Japan has passed through two great national crises, the first of which was the Mongolian invasion of the thirteenth century, and the second, the Asiatic expansion of Russia ending in the war of 1904-05. In both of these crises Japan has been confronted with supposedly superior foes. But each time she has been victorious because "the Japanese in those days were not weak-kneed men such as the present day Japanese are!" The third national crisis is at hand. America has taken the place of Russia. "America's insolence is far worse than Russia's before the Russo-Japanese war"—the menace is far greater. The World War made the United States tremendously rich; its people are "drunk with gold." It is the intention of American capitalists "to carry out a gigantic economic development in the Asiatic continent, and to fulfill her

(America's) capitalistic imperialism on a large scale in China and Siberia." The General asserts that the "Republicans are mostly tools of the capitalist classes," and "if Japan and America should fight it will be because America was moved by the advocates of war of the Republican Party." Consequently, he appeals to the "masterful spirit" of the Japanese and to an increased "moral education" to arouse the nation to the imminence of the white peril.

It should be needless to point out that the success of Japanese militarism depends upon the support it receives from the Japanese people. If the militarists can convince the super-sensitive and racially self-conscious millions of Japan that the United States is animated solely by prejudice and capitalism in its Far Eastern policy, they will remain indefinitely in power. As General Sato points out, it is geographically and strategically impossible for the United States to fight a successful war (to overcome Japanese militarism) in Asiatic waters. Conse-

quently, Japanese imperialism will be defeated by the Japanese people only when they are convinced that its immoralities exceed its supposed benefits. But the Japanese people will never be convinced of this as long as they fear the "designs" of this country.

It seems foolish that any one familiar with the Far Eastern policy of the United States should harbor such suspicions. Yet the discriminatory treatment of Japanese residents in the United States; the biennial "anti-Japanese" campaigns on the Pacific Coast; the attempt of Americans to obtain exclusive concessions in Asia, such as Washington Vanderlip believes he has secured in Kamchatka, and the efforts of others to impose a tariff which will kill Japanese trade with America—all are used by the militarists to convince their people of the impurity of America's motives and to make them believe that if Japan does not dominate Asia the United States will. America must, therefore, keep her own skirts clean.

TRANSFER OF TWO HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

ON the recommendation of Secretary of State Hughes, President Harding has signed an executive order for the transfer of the original Declaration of Independence and the original Constitution of the United States from the Department of State to the Library of Congress. The explanation was given by the President in the concluding paragraph of the order:

This order is issued at the request of the Secretary of State, who has no suitable place for the exhibition of these muniments, and whose building is believed not to be as safe a depository for them as the Library of Congress, and for the additional reason that it is desired to satisfy the laudable wish of patriotic Americans to have opportunity to see the original fundamental documents upon which rest their independence and their Government.

The department building has always

been subject to fire risk, and Secretary Hughes has been impressed by this, as well as by the fact that nearly all visitors to Washington desire to see the great charters, while the State Department had no exhibition room at its disposal. The Library of Congress is the most suitable place both for the preservation and for the exhibition of the charters, for it is of modern fireproof construction and possesses appropriate exhibition halls, together with expert archivists in charge of all manuscripts of value.

Soon, therefore, the citizens of this country will be able to look upon the original Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the nation, just as all visitors to the British Museum today can look upon Magna Charta.

IS JAPAN HOSTILE TO FOREIGNERS?

BY T. IYENAGA

Formerly Professional Lecturer in the University of Chicago
and Lecturer at Columbia University

A Japanese publicist's categorical answers to a dozen different charges made against his country in regard to the treatment of aliens—Japan makes no discrimination between races—Farming and ownership of land by foreigners permitted

FROM every quarter of the globe, from every stratum of the world community, there arises the fervent wish for the noblest success to the Washington conference. Whether this earnest wish of a large portion of mankind be fulfilled or not will depend largely upon the temper, the psychological mood, of the delegates to the conference and of the peoples who have sent them. That there will exist the most genial atmosphere around the council table—"an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence"—can easily be imagined when we think of the high gifts, largeness of heart, wide experience, and long philosophic training of the distinguished personages who are to grace the seats. These delegates are, however, under commission, and their action is naturally circumscribed. What is not certain is the psychological mood of the peoples, especially the American and Japanese, and what effect it will have upon their representatives.

Inasmuch as the principal naval powers have expressed their genuine wish for a curtailment of naval equipments, the question of limitation of naval armament will not be a difficult issue. If the delegates of those powers proceed boldly in the same determined fashion as Czar Alexander III. ordered, as the story goes, the building of the Transsiberian Railroad by drawing on the map in

the presence of his engineers a straight line from Petersburg to Vladivostok, ignoring the thousand difficulties in the way, the navy experts will succeed, we sincerely hope, in evolving a naval scheme whereby the defense and vital interests of the powers will be safeguarded, on the one hand, and a decided reduction of naval armaments made on the other, to the untold blessings of the peoples concerned and to the lasting peace of the world.

Solution of the Pacific and Far Eastern problems may not be so easy, for they involve many vast and complicated subjects whose subtle threads are intricately interwoven by the hands of history. Moreover, the question touches the most vital interests of one of the invited nations, to whom the Far East is the only possible field of development, being barred under the present circumstances from other favored spots of the earth. Whatever may be the attitude of the American and Japanese Governments on the problem, it would be insincere to deny, so far as the present indication goes, that the disparity between the views entertained in America concerning those subjects, as reflected in the press, and the views held in Japan, is too great to justify much hope of smooth sailing with regard to these matters. When one of the invited nations is depicted, not infrequently, in the

American press as playing the devil in the Far East at every turn it makes, with a deep plot in its sleeves to hold China down in its present weak, distracted, disunited state, and as harboring an intensely hostile feeling toward all foreigners, especially Americans; and when, further, it is remembered that these absurd representations are complacently believed by not a small portion of the American public, it is rather difficult to see how a sane and thorough understanding with regard to the vast problem of China could be arrived at and a new constructive policy be formulated which would receive the endorsement of the peoples of America and Japan.

The New York Times was right when, in an editorial of Oct. 2, it gave a solemn warning to Japan, advising her to make a radical change in her attitude of mind; but it forgot to counsel its own countrymen also to give a thorough overhauling to their frame of mind when they study Japan's history and policies. For the difficulty lies not solely in the peculiar, stereotyped, bureaucratic mind, which time has evolved in Japan, but also in the sentimental, unscientific, unhistorical way of the Americans when they tackle the Chinese problem. To bridge the gap between these two schools of thought is the most difficult task—likewise the most important and urgent—confronting those who have at heart the best interests of the two countries and the complete success of the Washington conference.

CHARGES AGAINST JAPAN

The psychological factor plays a very important rôle in the relationship of peoples; we should do well, therefore, to scrutinize closely any allegations tending to create suspicion and ill-feeling in one nation against another nation. It is with this conviction that I propose in this article to examine the status of foreigners in Japan and to see whether the charge that Japan is hostile to foreigners is well founded.

Readers of CURRENT HISTORY will recall that in the September issue a summary is given of Major Battine's contribution to The Fortnightly Review of London. In that abstract, entitled "Japan's Hostility to Foreigners," we find a list of Japanese discriminations against foreigners, with the assertion that "intense hostility to all foreigners is now evident everywhere in Japan." Major Battine is, however, not the real author of those charges; he borrowed them from other sources. We find the same charges in Bywater's "Sea Power in the Pacific," and similar charges in Pooley's "Japan's Foreign Policies," and other works. In fact, the real source of these aspersions is found in the Anglo-American residents in the Far East who are temperamentally and incorrigibly hostile to Japan. Unfortunately, the story thus concocted is not only believed by the uninitiated, but even cautious writers, such as Stephen Bonsal, who is far from being an ungenerous critic of Japan, accept some of those "charges" as gospel truths.*

Let us enumerate the main points:

1. Japan does not allow foreigners to become the owners of land.
2. Foreign labor immigration into Japan is prohibited.
3. Foreign doctors of medicine cannot engage in the practice of their profession unless they pass a medical examination in the Japanese language.
4. Foreigners cannot become shareholders in Japanese national banks, the Bank of Japan, the Agricultural and Industrial banks.
5. Foreigners as individuals cannot engage in mining.
6. Foreigners cannot engage in agriculture in Japan.
7. Foreigners cannot become members, shareholders or brokers of various Exchanges, nor members of Japanese Chambers of Commerce.
8. Foreigners cannot hold any public office, nor can they become members of the Japanese Bar.
9. Foreigners do not enjoy the franchise.
10. Foreign life insurance companies cannot write insurance in Japan unless a large percentage of the money collected is left in the country.
11. The laws of Japan permit rebates

*See Page 3, October number of CURRENT HISTORY.

being given by Japanese steamship companies on all goods imported and exported by Japanese merchants.

12. The administration of justice in the courts of Japan discriminates against foreigners.

Before taking up these points in detail, a few things should be made clear. In the first place, it is well to remember that Japan is quite different from other, and especially Occidental, nations. For a long time she remained a hermit nation. In the meantime she developed a system of national life peculiar to herself, and many distinctive traits of that period still adhere to the present reorganized status in the form of customs, traditions, statutes, etc. It takes more than half a century to complete the rebirth of a nation. Again, Japan is an Island Empire, with a very limited area and meagre natural resources; and yet she must sustain her population of sixty millions, which is increasing fast. In a word, Japan's is a very poor household with a big family. As a consequence she cannot extend comforts and luxuries to her guests, however much she tries to be a hospitable hostess.

The Japanese people, again, when suddenly confronted by the aggressive Occidental civilization half a century ago, were simply astounded, and found themselves helpless; not until recent years have they become equipped with the necessary weapons to cope with Western capitalism and industrialism.

In the foregoing are found the causes which gave rise to the paternalism, officiousness and omnipotence of the Japanese Government, which strike a queer note in the minds of foreigners, especially Anglo-Saxons, some of whom, because of dislike, lose their mental balance and fail to view things Japanese in the proper light.

ANSWERS TO CHARGES.

So much for the preliminary considerations. Now, as to the first charge—that Japan does not allow foreigners to own land—the charge

is true in a theoretical sense, but in that sense only. That Japan still has no explicit provision for the ownership of land by foreign residents, although a law to that effect was once passed by the Diet, is a clear illustration of the survival of the medieval closed-door policy and of the intense paternalism of the Japanese Government. In practice, however, land in Japan can be possessed by foreigners as easily as in any other enlightened country. Briefly, there are three ways in which foreigners may come into actual possession of land in Japan: First, by ordinary lease, running for any convenient term and renewable at the will of the lessee; second, so-called superficies title may be secured by foreigners in almost all parts of Japan, which runs as long as 999 years, and which gives as complete control over the surface of the land as a fee-simple would give; third, foreigners may form joint-stock companies, and through such hold land. Such companies are deemed juridical persons, and are endowed with the same rights as natives.*

The following record proves better than any argument that *in practice* foreigners can and do own land in Japan: There are 169 corporations organized exclusively by foreigners owning 656 acres of land, of which about 164 acres are farm land; 335 foreigners, including fifty-five Americans, hold perpetual leases on 430 acres of city lots, and 335 foreigners, including 100 Americans, hold superficies on 547 acres of land, of which fifty-two acres are farm land. The total amount possessed is small, but it is not due to the difficulty of acquisition; it is due rather to the lack of demand on the part of foreigners for Japanese soil.

The second charge—that foreign labor immigration into Japan is prohibited—is a false one. There is an Imperial Ordinance (No. 352), promulgated in 1899, which reads:

*For detailed explanation see "Japan and the California Problem," by T. Iyenaga and K. Sato. Putnam's Sons.

Article I.—Foreigners who either by virtue of treaty or of custom have not freedom may hereafter reside, remove, carry on trade, and do other acts outside the former settlements and mixed residential districts. Provided that in the case of laborers they cannot reside or carry on business outside of the former settlements or mixed residential districts unless under the special permission of the administrative authorities.

The Home Office notification accompanying the ordinance states that such permission for laborers is obtainable from the local authorities. This latter provision is generally applied nowadays only to cases of importing contract-labor immigrants, and, as such, it is closely akin to the regulation of Australia, which demands the permission of the Minister in charge in order to import contract-labor immigrants. Contract-labor immigrants are prohibited in America. To necessitate permission of authority is different from forbidding. Here, again, facts are more eloquent than argument. There are in Japan thousands of Chinese workmen, besides many white laborers, including Russian refugees and former German prisoners, who prefer remaining in Japan, all employed in various lines of industry. The comparatively small number of foreign laborers in Japan is again not due to prohibition, but to the low status of labor as a result of an abundant native supply.

The third charge—that foreign doctors are required to pass a medical examination—is true, and Japan is proud of it. It is the duty of the State to protect its citizens from the danger of quack doctors. Physicians deal directly with the welfare of human life; hence communities have the right to see to it that only those properly trained are permitted to practice medicine. In fact, there is no responsible State which does not require some form of examination before it issues a license to a physician. Like all other advanced nations, Japan demands all those wishing to practice medicine in the empire to pass an examination—natives and foreigners alike. There is, how-

ever, no provision in the law or statutes of the land requiring foreigners to pass an examination in the Japanese language, and, in fact, many foreign physicians incapable of commanding the native language are found engaged in their profession. It may be added here that, by virtue of reciprocity, Japan exempts (since 1906) from examination the graduates of medical colleges of high standing in countries that extend a similar privilege to Japanese. The countries that extend such a privilege to Japan at present are Great Britain and Mexico.

REGARDING NATIONAL BANKS

Were it not for the prestige of the writers quoted, foolish items, such as that enumerated under the fourth charge—that foreigners cannot own shares in the national banks of Japan—would hardly merit consideration. Such a charge only reveals the critics' utter ignorance of the structure of the financial organizations of their own countries. The Federal Reserve Bank of the United States does not permit foreign banks or foreign individuals to become its shareholders. The Banque de France allows foreigners to become shareholders, but denies them the right to vote. De Nederlandische Bank limits its stockholders to the citizens of Holland. The Schweizerische National Bank allows the right of share holding not only to citizens of Switzerland, but also to juridical persons, even when these are foreign organizations, provided their establishments are in Switzerland. The Bank of Japan proceeds on the same principle as the Swiss National Bank, and grants the right of stock holding even to foreigners, provided they form a corporation in accordance with the laws of Japan, and through these juridical persons acquire the stock.

It may be added here that in New York and California the State law forbids foreign banks from engaging in the business of receiving deposits and discounting, whereas in Japan foreign banks enjoy, in the same way

as the native banks, the privilege of engaging in these lines of business. The Yokohama Specie Bank, the Hypothec Bank, and the Industrial Bank of Japan, each of which was established by a special charter granted by the Government, all are regulated by the specific law. Of the above-named banks, the Industrial Bank allows foreigners to become shareholders.

REGARDING MINES AND FARMS

The fifth charge—that foreigners as individuals cannot engage in mining in Japan—is true, but there is a very legitimate reason for this. Unlike the mineral products of America or Britain, those of Japan are very meagre. The little coal and iron turned out are life-givers to Japan's industries, and she has no such vast colonies as other countries have. She cannot risk her national existence by allowing a Carnegie or a Rockefeller to control her mineral resources. It is remarkable, under the circumstances, that she allows mining by any corporation formed of foreigners. And since the forming of a corporation is not a difficult matter, foreigners have no reason to complain about the arrangement; 837 subjects of other lands are engaged in mineral and industrial enterprises in Japan at present.

The statement that foreigners can not engage in agriculture in Japan is baseless. Any citizen of a foreign country wishing to do farming in Japan is quite welcome. The only handicap which he will encounter is the scarcity of land and the impossibility of using his accustomed method of cultivation. There are only fifteen million acres of farm land in Nippon, and thirty million people scratch a livelihood from them. This is equivalent to half an acre per individual of farming population. The result of the scarcity of land is an unparalleled intensive cultivation. In consequence, the Japanese farmers produce crops many times more per acre than, say, American farmers. It is, therefore, this impossibility of com-

peting with the natives, in other words, the small margin of profit found in agricultural pursuit, which forbids foreigners going to Japan as farmers. There is no law or statute, we repeat, prohibiting foreigners from undertaking farming in Japan. Fifteen foreigners are engaged at present in agriculture and stock farming there.

The statement under charge No. 7—that foreigners cannot become members, shareholders, or brokers of various Exchanges, nor members of the Chambers of Commerce—is only partly true; that is to say, they cannot become either members of these bodies or brokers of Exchanges. The Imperial Ordinance No. 58 of 1899 has, however, annulled the restriction placed upon foreigners forbidding them to become owners of stocks of Exchanges. Unlike those of America, the Exchanges and Chambers of Commerce of Japan are semi-official institutions, with charters granted by the Government, and accordingly their memberships are strictly restricted to a special class of Japanese.

When I come to the eighth point, that foreigners cannot hold any public office, and to the ninth, that foreigners do not enjoy the franchise, I cannot help being astounded at the naivete of the critics. They ought to turn to their own country or other advanced nations and see if these permit foreigners to become Cabinet Ministers or Mayors of cities, or even policemen. They ought surely to re-study the laws of their own country and see if England or America allows an alien the privilege of the franchise. In Japan there are many distinguished Americans and Englishmen who are employed in various branches of public work; for example, as advisers to the Government, or as professors in the universities, or as honorary Consuls in foreign lands. But as to the regular public offices and franchise, Japan, like all other nations, rightfully asks foreigners to become naturalized before they demand such rights. And Japan wel-

comes naturalization of foreigners—something that cannot be said of the United States, which bars the yellow race from that privilege.

The charge (10) that foreign life insurance companies must leave a portion of paid-up premiums in Japan is no charge at all. It reveals only the ignorance of the one who thinks it a point. Such men are referred to a recent admirable and comprehensive book by Greenwood, "Status Governing Foreign Corporations in All Nations," in which they will find a comparative exhibit of foreign corporation treatment in the principal countries. They will find after studying it that the Japanese regulation of foreign corporations is about the most generous.

The eleventh charge, that the laws of Japan permit steamship companies to give rebates on goods imported or exported by Japanese merchants, is a false charge. There is no such law in Japan. Steamship companies make no discrimination against any customer, and if they allow rebates, these apply to goods handled by Japanese and foreigners alike. The critics might as well go instead to America's Jones Shipping act, which allows differential tonnage dues and customs tariff to American ships and their cargoes, and provides for lower railroad freight rates for goods that are destined to be carried in American bottoms.

As to the twelfth point, since it is a grave charge, it should be accompanied by the citation of cases of judicial decision. So long as such cases proving the points are not given, the charge must be pronounced a calumny, or hearsay at best. A responsible person would not so lightly impugn the dignity, honor and independence of the courts and Judges of a foreign country.

Some of the foregoing charges are often adduced to show that Japan has not the right to protest against the discrimination now meted out in California to the Japanese. Such

an assumption is completely unwarranted, for, whatever shortcomings there may be in the treatment of foreigners in Japan, *no discrimination whatever is made against any particular people or race*, as is the case with California's treatment of the Japanese. All foreigners are treated alike in Japan.

JAPAN'S REAL ATTITUDE

The foregoing discussion will clearly disclose the baselessness of the assertion that Japan is hostile to foreigners. Those who imagine it have not mastered the A B C of the history of modern Japan. The fundamental policy that has inspired the Meiji statesmen and their successors, and that has nerved them to undertake sweeping reforms, was and is to bring Japan to an equal footing with Western powers. To achieve this aim, every possible effort was made to win the good-will of foreigners. This solicitude of Japan was sometimes carried to such an extreme as to result in comic performances, thus eliciting ridicule from foreigners and severe criticism from her stalwart sons. For Japan not only copied the best in Western law, legislation, science and philosophy, but went to the extent of copying European fashions in every detail from Court uniforms to ball dresses and of paying respect to every Western globe trotter who happened to land on her shores. Naturally, the laws and regulations governing foreign residents in Japan are framed as liberally as is possible within the bounds of the circumstances narrated at the outset of this article.

Especially toward Americans the Japanese people have always entertained a warm and friendly feeling, which is doubtless due to their conviction that their modern career owes much to American assistance and to the fair attitude Americans have heretofore uniformly maintained.

True, a sudden change has come within recent years, but a just historian will see in it nothing but a reflex of what has happened on this shore of the Pacific. At first confined to the advocates of Asiatic exclusion on the Pacific Coast, the adverse sentiment against Japan has recently been fostered and heightened by the critics of her foreign policies. While the great majority of the American people who, I confidently believe, entertain no ill-feeling toward Japan, remain inarticulate, the most vociferous of them engage in bitter attacks on their neighbors across the Pacific and spread broadcast false rumors and baseless misrepresentations, an illustration of which has been given in this article. The Japanese people naturally look askance at these attacks and are confounded by some of the acts of Amer-

ica, which seem to them as calculated to block every road open to them.

The misunderstandings and friction between the two peoples are, however, not the sole creation of yellow journalism or of a few mischief-makers and fire-eaters; they arise in large measure from the divergence in the angle of their vision when they consider the Pacific and Far Eastern problems. That the English and Japanese views on these questions are not far apart—is this not a confirmation of what I say? The key to the whole situation, then, is the harmonizing of the diverse viewpoints of the United States and Japan, a necessary preliminary to any satisfactory solution of those problems which are of vital concern to the Japanese people and of increasing interest to Americans. It is perhaps the greatest task that confronts the Washington conference.

THE LAST OF THE MONITORS

MARCH 8, 1862-August, 1921. These dates comprise the history of the iron-clad monitors, the first of which, invented by John Ericsson, met and defeated the Merrimac at Hampton Roads on the date first named. The last of the British monitors, after seeing minor service in the World War, were consigned to the scrap heap by the Admiralty last August. The history of the monitors goes back to the days of Napoleon III., when Great Britain was in a ferment, apprehending invasion from across the Channel. Ericsson, a Swedish engineer, urged the French Emperor in 1854 to build, according to his design, armored vessels of low freeboard, with big guns in revolving shot-proof cupolas, placed centrally on the decks. Such a type of armor-clad ship, he declared, would revolutionize naval warfare. The idea was not carried out, and Great Britain's wooden ships never had to face the ordeal of the Merrimac. But Ericsson prevailed on the Union leaders of the American Civil War to give his idea a trial. In 100 days his ship was built, armed and equipped, and it soon fulfilled the inventor's

hope that it would serve as a "monitor" or lesson to the Confederacy.

Even before this, however, the British Admiralty had taken up the idea, and had built a vessel of a similar type at Blackwall on the Thames, which it baptized the *Warrior*. Others were developed for coast defense. A few of these still remained when Lord Fisher, at the beginning of 1921, went to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord. When the war clouds broke, none were left, but the Admiralty, made apprehensive by the German invasion of Belgium, took over three such vessels that were being built for Brazil, and they did good service. Of light draft, they were able to steal in close to the Belgian coast and fire with effect on the right flank of the German Army. Others were built, but Lord Fisher's plans to build a considerable fleet were never carried out. Some of those existing were used in the Dover Patrol; others in the Mediterranean. At the time of the armistice the British Navy had thirty-seven of them. Now that the war is over, the superdreadnought idea is triumphant.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF JAPAN ATTACKED AMERICA?

BY BARON ALEXIS P. BOODBERG

Lieutenant General of the Russian Army

Baron Boodberg was graduated from the Academy of the Russian General Staff in 1895, and, from that time up to the beginning of the World War, served in the Far East. Before the war he was Chief of Staff at the Fortress of Vladivostok, and Chief of Staff of the Amur Military District. During the war he was Chief of Staff of the 10th Russian Army; later he commanded the 14th Corps. From May to October, 1919, he acted as the Minister of War in the Omsk Government. Baron Boodberg, who now lives in California, is a recognized authority on the Far East. His article is presented here as an interesting expression of expert Russian military opinion on a subject which, for good or ill, is being discussed by the press of the whole world

ONE of America's thorniest problems is that of her relations with Japan. The present dispute over California and Yap and the sabre-rattling of the Japanese press make it legitimate to consider seriously the following questions: What are the possibilities of a complete diplomatic break between the two countries and of an ultimate declaration of war? What chance of success has Japan, in case such a war should occur?

Starting from a basis of twenty-five years' military service in the Russian Far East, and twelve years' holding down of military posts requiring exhaustive study of Japan's military resources, the first question I asked myself was this: "Can Japan ever drive matters to such an extremity as to lead to a declaration of war on the United States?" My answer was: "Yes! But only if Japan's destinies should by that time have fallen into the hands of men who are both politically and militarily illiterate, and who have reached a state of Berserker-like frenzy, which alone could account for such an adventure, spelling destruction for Japan."

The radical and swift changes, however, which have already taken place and are still occurring at the

present time in the conditions of Japanese political life warrant the belief that the chances for such persons taking hold of the reins of power are growing less. Although the bigoted, blind followers of the military caste and political intriguers and newspaper men looking for cheap popularity continue defiantly to "rattle the sword" and to base predictions on the generally hostile sentiments of the Japanese toward the United States, there can be no doubt that the same elements among the Japanese business and laboring classes, as well as increasingly large portions of the general public, have already sufficiently realized whither the policy of "Continental" military adventures has led their country. These elements are beginning to see both the futility and the danger of this rattling of swords at their neighbor across the Pacific, realizing that what was once expedient and effective and brought such splendid results in dealing with Russia and China would be stupid, harmful and dangerous if used against America.

If this attitude of belligerency sometimes meets with approval even among the classes just mentioned, it happens only in the artificial excitement caused by alleged military preparations ostensibly being made

by America with the object of swallowing up completely the beautiful land of Yamato's people! Were it not for the unceasing agitation of this alleged menace and of the California trouble we would find all aspirations of the sensible majority of the Japanese people reduced merely to the improvement of their condition, the lowering of the incredibly high cost of living, the restoration of trade and lost markets; and all political adventures launched by the military circles and by business trusts seeking an outlet in concessions on the mainland, in war orders, secret war loans, &c., would cease.

JAPANESE VICTORY IMPOSSIBLE

Let me, however, suppose that some extraordinary circumstances may arise which will drive Japan to a declaration of war; what, in that event, would be her chances of success, and could the Japanese army and navy inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy across the sea?

There can be only one answer; Japan has absolutely no chance of a decisive victory, not even a ghost of a chance! There can be only one issue of an armed conflict between Japan and the United States, namely, the total defeat of Japan, and the loss of everything she has gained in the course of thirty years of unbroken military, political and financial prosperity. This answer is by no means the result of any particular sympathies or antipathies; it is merely based on an impartial measuring of all the resources available for the struggle on both sides, taking into account certain immutable factors presented by the conditions of time and space under which such a conflict would have to be fought out. All the various major and minor causes predetermining just such an issue for this conflict may be reduced to these two: financial and military.

Japan, first of all, is not able to stand the tremendous financial strain which would be imposed upon her by a protracted war with so powerful,

persistent and resourceful an enemy as the United States. Japan's jingoes are boasting of her immense annual budget and of her 2,000,000,000 yen gold reserve [a gold yen is equivalent to one American dollar] as being an index to her financial power. But they are silent on the fact that this same budget is incredibly unsound and inflated; that in balancing it they are forced to withhold from the country the satisfaction of its most urgent domestic needs; and that for the sake of maintaining the formidable appearance of a great and terrible world power, the last sap has to be squeezed out of the country. They do not tell the people how many months this gold reserve could last, and what they could accomplish within those few months to bring the enemy to his knees, and to present to Japan triumphs and trophies far greater than those of Shimonoseki, Portsmouth and a score of Chinese treaties. Nor do they reveal what will become of Japan after the gold reserve and means of warfare have been exhausted, with the war only just begun and the foe across the ocean only beginning to unfold all the might of his resources, finances and technical equipment. They do not tell the people, lastly, that modern warfare against so powerful an enemy requires either inexhaustible natural resources, or powerful alliances, or open, unlimited foreign credits, or an assured, unbroken, plentiful flow of supplies from the outside, to furnish the army and the country with everything necessary for the prosecution of the war, and that Japan has nothing of that kind and never will have it.

They keep silent, for a true answer to any of these questions would prove fatal to them, should they dare unsheathe the sword. Even now Japan is panting and heaving under the strain of the effort to save herself from an economic catastrophe engendered by the critical state of her industry, inflated by war orders and not yet demobilized; she is unable to find a market for the billions of dol-

lars' worth of all kinds of third-rate goods congesting the warehouses of Yokohama, Kobe and Osaka; her markets are lost everywhere; her cost of living is incredibly high; her people are roaming all over the world in search of a livelihood.

Can a country suffering from such financial handicaps, and with technical resources inadequate to meet the colossal demands of modern warfare, ever wage a successful war with the United States, whose financial power, natural resources and technical equipment are so incomparably superior to those of Japan?

For the United States is not China, nor Russia of 1904-1905; it is not the kind of enemy which, challenged to battle, is capable of stopping halfway, and, under the influence of accidental failures or military reverses, of accepting national humiliation and defeat. The cards of the past have already been shown, and it is time for the military circles of Japan, who are so much puffed up over their Russian victories, to realize that the Russian armies were not defeated by the ability of Japanese military leaders, nor by the heroism of Japanese troops, but by that which, breaking into such luxurious and bloody flower in 1917-19, was already at that time imperceptibly sapping Russia's strength.

That same past, those identical years of 1917-19, the things that were done during those years by the United States, the immense scale of its military enterprise, its stupendous technical equipment, the enthusiasm of its people rising in defense of an alien cause and demonstrating what they are capable of; its financial and industrial endurance and elasticity are the factors on which the jingoes who are so defiantly rattling their Samurai swords, and who seem to forget that mere morale no longer suffices to settle armed disputes, ought to reflect.

JAPAN MAY TAKE PHILIPPINES

That the armed resources of Japan are excellent cannot be gainsaid; she undoubtedly has at this moment

under arms the best army in the world, homogeneous and strong in spirit, with a warlike rank and file capable of heroic deeds and great exertion. Her navy, manned by natural-born sons of the sea, proud of its importance to the country, is a powerful weapon. However, no matter how valuable these may be in themselves, they cannot in a war with the United States find the application that would make them a decisive factor and enable them to deliver a mortal blow. No matter how great an effort Japan may make to augment and perfect her army and navy, she cannot create conditions which would enable these armed forces to penetrate to the enemy's territory and strike a decisive blow within the limited time for which Japan could bear the strain of modern warfare.

But Japan has no such objective of war, either on the mainland or on the sea. It is usually pointed out that there is danger in the isolated position of the Philippines which renders them liable to seizure. Of course, with a certain amount of exertion on the part of the Japanese navy and landing forces, the seizure of the Philippines is quite likely. But what of it? Would that end the war? Would that be the mortal blow that would force Uncle Sam to the mat and make him beg for peace? By no means! For that would only be the beginning, the prelude to a long, stubborn, ruthless struggle to settle the Pacific problems once for all.

No other employment except a Philippine or Hawaiian expedition could exist for the formidable Japanese army. Some jingoes, and those who have been scared by their cries, talk about a landing of the Japanese army on the Pacific Coast, about a conquest of California, about battalions of death and similar nonsense; all these bugbears, however, are fit only to scare infants or over-credulous and over-timid folk. The fundamental, immutable characteristics of extensive landing operations are such

that a crossing of the vast expanse of Pacific waters and a landing on American soil, in the event of hostilities between Japan and the United States, are absolutely impossible. No sleep should be lost by the inhabitants of the Pacific Slope on that account.

INVASION IMPOSSIBLE.

In the first place, before making the decision to attempt such an extraordinary landing, it is indispensable for the landing forces to have an objective which would justify the immense expenditures and risks. The only objective of that kind would be the crushing of the American armies, thereby deciding the issue of the war. The very idea is fantastic, and no Japanese Commander-in-Chief would undertake it. He would not dare to, because he could not realize the first indispensable condition of success—absolute mastery of the sea and security of the landing vessels from attacks by the naval and air forces of the enemy.

There remains, then, the Japanese navy as a means of long-distance operations for ferreting out and destroying American war fleets, for cruising and destroying trade, for bombarding large ports along the Pacific Coast, &c. This, however, sounds terrible only in the stories told by Japanese militarists; a sober and calm analysis of all the conditions required for the actual execution of such operations will demonstrate their impossibility.

In order to operate against the American navy, the Japanese navy will have to cross the Pacific, get far away from its base, accept battle under most unfavorable conditions for Japan and most favorable ones for the enemy, near foreign shores, under the combined attacks of all the fleets of the enemy and of his submarines and aerial means of defense. Japan's naval forces are not so large that she can venture upon such an exceedingly risky action, which, even in

case of partial successes, would demand so high a price that nothing could compensate for it. The Japanese jingoes, bragging about their naval prowess, ought to forget all about the successes at Tzushima and Port Arthur, and realize that the American navy is not a hodge-podge of vessels fit only for relics in a museum, such as were the fleets of Rozdestvensky and Nebogatoff, which, according to the testimony of honest witnesses, had already gone to pieces long before their actual destruction.

However greatly the Japanese might overestimate their own powers and underestimate their enemy's resources, they could scarcely assume that the mere appearance of their formidable battle fleets would in itself prove sufficient to drive the American fleets to shelter in the bays of the Pacific Coast for the pupils of Togo and Kamimura to destroy as easily and swiftly as the Spanish ships were destroyed some years ago along the shores of Cuba and Manila. Cruising operations, stoppage of Pacific commerce, daring raids on the coast, bombardment of the shores, all these, of course, are possible, although accompanied by tremendous difficulties and great risk. But these operations, even though they proved successful, would be mere pin-pricks, exercising no influence upon the final issue of the struggle.

WARNING TO JIGOISM.

As a general conclusion, I feel confident that, from whatever viewpoint we may look at the possible issue of an armed clash between Japan and America, even if we are to make the most favorable allowances for the former power, such a conflict is bound to end in total failure for Japan.

The sooner the militaristic swash-bucklers in Japan, with their constant threats against their transpacific neighbor, disappear, the better will it be for peace throughout the world. The helmsmen of the Japanese ship

of State ought to consider seriously the future of their beautiful country; they should understand that those exceptionally fortunate circumstances which, in the course of thirty years, have promoted their previously obscure and backward country to the rank of a world power, and burdened their shoulders with a load beyond their capacity, are gone forever. They should realize that the task before their Asiatic island empire at present is no longer one of reaching out for choice and unattainable morsels and of stringing new beads on their chain of martial, political and annexational successes. Conditions have changed radically, and new, difficult times have come. Clear-sighted Japanese statesmen must already have computed the cost of their Siberian intervention, fruit of the alliance of swash-buckling jingoes and over-reaching

capitalists; they ought also to figure the cost of their Chinese policy and realize whither it has led them. Let them last give thought to where jingoistic hatred for America may lead them, and dam it up at its source.

One occasionally reads expressions of alarm over a Japanese-Chinese yellow alliance directed against the white races of the Western world. Such fears are fantastic. Few people realize the profound intensity of the hatred felt by the overwhelming majority of Chinese for their island neighbors. The Japanese politicians have during the last thirty years done their best to render such an alliance absolutely impossible. If ever the Japanese had a foe, a mortal foe, that speaks of them with gnashing teeth, with a sinister glare in the eyes, and with a thirst for revenge in the heart, that foe is China.

THE BALANCE OF THE SEXES

THE question of the balance of sexes has recently been much discussed in the light of the figures gathered by the British Census. Geographically, the problem of an excess of female over male population is clearly confined to Europe, and especially to the white races. Ten years ago all the various countries of Europe showed an excess of females over males of 8,062,000, distributed as follows:

Russia (estimated)	2,500,000
Great Britain	1,323,000
Germany	841,000
France	683,000
Italy	628,000
Spain	550,000
Austria	506,000
Portugal	303,000
Hungary	196,000
Sweden	125,000
Norway	111,000
Denmark	84,000
Switzerland	62,000
Belgium	60,000
Netherlands	60,000
Finland	22,000
Ireland	6,000
Total female excess.....	8,062,000

On the other side of the account the following countries had an excess of males.

Bosnia and Herzegovina.....	91,000
Bulgaria	79,000
Serbia	70,000
Greece	18,000
Luxemburg	8,000
Total male excess.....	266,000

This leaves in round figures an excess of 7,750,000 females for Europe, excluding Turkey. Owing to the ravages of the war among the male population, this excess is now very much increased in some of these countries, notably France, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy. The excess of females over males in Great Britain in the past ten years was close to 2,000,000. The latest census figures seem, however, to show that nature is trying to restore the balance, apparently confirming the popular belief that after a war there are more boy babies than girl babies born. The London correspondent of the Medical Record notes that in Great Britain there has been a preponderance of male births since 1915, and that for the three months ended Sept. 1, 1921, the ratio of boy babies was 1,057 for each 1,000 girls born.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Progress in enrolment of the new National Guard and in organizing Army Reserves—Naval and merchant marine affairs—Ruling on the exclusion of surplus aliens—Cost of prohibition enforcement—Results of the Unemployment Conference—New Ministers appointed

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

IN a statement issued Oct. 10, the War Department announced that 126,000 officers and men were enrolled in the National Guard units, out of 215,397 allotted for organization by June 30, 1922. Progress in the reorganization of the National Guard in the various States had been so rapid that the Militia Bureau had been forced to refuse acceptance of several commands offered for Federal recognition, on account of lack of necessary funds. The department estimated that at the present rate of progress the National Guard would reach 450,000 in 1924.

An outline of the preliminary steps for the creation of the organized reserve of the United States Army on a basis that would permit a quick mobilization of more than 4,000,000 men was made public on Sept. 27 by Colonel J. Mayhew Wainwright, Acting Secretary of War. The scheme, which was prepared under authority of Congress, contemplated virtually no expenditure at present. General Harbord, Acting Chief of Staff, stated that it would furnish the framework for mobilization of the nation in weeks instead of months.

Twenty-seven infantry divisions of the reserve were provided for, numbering from the 76th to the 104th, and preserving in number and geographical location the sixteen war-time national army divisions. The same territorial distribution as to

armies and army corps areas would be followed as in the regular army organization and the present structure of the National Guard.

Lieutenant John A. Macready, test pilot at McCook Field, Dayton, Ohio, shattered the world altitude record on Sept. 28, attaining a height of 40,800 feet (about seven and three-quarters miles) in the same Le Pere biplane used by Rudolph C. Schroeder, who had set a record of 38,180 feet on Feb. 28, 1920.

Lieutenant Macready was in the air 1 hour and 47 minutes, requiring all but a few minutes of the total flying time to reach his mark. At 39,000 feet ice formed on his oxygen tank, but he pressed on until the altimeter registered 41,000 feet. At this point his engine died and he then glided safely to the ground. Later correction of the instruments made the official height 40,800 feet.

NAVY AND MERCHANT MARINE.

The Navy Department, on Sept. 29, announced that reduced Congressional appropriations had made it necessary to disenroll or transfer on their own request to the Volunteer Naval Reserve all members of the Naval Reserve Force, except classes one and six. It was said that this action would affect 195,000 officers and men. Those of classes two, three, four and five, now on active duty, and those of the

Reserve Force who have taken the examination for transfer to the permanent navy are not affected by the order. Inactive members of the Naval Reserve Force, whether confirmed or



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COL. ARTHUR WOODS

Head of unemployment agency to co-ordinate relief measures

pany had threatened legal action to compel the acceptance of the offer.

The Senate on Oct. 10 by a vote of 47 to 37 passed the Borah bill, giving to vessels in the American coastwise trade the right of free passage through the Panama Canal. Five hours of debate preceded the final vote. Party lines were broken, with thirty-five Republicans and twelve Democrats voting for the bill and twenty Democrats and seventeen Republicans voting against it. Senator Lodge, the Republican floor leader, fought the bill, while Senator Underwood, the Democratic leader and Mr. Lodge's colleague on the delegation to the conference for the limitation of armaments, supported it.

Senator Lodge told his colleagues that, in his opinion, the enactment of the Borah bill, in view of the approaching arms parity, was neither wise nor sound policy. America, he said, had the "legal right" to grant free passage to its vessels, but even the assertion of a legal right was unwise when it exposed the country to an "implication of bad faith." The defense of the bill was led by Senators Borah and Reed, who contended that the purposes sought were largely domestic in character, and for that reason should not be of great concern to other nations.

RAILROAD INCOME HIGHER

Estimates prepared for the Interstate Commerce Commission, under date of Oct. 1, indicated that the Class 1 carriers of the United States earned a net operating income during August of at least \$90,000,000. Reports had been received from 178 of the 203 railroads, and these showed a total net operating income of \$85,653,000. The net operating income in July, 1921, as shown by revised figures, was \$69,298,521. The net operating income for August marked the best showing that the railroads had made for more than a year.

provisional, were disenrolled from Sept. 30.

It was stated on Sept. 29 that the bid of the Ship Construction and Trading Company for the wooden fleet had been rejected by the United States Shipping Board. The company had put in a bid of \$2,100 for each vessel of the wooden fleet, each of which had cost from \$300,000 to \$500,000 to build. The board was dissatisfied with the offer. Irregularities in the bid, failure to deposit a certified check and other technical points were cited by the board in supporting its contention that it could not be held liable under the negotiations. It was intimated that the com-

EXCLUDING SURPLUS ALIENS

In a decision of great interest to shipping companies and aliens in all parts of the world, Federal Judge Julian W. Mack on Sept. 8 ruled that not only had the immigration authorities the right to detain aliens arriving after the monthly quotas from their countries have been exhausted, but also had the right to exclude them. Judge Mack further held that the Government had the right to divide the annual quota into twelve monthly parts.

The case was a test proceeding brought on behalf of George Philipacopulos, a Greek immigrant who arrived in this country Aug. 20, and who was excluded on the ground that before his coming the monthly percentage quota of immigrants had been exhausted by prior arrivals from Greece. The decision covered the cases of other aliens of various nationalities held under similar conditions at Ellis Island.

The United States Supreme Court on Oct. 10 held that undesirable immigrants might be deported, even though they had been in this country for several years. The case was an appeal from the decision of the United States District and Circuit Courts at New York, which held that the Secretary of Labor could deport a certain Salvatore Lauria at any time. Deportation was based on crimes that Lauria was alleged to have committed in Italy.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

Efforts to enforce national prohibition cost the country \$6,250,095.43 for the last fiscal year, according to a statement given out Oct. 11 at prohibition headquarters in New York City. The figures were compiled from the records in Washington. The total was offset, it was explained, by assessments, involving civil penalties, special taxes, &c., of \$53,296,998.87, of which \$2,152,387.45 was collected. In addition, the appraised value of

property seized was \$10,906,687.53. Court fines, which are being compiled, will, it was stated, run into several million dollars. The chief items of expense in enforcing the prohibition law have been salaries, totaling \$3,501,209.61, and traveling costs, \$1,396,443.51.

During the year a total of 29,114 criminal cases involving violations of the prohibition law were commenced, 16,610 offenders pleaded guilty, 17,962 were convicted and 765 were acquitted. It is evident that the percentage of convictions was much higher outside of New York City, where only a few have been convicted. At the end of the fiscal year there were pending 10,365 cases involving prohibition law violations.

Cases made during the year involving assessments numbered 39,066, and the amounts assessed were as follows: Double taxes, Section 35, Prohibition act, \$28,399,133.10; additional penalties, \$17,943,875.90; \$1,000 special tax, Section 1,001, Revenue act, \$375,872.80; taxes on spirits, wines, &c., \$6,578,117.07; total, \$53,296,998.87. Property seizures total \$10,906,687.53 in value. A total of 413,987 gallons of distilled spirits were seized and 428,303 gallons of wine, cider and pomace.

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP

The House of Representatives on Oct. 14 recorded its opposition to any increase in its membership, recommitting to the Census Committee by a vote of 146 to 142 the Siegel bill to increase the membership from 435 to 460 members. The vote was taken on a motion to recommit, offered by Representative Fairfield of Indiana, after nine hours of debate and wrangling about Parliamentary procedure. Opponents of the bill contended that the House already was an unwieldy body, and that it would function less efficiently with an increased membership. Party lines were disregarded in the final vote.

FEDERAL EXPENSE RESTRICTED

Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, stated on Oct. 14 that the Federal expenditures for the current fiscal year would be kept within the agreed limit of \$4,034,000,000, and denied reports that additional deficiency appropriations of \$370,000,000 would be asked for. The original program made allowance for estimated deficiency appropriations which "it was realized would be necessary in connection with certain Government activities," Mr. Mellon explained. These included particularly the settlement with the railroads growing out of Federal control and vocational training for former service men, but Mr. Mellon added that his information indicated that the revenue requirements of the Government still would be amply provided for in the \$4,034,000,000.

UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

The first session of the conference called by President Harding to help solve the nation's unemployment problem was held in Washington on Sept. 26. President Harding made a brief address and turned the direction of the proceedings over to Secretary Hoover. The President expressed the conviction that the nation's economic structure was sound and capable of weathering the period of reaction following the World War. He also said that there must be no program of paternalism or charity adopted which "seeks either palliation or tonic from the public treasury."

On Sept. 30 an emergency program was recommended for the immediate relief of the workers of the United States, estimated to be between 3,500,000 and 5,500,000. The more important recommendations were as follows:

Private houses, hotels, offices &c., can contribute to the situation by doing their repairs, cleaning and alterations during the Winter instead of waiting until Spring, when employment will be more plentiful.

Public construction is better than relief. The municipalities should expand their

school, street, sewerage, repair work, and public building to the fullest possible volume compatible with the existing circumstances. That existing circumstances are favorable is indicated by the fact that over \$700,000,000 of municipal bonds, the largest amount in history, have been sold in 1921. Of these, \$106,000,000 were sold by 333 municipalities in August. Municipalities should give short-time employment the same as other employers.

The Governor should unite all State agencies for support of the Mayors and, as the superior officer, should insist upon the responsibility of city officials; should do everything compatible with circumstances in expedition of construction of roads, State buildings, &c.

The Federal authorities, including the Federal Reserve Banks, should expedite the construction of public buildings and public works covered by existing appropriations.

A Congressional appropriation for roads, together with State appropriations amounting to many tens of millions of dollars already made in expectation of and dependence on Federal aid, would make available a large amount of employment. The conference, under existing circumstances, notwithstanding various opinions as to the character of the legislation and the necessity for economy, recommends Congressional action at the present session in order that work may go forward.

The greatest area for immediate relief of unemployment is in the construction industry, which has been artificially restricted during and since the war. We are short more than a million homes; all kinds of building and construction are far behind national necessity. The Senate Committee on Reconstruction and Production, in March of this year, estimated the total construction shortage in the country at between ten and twenty billion dollars. Considering all branches of the construction industries, more than two million people could be employed if construction were resumed.

These recommendations were for the immediate emergency, but on Oct. 11 a program was put forward for permanent recovery from present conditions. The salient features of this program were the following:

1. Readjustment of railways rates to a fairer basis of the relative value of commodities, with special consideration of the rates on primary commodities, at the same time safeguarding the financial stability of the railways.

2. Speedy completion of the tax bill, with its contemplated reduction of taxes, in order that business now held back pending definite determination may proceed.

3. Definite settlement of tariff legislation in order that business may determine its future conduct and policies.

4. Settlement of the financial relationships between the Government and the railways, having in mind the immediate necessity for increased maintenance and betterments, making effective increased railway employment and stimulation of general employment in order that the railways may be prepared for enlarged business as it comes.

5. Limitation of world armament and consequent increase of tranquillity and further decreases of the tax burden not only of the United States but of other countries.

6. Steps looking to the minimizing of fluctuation in exchange, because recovery from the great slump in exports (due to the economic situation in Europe) cannot make substantial progress so long as extravagant daily fluctuations continue in foreign exchange, for no merchant can determine the delivery cost of any international shipment.

7. Definite programs of action that will lead to elimination of waste and more regular employment in seasonal and intermittent industries, notably in the coal industry, in order that the decline upon capital may be lessened and the annual income of workers may be increased.

8. In the field of all the different industries and occupations the rapidity of recovery will depend greatly upon the speed of proportionate adjustment of the inequalities in deflation. A table is attached hereto, drawn from various sources, showing the percentage of present levels above or below the levels of the same commodities and services of the pre-war period. It will be observed that agriculture has reached an unuly low plane, while transportation, coal and some branches of the construction industries are of the highest. It will also be observed that there is an entire disproportion between the price of the primary commodities and the ultimate retail price. These disproportionate increases in the progressive stages of distribution are due to increased costs of transportation, enlarged profits, interest, taxes, labor and other charges.

BUSINESS CONDITIONS IMPROVED

A slight improvement in the unemployment situation, a prediction that "the industrial pendulum is definitely on the upward trend," and a report of "marked increase of industrial optimism from every section of the country" were features of the report of the United States Employment Service made public Oct. 6. Liquidation in the wholesale and retail business, due principally to the change of season, was given as one of the causes of the more hopeful conditions. The

report was based on statistics collected from the payrolls of 1,428 firms in sixty-five principal industrial centres, each of which usually employs more than 500 workers. On Sept. 30 these firms had 18,050 more employees on their payrolls than they carried on Aug. 31, an increase of 1.2 per cent.

The United States Steel Corporation on Oct. 11 led the way in an endeavor to alleviate the unemployment situation by voting the expenditure of \$10,000,000 in the extension of its manufacturing plants. This was done with the understanding that extensions be made where the services of their own employees who are now idle could be utilized and where costs would be fair.

PRAYER FOR UNKNOWN DEAD

The American people were called upon by President Harding, in a proclamation issued Sept. 30, to offer two minutes' silent prayer at noon on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, when the body of an unknown American soldier killed in France will be laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery. "All devout and patriotic citizens" were called upon to pause for two minutes—from 12 o'clock noon to two minutes past 12—"for a period of silent prayer of thanks to the Giver of all good for these valuable and valorous lives, and of supplication for His divine mercy and for His blessings upon our beloved country."

EIGHT MINISTERS NAMED

President Harding on Oct. 4 made eight diplomatic appointments to European and Latin-American countries. Lewis Einstein of New York, former Minister to Costa Rica, was named as new Minister to Czechoslovakia, succeeding Richard Crane 3d. Mr. Einstein is a Columbia University man and has been prominent as a diplomat, author and editor. The other appointments announced were Edward E. Brodie of Oregon, to be Min-

ister to Siam; Charles L. Kagey of Kansas, to be Minister to Finland; Roy Davis of Missouri, to be Minister to Guatemala; Charles S. Wilson of Maine, to be Minister to Bulgaria; Dr. John Glover South of Kentucky, to be Minister to Panama; John E. Ramer of Colorado, to be Minister to Nicaragua, and Willis C. Cook of South Dakota, to be Minister to Venezuela.

Mr. Brodie is a newspaper publisher and President of the National Editorial Association. Mr. Kagey was born in Virginia and now is a lawyer of Kansas. He was formerly a District Judge and President of the Kansas Bar Association. Mr. Davis is prominently associated with educational, political and business affairs of Missouri. Mr. Wilson is a graduate of Harvard, has acted as Charge d'Afaires of the legation at Sofia since 1918, and has been connected with the Diplomatic Service as a Secretary of Embassy or Legation since 1901, serving in Greece; Cuba, Argentina, Italy, Russia and Rome. Dr. South was formerly President of the Kentucky Board of Health, and is now President of the Kentucky Medical Association. Mr. Ramer was former Secretary of State of Colorado. Mr. Cook is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin Law School, a former County Judge and a former State Senator. He is President of the South Dakota branch of the League to Enforce Peace, and until Dec. 1, 1920, was owner and publisher of The Sioux Falls Daily Press.

The President also nominated J. Morton Howell of Dayton to be Diplomatic Agent and Consul General at Cairo. Mr. Howell is the founder of the Dayton Board of Health and the American Child Hygiene Association.

DEATH OF SENATOR KNOX

Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania died suddenly in Washington of apoplexy, Oct. 12. He was 68 years old. For the last two decades Senator Knox had been a prominent figure in public life. He first came into national affairs when in 1901 President McKinley appointed him Attorney General. He retained that office under President Roosevelt until 1904, when he resigned to accept an appointment as United States Senator from Pennsylvania to succeed the late Senator Quay. He became Secretary of State in President Taft's Cabinet, and initiated an active policy of aiding the extension of American trade with foreign countries. He took a prominent part in the fight in the Senate against the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, and was the author of a resolution adopted by the Senate in May, 1920, declaring peace with Germany. This was vetoed by President Wilson, but later formed the basis of the separate peace treaty between Germany and the United States. His home was in Pittsburgh, where he had an extensive law practice.

BELGIAN EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIP

NINETEEN Belgian students, winners of the Belgian Exchange fellowships established at the suggestion of Herbert Hoover by the Commission of Relief in Belgium as a Belgian Educational Foundation, reached New York Sept. 12, 1921. Six Belgian scholars of the same foundation already had been enrolled in American universities. The nineteen newcomers were distributed as prearranged. Twenty-five American students, under this exchange ar-

angement, are now at work in Belgian universities on fellowships provided by the corresponding Belgian organization, the Fondation Universitaire. The two parallel foundations were established after the armistice, when the Commission for Relief in Belgium was liquidated and Mr. Hoover suggested the exchange of students. Both organizations are supported by the income of surplus funds of the Commission for Relief and the Comité Nationale.

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA

BY SIDNEY C. GRAVES

Former Major and assistant to Chief of Staff of American Expeditionary Force in Siberia

To the Editor of Current History:

Can the United States, or the rest of the world, if animated by a sincere desire to further the cause of international peace, afford to neglect Russia in the coming conference? Can there be any conclusive settlement of Far Eastern affairs if the territorial integrity of the Russian Empire is to remain but a mockery and the inherent right of the Russian people to the benefit of their natural resources be continually violated? The question has no reference to the character of the Soviet Government or to the present impotency of the nation.

How short-sighted indeed is the opinion that Siberia affords a natural field for Japanese colonization and exploitation! How readily accepted seem the Japanese contentions that her efforts in these maritime provinces are of a temporary nature, to be discontinued in the event of the establishment of a stable government, and, calculated as a protective measure, preventing the spread of Bolshevism near enough to constitute a menace to the Japanese Empire. We have the evidence of her actions toward every government set up to the contrary, and, in view of her imperialistic infringements on China and Manchuria, it is hard to credit any unselfish motives in the vast expenditure to which she has been forced in Siberia.

Articles which have appeared in *CURRENT HISTORY*, giving concrete facts which expose the policy of Japan, have occasioned no effort at refutation and are a welcome diversion from the exponents of the purely opinion theory of Charles H. Sherrill. His idea that Siberia is a natural field for Japanese control originated while he was a guest in Japan, and was avidly seized upon by the Japanese, translated and distributed broadly as voicing American sentiment.

From Siberia information has been received that Japan is still dispatching her troops northward along the Chinese Eastern and Trans-Siberian Railways and the protests of the new republic established at Chita, requesting an evacuation of Russian territory or a declaration of intention to evacuate, evoke no reply despite the coming conference to settle the questions of the

Far East. The complete accord which existed, during the period of joint allied intervention, between British and Japanese representatives in Siberia is still in evidence; from the influx of English capital for development of the mineral resources, and from the seizure of the fishery rights by Japanese interests, it appears that the spoliation of Asiatic Russia is by agreement to go on apace. The United States is concerned with a sincere desire to arrive at a solution of points of difficulty in the Orient, but it is interesting to consider of what value an open door in Asia will be to the United States if transportation facilities remain in Japanese hands to exact toll from her competitors.

Russians of all parties derive little satisfaction from the declaration of Secretary Hughes that the rights of their country will be safeguarded, but that no representation from the Soviet or Chita Government will be entertained. The lessons of the Peace Conference are fresh in their minds; there they witnessed a partial dismemberment of the old empire in a desire on the part of Europe to create a series of small States as a buffer against Bolshevism, without regard to a future regenerated and rehabilitated nation. Of more recent moment have been the various futile counter-Soviet adventures; Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, &c., as participants in which the unselfishness of some of the Allies at least may be doubted and as a result of one of which Russia's eastern seaboard is still overrun by troops of a foreign power or by its mercenaries.

However, present information from Washington indicates that the faith which has always been placed in the American people by Russia will be justified to the extent that the future of Siberia is an important factor in the scope of the conference as contemplated by Mr. Hughes. It remains to be seen whether or not the question will be met by insincerity and evasion on the part of interested powers, but the continued aggressive actions of the Japanese toward the Chita Government can certainly not be construed as pointing to an early evacuation or to an abandonment of the advantages which have been seized.

THE FARMER AND HIS TROUBLES

BY HENRY C. WALLACE

Secretary of Agriculture of the United States

Causes and remedies of the widespread agricultural depression in the United States—Farm products bring less than pre-war prices, while nearly everything which the farmer must buy costs twice as much as before the war—A readjustment necessary

I DOUBT whether the people of the East realize just what has happened to the farmers of the producing sections. Take the grain and live-stock country of the Central West, for example; I speak of this region because it is the one with which I am most familiar, and also because it gives us our great surplus crops. We have the finest rural civilization, taken as a whole, the world has ever seen; our farmers average very high in intelligence; they produce more per man than almost any other farmers in the world; they have adopted the most advanced system of farming. Notwithstanding all this, they are now in a most trying period and are suffering severe financial losses.

People who are not familiar with agriculture find it hard to understand the situation. They refuse to believe that the depression is as serious as it really is. They point to the high value of our land, to the high prices at which farm products have been selling prior to this heavy drop, to the large number of automobiles owned by farmers, to the apparent wealth and comfort on every side; and they refuse to take seriously what the farmers say concerning their troubles.

There are two causes for this widespread agricultural depression. One

is the high cost of production. If we include all the factors which properly enter into the cost of production, we find, for example, that last year the cost of producing a bushel of corn in Iowa, the greatest corn State, was more than 90 cents. This includes the land cost, the labor cost, and everything else which ought to be included.

Many people say, "You are figuring the land on an inflated price. You should not do that. The farmer did not pay that price for the land. He wants dividends on water."

It is true that the land charge is considered on the basis of its value a year ago, but it is also true that the advance in land prices was not nearly as great as many people suppose. They hear of occasional sales at \$400 or \$500 an acre, and assume that that represents the average. Nothing of the sort. The average advance in the value of our rich corn-belt land was only about 80 per cent. above pre-war values. It must be remembered also that in the principal corn States over half the land is farmed by tenants, and these tenants mostly had to pay rent on the basis of the advanced land values. It is true, further, that if we omit the land charge altogether, the price which the farmer can get for a bushel of corn is still considerably below what it cost him to pro-

duce it. The largest item of cost in corn production is not land, but labor.

The man who has been farming his own land and who has saved his money has prospered. The five years prior to 1920 were profitable years, especially to the grain farmer. If he exercised ordinary intelligence, he made more money than he ever before made at farming. Those years were not so profitable to the live-stock farmer. The man who grew his own live stock and grain, and fed his grain to the live stock, on the whole, made money, although not as much as if he had sold the grain instead of feeding it. The man who bought the live stock and bought the grain, and fed the grain to the live stock, on the average, lost money. When hogs were selling at \$20 per hundredweight, everybody seemed to think the hog feeder was growing rich, but most of the time when hogs were selling at those high figures, the men who had to buy the grain to feed the hogs lost money.

LOW PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS

The second cause of the farmer's trouble is this: Prices of farm products have dropped out of all proportion to the prices of other things, as well as out of all proportion to the cost of production. For example, the price of corn today on the Iowa farm is about 20 per cent. below the normal price of corn before the war; the price of oats on the Iowa farm is about 21 per cent. below pre-war normal; the price of fat cattle and of hogs is from 20 to 25 per cent. above the pre-war normal, if we take Chicago prices, but on the farm the prices of both cattle and hogs are down to pre-war normal.

Now note the prices of some of the things the farmer must buy: Wages of farm hands are about 100 per cent. above the pre-war normal; railroad rates are from 70 to 90 per cent. above pre-war normal; such basic commodities as pig iron, coke, petroleum, lumber, Portland cement, are

far above the pre-war normal—from 100 to 150, and in some cases, 200 per cent. above the pre-war normal. Factory wages and railroad wages are both more than 100 per cent. above the pre-war normal.

In other words, while the farmer is selling the things he produces at prices no higher, and, for great surplus crops, lower than the pre-war normal, he must buy practically everything he needs at prices from 50 to 150 per cent. above the pre-war normal. The severe agricultural depression is inevitable as long as such a condition exists, and this depression will certainly be communicated to industry and business generally.

While I have spoken particularly of the corn belt States, the farmers throughout the nation, and especially those in the South and West, are experiencing exactly the same trouble. The cotton farmers of the South, the rice farmers, the cattle and sheep growers of the Far West, the fruit growers, all are passing through this same valley of discouragement and financial stress.

This is a situation which should challenge the very best thought of the entire nation. If it continues, the trouble will be communicated to every one. We are brothers one of another. Anything which hurts the farmer will very soon be communicated to all our citizens. The farmers represent probably 35 to 40 per cent. of the population. Anything which seriously affects their buying power will bring trouble to the people who make or deal in the things the farmer buys.

PROBLEM OF SURPLUS FOOD

It is a terrible indictment to our modern civilization that this great country should be in a state of what might almost be called economic chaos because of our great surplus food supply, while across the seas, in both directions, almost half the world is suffering for want of food. If our statesmen had given more thought to getting the world back on a sound

economic basis, and perhaps had spent less time on idealistic schemes and theories, they would have rendered a greater contribution to the

Every good citizen, no matter in what business he may be engaged, should do what he can to help the farmers through this period of depression, not only for their sake, but also for the sake of helping himself.

We cannot hope to regain normal conditions until we reach a price level which will be fair to all our people and to all products. Farm products must come up in price, and other products must go down, until the normal relation between them has been restored. This talk of bringing prices, whether farm prices or other prices, back to the pre-war normal is wrong. We incurred a heavy national debt on the inflated prices. If now we force the prices back to the pre-war normal it will be equivalent to just about doubling that debt. We can pay off our debts much more easily if we maintain a price level near to that at which the debts were incurred. Of course, the higher prices which prevailed during the war cannot continue, but if we should try to bring

about a level, say 70 per cent. above the pre-war normal, everybody would be better off.

We shall get through this period. The nation is not going bankrupt. The farmers are not going bankrupt. Gradually farm prices will be brought into fair relation with other prices. But there is another thing in the long run—a more important phase of our agricultural problem—which we have been slow in considering. Let me sketch briefly the development of our agriculture.



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HENRY C. WALLACE

Secretary of Agriculture, formerly an Iowa editor and a practical farmer

peace and happiness of the people of the earth.

Surely the duty of the Department of Agriculture is evident. We should do everything possible to find an outlet for this great food surplus. We should search for ways to produce more cheaply. Our scientific men should try to find new uses for our surplus crops. We should develop more efficient marketing systems and bring the producer and consumer closer together. It is a time for every man who can help to take hold.

The farmers of the United States during the past seventy years have, on the average, produced and sold grains and live stock at less than the cost of production, if we take into consideration all the factors which properly enter into production costs. What I mean is, that if the farmer should draw up, on the basis of a system of sound business economy, a cost-total inclusive of a fair interest on the capital invested, both in his farm and his farm equipment, and inclusive of a fair wage for the actual labor expended on the farm; and if he should then compare this with the intake from marketing his crops, he would find that he had not received for them enough to cover his actual costs. We omit here the value of the fertility of his soil, which is in effect a portion of his capital, and which he has marketed in his crops; but we simply throw it in for good measure. I know that many people are inclined to question such a statement as to the farmer's losses. They think of individual farmers who have become well-to-do; but I am speaking of the average farmer, the farmers as a mass, and the statement I have just made is absolutely true and has been corroborated by every scientific investigation made.

The farmers have been able and willing to sell their crops at less than the actual cost of production because, first, they have been willing to accept the value of the farm as a home—a good place in which to raise their children—as a part of the substantial reward for their work; and, second, because as our population has increased there has been a steady increase in the value of farm land. In times past, therefore, the young farmer who could get enough ahead to make a very small payment on a piece of land—enough to give him a foothold—and who had a lot of hard work in him, and who had a good wife, as most of them have, was able, by living very economically, denying himself and his wife the luxuries and many of the comforts of life, to hang

on, paying out on the farm, and finally seeing it growing into a valuable piece of property.

DRIFT TOWARD THE CITIES

During all this period we have been a great surplus food producing nation. We have grown more food than our own people could consume. As a result, we have had to compete with the farmers of the world in the great consuming markets, and take prices fixed by that competition. Another result of this great surplus of food was to stimulate our industrial development and to build up our commercial enterprises of all kinds.

The steady increase in the value of our land and the relatively low prices for farm products have caused a constant drift of young farmers to the towns and cities, where they thought they could get better pay for their labor and find better opportunities to advance themselves in a material way. In some of our heaviest producing States there are not as many people on the farms today as there were thirty or forty years ago. This movement from the farm to the city has been a perfectly natural movement, and fully justified by conditions. It will continue as long as the cities offer greater financial rewards, greater opportunities for advancement, more comfortable living conditions, and better social, educational and religious privileges. It is the inevitable result of present economic conditions, and no amount of talk extolling the beauty of farm life can stop it.

Nor has this relative decline in the producing population been a very serious matter up to the present time. Certainly it has not been serious from the farmers' viewpoint. We have made great advances in methods of production. The development of labor-saving machinery has enabled us to increase our production per man. Notwithstanding our increase in total population and the decrease in farm population, we have, until very recently, steadily increased food production per thousand of total population.

This increase has come both from the use of labor-saving machinery and from bringing into cultivation new areas of fertile land. We cannot keep up this pace in the future. Consumption has almost overtaken production under normal world conditions.

Most of our fertile land which can be farmed profitably has been taken up. We still have large areas of swamp land, dry land and cut-over land, but these cannot be profitably reclaimed and farmed unless we can depend upon higher relative prices for farm products than those which prevailed before the war. So, also, we can greatly increase the productive power of a large area of the land in surplus-producing States, provided we can depend upon prices which will cover the increased expense. Under our system of farming we have produced far more per man than almost any other nation, but we have not produced nearly as much per acre as the nations of Europe. Our greatest increase of food production in the future must come from increasing our acre yields, but this, in turn, depends upon prices which will justify the increased cost.

The farmer is the one man engaged in a big business who has had no voice in fixing the price of the things he produces. He has been compelled to take whatever prices he could get. His cost of production has not at any time been considered in determining this price. In times of small crops prices have been high. In times of large crops prices have been ruinously low. Very large crops, as a rule, give the farmer fewer dollars than small crops. Farming seems to be one business in which large production is always penalized.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

No doubt, when we get through this period of world readjustment, there will be a gradual increase in the value of farm land, provided our national policy is fair to agriculture;

but this increase will be much slower than in times past. The speculative value has been taken out of the land. The farmer can no longer depend upon the increase in the value of his farm to make good the losses suffered through his farming operations year by year. Farmers' crops must sell higher relatively in the future than in the past.

We seem to have been going on the theory that the fertility of our soil, especially in the great corn and tame grass country, is inexhaustible. To the nation this is a most dangerous theory. We must start in earnest the development of an agricultural policy which will enable us to feed our people at fair prices and, at the same time, to retain the fertility of our soil, our greatest national material asset.

The increase in tenancy has aroused great concern. Many people seem to think that tenancy is in itself an evil. Not necessarily so. As land advances, tenancy increases. This has always been true everywhere, and it is not necessarily a bad thing in itself. The farmer who has a limited working capital can far better afford to rent than to own after the land has reached a fairly stable value based on its productive power. Men are willing to invest their money in land, and accept a very low rate of interest because of the security of the investment, but there are evils which grow out of the tenancy system which must be corrected.

If we are to make this a self-sustaining nation agriculturally, as President Harding said in one of his speeches, there is no time to be lost in studying these great problems. It is not a question of production alone, it is a question of the farmer's ability to sell what he produces at a price which will justify him in continuing to produce. We are the best producers in the world, but our sales system is very bad indeed. We must study everything which influences both production and price. We must look into the matter of competition

from farmers of foreign lands where the standards of living are very much below those which we demand for our people. We must look into world conditions both of supply and of demand; we must produce more intelligently and adjust our various crops to the probable needs. We must also look into the administration of our credit machinery. Those who control the finances of the country and who have it in their power to influence, either directly or indirectly, the extension of credit, can exercise a large amount of control over the prices of farm products. The same thing is true of the administration of our transportation systems. Through the simple

device of regulating the flow of cars, the prices of farm products can be sent up or down at the will of those who exercise such control. We had some costly experiences along this line during the war.

Our prosperity as a nation depends upon the prosperity of our farmers. The Department of Agriculture is shaping its activities with that thought always in view. We have here a magnificent body of men and a splendid organization. We are going to try to use the scientific knowledge of these men wherever it can best be used to promote the agriculture of the nation.

THE BRITISH DEAD IN FRANCE

THE world knows in general that thousands on thousands of British soldiers fell on French or Belgian soil during the great war, but few realize the gigantic task which the Imperial War Graves Commission has been facing for the last two years. The number of cemeteries in its charge in France totals 3,280. Nearly 1,200 of them have been decorated with old English garden flowers. Traveling gardeners—mainly war veterans—journey from cemetery to cemetery on motor lorries, mowing the grass, planting and watering flowers, and giving loving care to the last resting places of their dead comrades.

The French and Belgian people reverence these British dead. On pleasant Sundays and holidays the French come to walk by the smooth green lawns between the bright flower borders of the cemeteries in the Arras district, where 600 cemeteries send forth the white gleam of their rows of monuments. All these "God's Acres" are rectangular in shape. At one side stands the Stone of Remembrance, a great altarlike slab of white limestone, on which are cut the words: "Their name liveth for evermore." Facing it rises the tall Cross of Sacrifice, bearing a great bronze sword where the figure of Christ is placed on Catholic crucifixes. In between lie the graves in serried rows, each with its white marble headstone bearing the name, the regiment and the date of death.

A typical cemetery is that at Verlincthun, on the cliffs beside Boulogne, within sight of the English coast, where 12,000 officers and men rest peacefully. One little cemetery, where seventy New Zealanders who fell all together one day in 1918 are buried, is the smallest, the most secluded and perhaps the most touching of all. There are 10,000 graves at Tyne Cot Cemetery, on the edge of the bloody Ypres salient. Here, where men and guns and tanks struggled in vain to cross the sea of mud and the formidable barbican of barbed wires between 1914 and 1918, rich golden grain grows against the rusted sides of the abandoned tanks. The cemeteries which stand thick around Ypres, Hooze, Zillebeek, Gheluvelt, Boesinghe and the Paschendaele Ridge tell the tragic story of the defense of Ypres. In the ruined city an inscription in Flemish, French and English says:

The Burgomaster and the City Council of Ypres urge you to remember that the ground you walk on is hallowed by the sacrifice of 250,000 British officers and men who were killed or wounded in the four terrible years of battle endured in the salient of Ypres, and whose heroism Belgium can never forget.

This spirit of veneration and gratitude is found everywhere in France and Belgium. The British dead, sleeping from their land afar, are among friends linked by an unbreakable tie.

WHY THE FILIPINOS DESIRE INDEPENDENCE

BY MANUEL L. QUEZON

President of the Philippine Senate and leader of the independence movement

A clear and vigorous statement of reasons why the people of the Philippine Islands believe they should now be allowed to run their own Government—Gratitude to the United States combined with American ideals of liberty—No fear of Japanese aggression

IF anything in the long struggle of mankind toward democracy and liberty is worth while; if Mazzini, Garibaldi, Hofer, Arnold Winkelried, Patrick Henry, James Otis and Nathan Hale are still potent names in the world's admiration and regard, the movement for the independence of the Philippine Islands is worth the most serious attention of all men everywhere not moribund in their sympathies with human aspirations, and particularly worth while to the American Government.

I am asked to write for CURRENT HISTORY an article on this movement, and I accept the invitation with more than usual pleasure because on this visit to America I have been deeply gratified to find a greater readiness to recognize that the cause of the Filipinos is no less eternally just than was the cause of every other people struggling out of national submersion into national individuality.

The best way to make clear the scope, nature and aims of the independence movement in the Philippine Islands is to take up, one by one, the questions most commonly put to me as I travel about the United States:

1. *What is the desire for Philippine independence based upon?*

It is based upon the same instinct and passion for national existence and national expression that has animated every virile people in the world's history. The people of the Philippine Islands feel that they are

a separate nation, that they have the individual destiny that pertains, of right, to a homogeneous people dwelling within a defined area, having a common origin and a common vital philosophy. It is based upon exactly the same instinct for freedom that animated the American people from 1775 until they succeeded in erecting the great Republic; on the geographical, ethnological and institutional conditions that historically have justified nationality. We feel that if it was essentially incongruous for the free peoples that from many countries had come to settle the Atlantic seaboard of America previous to 1776, to be ruled and dominated by an alien people 3,000 miles away, of different instincts, institutions and aspirations, it is just as incongruous for the people of the Philippine Islands to be ruled by another country of different racial origin and feelings, 8,000 miles away; and we feel this to be essentially and unassailably true, no matter how generous, benevolent and well-intended may be the policy of that other nation toward us.

We desire to be free because all intelligent, ambitious, forward-looking people have and must have that impulse if they are to realize and express the real principles of their national life.

The movement for independence in the Philippine Islands is further based upon history. In America the fact is almost unknown that this

movement is not new, is not of this generation, of this century, nor even of the century before it. For 150 years the idea and hope of national liberty have been lights to the Filipinos, like the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire in the desert to the children of Israel. However successfully Spain put down the successive revolutions that sought to attain liberty, the idea and promise of liberty were never eradicated from the Filipino mind and never will be.

In the next place—and this seems to be largely unknown or obscured to the American public—the present movement for independence in the Philippines is based upon the promise of the great American nation, expressed through every President, beginning with the honored McKinley, and reiterated through Governors General and Congress. From the outset this prospect has been held forth to us, this pledge has been given, and after more than twenty years the Filipinos are beginning to feel that longer delay in its fulfilment is footless, unreasonable and indefensible.

2. *In what way is the protectorate of the United States objectionable?*

"Objectionable" is not quite a fair word to use in regard to our relations with the United States. Every Filipino understands and acknowledges the obligations of his country to the generous altruism that the United States has followed in its policy toward these islands. It is not that any one in the islands would say, or would dream of pretending, that the sovereignty of the United States over the islands is oppressive, tyrannical, unjust or autocratic. On the contrary, the truth is that the people of the Philippines, since 1916, have been allowed a larger share of self-government in the direction of their own affairs than has been allowed to a dependency of any other nation. It is not that we revolt against oppression, wrong or repressive force; but there is all the time confronting us the fact that without nationality we are not realizing and shall not realize what is plainly our national and eth-

nological destiny. Every people is entitled to determine its own way and to secure, if it so wishes, a recognized place in the great family of nations. The fact that there are 10,500,000 people in the Philippine Islands and 105,000,000 people in the United States cannot possibly affect the basic and eternal principle of self-determination that is involved at the bottom of all this subject.

We are like, let us say, a young married couple starting out in life.

A mother-in-law is helping to run their establishment. She may be a perfectly admirable woman, kind, generous, affectionate, wise, and the best cook on earth, but the young household does not want her, ought not to have her, and can never enjoy the happiness that comes of self-effort, self-expression and self-control, until the dear old dame has withdrawn her hand from the affairs of the new home. A block down the street, or across the river, the household thinks of her with profound affection and regard, maintains the friendliest association and is always her warmest friend and champion, but it does not want her forever stirring the pot and dominating the bill of fare.

This is not only natural but inevitable. There never has been a case in history where a normal people were willing to bargain independence and self-expression for benevolence, no matter how kind, liberal and sincere.

This, I think, exactly expresses the situation in the Philippines. Effort is made to cause it to appear that because we desire our own country for ourselves we are ungrateful to the United States. This is most unfair and untrue. We do not forget and can never forget the kindness we have had at American hands. It is a tie that we shall hope always to feel, binding us in bonds of affectionate friendship to our national foster mother. But I may be pardoned if I suggest that one of the elements of continued friendship and good-will between two men or two peoples is

the observance of good faith and the fulfillment of promises.

The Filipinos today love and admire the United States because they feel that it alone, among the great nations of the world, scorns the exploitation of the weak. It is the only



(© Harris & Ewing)

MANUEL L. QUEZON

President of the Philippine Senate and leader of the independence movement

country that has refused to grab territory from reluctant inhabitants or play the international bully, pirate and land thief. It has an unsmirched record of promises kept and ideals maintained. We base our appeal for independence upon that record and we are confident that we shall not be disappointed.

3. *In the event of independence, would the Filipinos feel in the least afraid that Japan would seek to dominate them?*

No. There is no person well informed of the exact economic situa-

tion in the Orient who entertains any such fear or belief. There is no more danger that in the case of Philippine independence Japan would seize the islands than there is that she would descend upon the islands of Italy or of France. The notion that Japan is a demon only waiting for the United States to withdraw that she may spring upon the defenseless Philippines and devour them is groundless. The fact is that Japan is governed by her economic needs and not by mere desire for territory. The Philippine Islands could supply none of her economic needs. She must seek that supply in other quarters. This ought to be sufficient to relieve the sensitive and timorous mind of the shadow of the Japanese bugaboo, even if it were true that Japan alone of all the nations in the world was entirely without a code of morals or a sense of decency. As a matter of fact, Japan is no less amenable to the court of the world's opinion than any other country, and no more likely to incur the world's damnation.

4. *Would the Filipinos be able to organize a stable Government?*

The history of the last five years in the Philippine Islands proves conclusively that they would. In those years they have, in fact, organized such a Government and operated it with conspicuous success. Of its stability there is not room for the slightest question. It is a Government in which law and order are observed, in which life and property are secure, in which legislation is intelligently conceived, in which the essential functions of government in a civilized state of society are in accordance with modern social science. Nothing remains to be done to achieve stability of government in the Philippine Islands. All that is still to be accomplished is to achieve independence.

5. *Would it be along republican lines?*

Most assuredly. What other lines could it be along? Great as is the lack of familiarity in America with the people and history of the Philip-

pine Islands, it can hardly be imagined in any quarter that these people have the slightest notion of ever again tolerating any form of outworn monarchy. I think that those familiar with our story will laugh at the question. As a matter of fact, there does not exist in the world a people whose instincts, impulses and convictions are more broadly democratic than the Filipinos. A glance at history will easily verify the fact that a form of democracy was practiced in the Philippine Islands when there was hardly a beginning of it in England.

But even if the earliest antecedents of these people were not strongly impregnated with democracy, what do you imagine has been the effect upon them of more than twenty years of widespread and even intensive study of the history of the United States? To the people of the Philippine Islands, George Washington, Nathan Hale, Israel Putnam, Francis Marion and Thomas Jefferson are just as great figures as they are to any Americans. Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July are celebrated throughout the Philippine Islands with at least as much fervor as they are anywhere in the United States. What has appealed to the Filipino's imagination in the stories of these men is their supreme devotion to the eternal principle of human liberty; and is it conceivable that, after adoring these heroes and diligently impressing upon the youthful mind the greatness of their services, the same people could, by any possibility, depart from that principle?

On this subject at least all uneasiness may be allayed. The Filipino people hold democracy no less dear than the Americans, the French, the Swiss or any other republicans upon earth, and will be no less ready to sacrifice for and serve it.

6. *What was the record of the islands under the sovereignty of the United States?*

It was good. No Filipino desires to obscure or avoid or belittle the fact that the islands made great progress while they were under the immediate

direction of the American Government. The facts are open to all. Schools were established, roads were built, communication improved and all material ganglia of civilization were stimulated into healthful activity. But please observe that in the five years in which the Filipinos have been entrusted with self-government all these processes of civilization have gone on under native management with no less intelligence and efficiency than before. That being the fact, explicitly acknowledged by eminent visitors, what possible reason can there be for denying to people that have so abundantly and excellently proved their capacity the full exercise of the rights of national individuality and existence?

7. *Is the desire of the people for independence a political desire of a certain faction to get control of the offices, or is it a universal movement?*

It is a universal movement, if there ever was such anywhere on the face of the earth. The charge that the demand for independence is only a device in a political game has the same ground, or rather lack of ground, as the fiction of the Japanese demon, the fiction of intertribal hostilities and the fiction that the Filipino people go naked and eat dogs. Wherever in the history of the world a movement for nationality has come in conflict with profits and the cash drawer, similar fictions have been as plentiful as blackberries. Mankind by this time should be immune to them. Let me say, then, emphatically, and I hope once for all, that there are no politics in the movement for Philippine independence.

The people of the Philippine Islands desire to be free. It is their movement, not the movement of any party faction or set of politicians. It is kept alive and made to grow daily in intensity and seriousness of purpose by the inflexible will of the masses of the people of the Philippine Islands. It is because they want it, plead for it, beg for it, demand it, and will never be satisfied with any-

thing short of it, that the men they elect to office in the Philippine Islands feel agitation for independence to be their first, most solemn and most sacred duty.

It is perfectly true, as opponents of independence frequently and gleefully tell you, that certain individuals in the remote regions of the islands, elderly men on whom civilization and enlightenment have not yet fallen, respond unintelligently or without enthusiasm to inquiries about independence. But these men are few and insignificant. Similarly, in the American struggle for independence you could have found on a remote mountain or in a dense forest settlers untouched by the great movement for liberty that was firing the hearts of the rest of the colonists. Indeed, if I remember correctly, there were Americans—and a considerable number of them—who were called "Tories" and traitors to the national cause, who vigorously opposed it, who even joined the armies of King George, who took gun in hand to fight their countrymen or who fled to Canada to escape inclusion as citizens of the new-born Republic. The number of the natives in the Philippine Islands not with all their hearts and souls in favor of independence is relatively smaller than the number of Americans that in 1776 disgraced their birth and flag by turning Tories.

The charge of selfish motive has been applied by reactionary influences to every person in our history that has taken a prominent part in any movement for freedom. It is the universal weapon of reaction and autocracy. In the American Civil War, everything that Lincoln did and said was described as directed toward his own re-election. A million critics would never for a moment admit that he was capable of disinterested purpose in standing for emancipation and freedom. Washington was denounced all about England as a self-seeker and a land-grabber. Garibaldi was supposed to be carried away by his boyish satisfaction in his red

jacket and sword of command. Even Lafayette was described as an adventurer that joined the cause of American independence merely because he was poverty-stricken.

But, however much endangered autocracy or menaced profits may distort motive or heap up vituperation, the single fact remains undeniable to any reader of history that movements for freedom do not continue from year to year and from generation to generation because of the machinations, wiles, plots, ambitions or designs of any politicians or persons that seek office. Such movements always have had and always must have their roots deep in a universal feeling of the people or they wither in the first noontide of struggle. Movements for freedom are not the manufacture of any man, set of men, group or faction. No man can create them. No man can direct them: No man can restrain them. When a people set their hearts upon liberty and the fire of that desire has entered into their blood, if they be people of any worth or character, they never abandon the struggle until they have won; and the individuals that stand in the way, or individuals that help along the movement are not of enduring importance. It is the people and the people alone that count, and unless America has most strangely and lamentably fallen away from ancient and honored standards that fact is just as certain in the mind of every American as is the fact of his own existence.

8. *If left to a vote, what percentage of the people would vote for absolute independence from the United States?*

This is a question that will have to be determined without the assistance of directly bearing statistics, for the reason that it has never in that exact form been submitted to the vote of the people. But it has been submitted to their judgment and decision in other ways, and from the verdict they have given it is possible to arrive at an approximate estimate of their judgment.

I call special attention to the fact that the Government of the Philippine Islands, under the Jones law, is vested chiefly in a Legislature of two Chambers, elected by the vote of the people. Every such Legislature has unanimously adopted a resolution or an address asking for complete independence from the United States. The Representatives and Senators that have voted for these resolutions, that have voted for appropriations to defray the expense of agitation for independence, that have in every conceivable way voiced the demand for it, go back to their respective constituencies for the review of their legislative service. These men, conspicuous in the independence movement and with records of repeated votes in its favor, are re-elected practically without opposition on that score. For the fact is that every political party in the Philippine Islands is committed to independence. There is no issue at the polls between independence and the continuance of the present relation, because no native in the Philippine Islands sufficiently desires the present relations to express that desire in a vote.

The intense enthusiasm that is invariably aroused in any assembly of Filipinos anywhere in the islands by even so much as a mention of independence is a satisfactory gauge of the state of the public mind. If any one doubts that the masses of the Philippine people are overwhelmingly in favor of separation, and separation at once, such a one can easily ascertain how just is the basis of his doubt. Let him go to the Philippine Islands. Let him arise in any public assembly of natives, oppose independence, and argue in favor of a continuation of the present relation. I should estimate that the time required to eliminate all doubt from his mind might be about ninety seconds.

This, it is to be understood, represents the state of mind in all parts of the islands, north as well as south. It is customary and has often been convenient to picture the people of the Philippine Islands as carrying on

irreconcilable feuds among themselves. For instance, the inhabitants of the southern islands are supposed, by a fiction, to be very much incensed against the inhabitants of the northern islands. It is even said that a Moro or southerner would much rather be governed by an American or by a Spaniard than by a fellow-Filipino from the north. This again has been proved by abundant experience to be a preposterous and a malicious invention. The people of the Philippine Islands, north and south, are of one mind in regard to independence.

Let me call attention to one significant fact, from among many that might be cited, of a nature to make all this clear to every intelligence. You will find in southern towns and cities—as, for instance, at Zamboanga, a capital city of the southern country—memorials or monuments to Rizal or to other heroes of the Philippine struggle. These are erected by the public as expressions of a certain feeling. What is that feeling? It is that these men suffered for Philippine independence, and it is this alone that is commemorated in them. Dr. Rizal, it is true, was a man of extraordinary endowments and achievements in many directions, but great as he was, he would be today without a monument if he had not given up his life in the Philippine cause. The same is true of other men whose names adorn Philippine streets, squares, schools, buildings and the like. Every one of them is dear to the popular imagination, north and south, but dear only because of his contribution to the one cause which the Filipinos have never for a moment lost sight of, that their country should be free.

They ask to be free and they feel that the time to set them free is now. They have demonstrated their complete ability to conduct an efficient Government, answerable to the sternest tests of modern society. The laws that in the last five years have been passed by the Philippine Legislature, which is composed entirely of na-

tives, may be placed side by side with the laws passed by any other legislative body in the world in the same period and will not suffer in any point of comparison, whether for clearness, reasonableness, logicity or conformation with the highest ideals of modern governmental science.

The percentage of literacy in the Philippine Islands today is far higher than the percentage of literacy in the American Colonies when they won freedom; the number of minds trained to carry on government by its best methods is much larger; the justice of the Philippine claim to freedom is at least as good; and we come now before the American people, the arbiters of this great question, and

say, "We stand here for justice. Shall we have it?"

It is not possible to convince the people of the Philippines that to this question, of such overwhelming importance to them, the answer will be in the negative. You cannot, by word of speech, convince a Filipino that America will prove recreant to its faith or place itself in the category of nations whose only morals are their pocketbooks. Only one thing could possibly bear this conviction down upon my countrymen. It would be the adverse action of the American people themselves; and the collapse of the Filipino's faith in and friendship for America that would follow such a demonstration would not be less than a historic catastrophe.

THE MEMOIRS OF PRINCE WINDISCHGRAETZ

BIOGRAPHIES and memoirs of former great statesmen, diplomats, High Admirals and Field Marshals have multiplied since the conclusion of the war. A new contribution to historical material of this kind has recently been made by Prince Ludwig Windischgraetz's book, "My Memoirs," now published in English translation by the London firm of George Allen & Unwin. This work is beyond question one of the most vivid accounts yet written of the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy. Prince Windischgraetz, as former Hungarian Food Minister and confidential adviser to Emperor Charles, was in a position to know the truth of the fall of the Austrian Empire. Prejudiced, bitter and resentful, the haughty and megalomaniac trend of the great aristocrat is eloquently expressed in such phrases as "A Windischgraetz always knows best," or "Before the cock crowed thrice, he had betrayed me." With a picturesque and epigrammatic pen, the Prince portrays a society strangely like that revealed by the author of "The World's Illusion," brilliant, decadent, swathed in "Spanish etiquette of the spirit," dissipated, entertaining, filled with eccentric characters, facile causeurs, horse racing devotees, and so on.

Vivid pictures are given of the old Emperor, displaying flashes of good will, but

imprisoned in formalism as in a strait-jacket; of Count Berchtold, "the true after-dinner type; an interesting converser on Gobelins, women and horses; of Count Tisza, as grim and dour as a Calvinist schoolmaster, yet dancing in his shirt-sleeves, with passionate abandon, to the wild music of a gypsy orchestra; of Count Karolyi, ridiculed in youth on account of the silver palate in his mouth, a reputed dandy and idler, who quite suddenly, with grim determination, began to train himself for the career of a public man.

The memoirs show how the ruin of Austria galloped on apace after the death of old Francis Joseph and under the reign of his successor, young Emperor Charles. Perhaps the most dramatic moment of the book is the account of the momentous session of the Hungarian Parliament on Oct. 18, 1918, when, after the Prime Minister's weaving of rose-colored clouds of camouflage, Karolyi rose and uttered the cry of revolution. In tense silence the House waited for Tisza to crush Karolyi like a worm. Tisza raised his huge bulk, and to the amazement of all, disavowed Wckerle's roseate picture, and admitted Karolyi's sombre depiction of the situation as correct. "We are beaten," he concluded. He sank back on his bench, "a huge stag which had received its death blow."



THE BOROBOEDOER, A BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN MIDDLE JAVA

HOLLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

BY SPENCER BRODNEY

How the far-away Islands of Java, Sumatra and Borneo came into the possession of little Holland, making her rich, and why they are now a burden—Their defense against possible Japanese aggression a problem for the Disarmament Conference

HOLLAND, in these days one of the smallest and least powerful of nations, has retained until the present time a great colonial empire which she won three centuries ago. It is an empire in the far eastern seas—a rich cluster of islands, vast in extent, glowing with the beauty and warmth of tropical luxuriance, varied and abundant in natural resources, already highly productive, and still more bountiful in promise

for the future. Because of these possessions, known as the Dutch East Indies, Holland has been invited by President Harding to take part in the Washington conference on matters affecting the Pacific and Far East.

Although Holland no longer counts as a great naval or military power and cannot hope to measure swords with the dominant nations of today, so intense is her anxiety about her colonies that she is being driven into

organizing a scheme of defense for her East Indian possessions more costly than she can bear. This scheme, it is openly stated in the Netherlands, is to be primarily for protection against Japan. But the Dutch would much rather not have to assume the serious financial burden of a larger and stronger colonial fleet. A settlement of the clashing interests of the great powers with guarantees for the integrity of the Dutch possessions is the end most devoutly wished for by Holland.

The Dutch East Indies are not the only colonies belonging to Holland. She also has Surinam (Dutch Guinea) and Curacao in the West Indies, with a total area of about 50,000 square miles, which is only a fraction of the size of the eastern empire. Being assured by the Monroe Doctrine of their security from the designs of other nations, the Dutch mind is quite at ease about the West Indian possessions.

To appreciate the vast oversea interests of Holland we must turn to that great region of the globe stretching from the southeast of Asia to the northwest and north of Australia, generally designated as the Malay, or Indian, Archipelago. Here are Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea and innumerable other islands, large and small, of which by far the greatest portion comes under the jurisdiction of the Governor General

of the Dutch East Indies. Holland itself has an area of a little over 12,000 square miles, which is about the same as that of Maryland, and a population of 6,000,000, which is only a little more than that of New York City. On the other hand, the territorial extent of the Dutch East Indies is equal to the combined area of Texas, California, Arizona, Nevada and Colorado, with a population about half that of the United States. Approximately the area of the different islands, portions of islands and groups of islands which belong to Holland is as follows:

HOLLAND'S COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

Name of Island.	Square Miles.
Java and Madura	51,000
Sumatra	163,000
Dutch Borneo	214,000
Celebes Islands	73,000
Molucca Islands	44,000
Timor Archipelago	18,000
Dutch New Guinea.....	154,000
Other islands	27,000

Total 744,000

The colonial possessions of other nations in the same regions are: The Philippines, including the Sulu Islands, which belong to the United States, about 128,000 square miles; British East Indies, comprising British North Borneo, the island of Labuan and the protectorates of Brunei and Sarawak, about 31,000 square miles; British New Guinea (Papua) and former German New Guinea, now under Australian administration, 158,000 square miles,



HEAVY LINE ENCLOSES THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, THE ISLAND EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC, RULED FOR CENTURIES BY HOLLAND

and the eastern portion of the island of Timor and the neighboring island of Pulo Cambing, which belong to Portugal, about 6,500 square miles. From this it will be seen that Holland has the lion's share. In the absence of recent census figures, the estimated population of the Dutch possessions may be set down at about 50,000,000.

From the Dutch East Indies come large quantities of a great variety of products—coffee, tea, sugar, rice, sago, palm oil, tobacco, indigo, rubber, petroleum, gold, silver, tin and other metals, and numerous minor commodities, including cinchona and the spices which centuries ago attracted the merchant adventurers of Europe and sowed the seed of bitter commercial rivalries and wars of conquest.

HOLLAND'S ERA OF EXPANSION

To learn by what series of events Holland won her empire in the east we have to turn back to one of the

great dramas of European history, the long struggle against Spain which led to the creation of the Dutch Republic, its attainment of the status of a free and independent nation, and its rise as a mighty commercial and maritime power. But long before that the traders of the Netherlands nursed a bitter grievance against the Spanish and Portuguese Governments. By a bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) in 1502 both the eastern seas and the western ocean were closed to all but Spanish and Portuguese ships. Simply by tracing a line on a map the Pope, in 1493, had bestowed upon Spain the whole of the Americas west of a certain line running through Brazil, and upon Portugal all the new countries east of that line. In the terms of the bull the King of Portugal was constituted "lord of the navigation, conquests and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India."

The Portuguese were the first to explore and establish settlements in



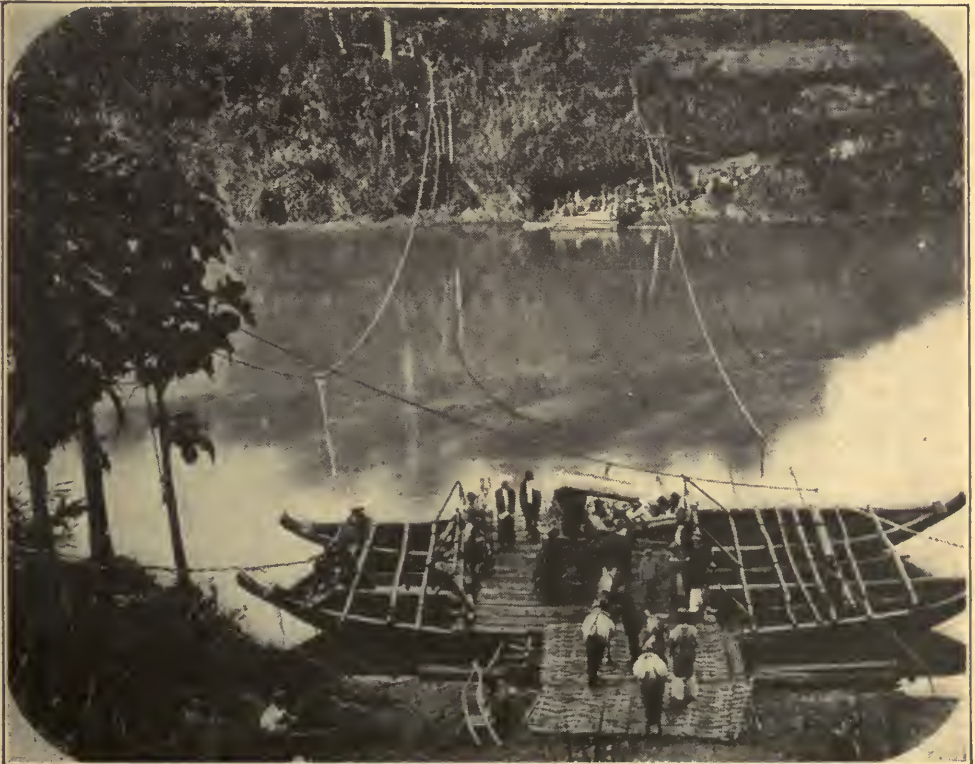
(Netherlands Chamber of Commerce, New York)
HARROWING A RICE FIELD IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

the Indian archipelago and develop the sea-borne trade with the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Until 1580 the Dutch, who had already smashed the sea power of Spain, did not attack the Portuguese, but in that year—it was the year after the Dutch had definitely declared their independence—the King of Spain became also the King of Portugal and succeeded to the Portuguese domain in the East Indies. The Dutch, who had been trying to find a trade route to the Orient by land, now struck out boldly to reach their goal by sea. In this they were helped by the bitter animosity which had grown up between England and Spain and by the total inability of Spain to defend her widely scattered possessions after the loss of the Invincible Armada in 1588.

The Dutch, having established their right to sail the seas formerly

closed to them, began to send expeditions to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The first, under Houtman, left Holland in 1595 and visited Sumatra and Java. Private companies for trade with the East were formed and became so successful that within three years they were already firmly established and drawing on themselves the enmity of English merchants. The main object of the Dutch was to corner the supply of pepper and spices and control the sale at monopoly prices. Out of this rose the fierce rivalry between Holland and England, resulting in wars and the eventual destruction of Dutch sea power, but not, as might have been expected, in the loss of the Dutch East Indian possessions.

The commercial value of pepper and spices in those days is indicated by the fact that the Moluccas were for a long time known as the Spice



(Netherlands Chamber of Commerce, New York)

PRIMITIVE FERRY OVER A MOUNTAIN STREAM IN THE PICTURESQUE ISLAND OF JAVA

Islands. Spices were relatively more important because, as one historian explains, there was not then, as now, the same varied abundance of vegetables. Pepper was the most profitable article of the Eastern trade. When the Dutch merchants created a monopoly in its sale and raised the price from about 70 cents to between \$1.50 and \$2 a pound, the English were up in arms. The merchants of London got together, formed a company to trade directly with the East and had it chartered by Queen Elizabeth. This company, the first of several finally merged in the East India Company, which laid the foundations of the British Indian Empire, started modestly with a capital of \$350,000. The merchants of Holland, not to be outdone, two years later, in 1602, amalgamated their various Eastern trading associations as the Dutch East India Company and boldly commenced operations with a capital of several million dollars. This corporation was more closely identified with the Government than the English company and was chartered by the States General, with vast monopolistic rights and privileges. It soon acquired a large fleet of trading vessels and set to work not only to expel the Portuguese from the East Indies, but also to prevent the English from obtaining a foothold there. The Dutch succeeded almost entirely in both objects. The Portuguese were left with nothing but a few scraps of territory and the English were forced back on the mainland of Asia. During the seventeenth century, the period in which Holland was the greatest maritime power in the world, the Dutch East India Company prospered exceedingly. The record of the dividends it paid shows that it was one of the biggest profiteering concerns in history.

POLICY OF MONOPOLY

The opening of the eighteenth century saw a change in the affairs of the company. Although Dutch control of the East Indies had been ex-

tended and consolidated, the company became involved in financial difficulties. In the strictest sense, the Dutch did not colonize. They had no conception of the modern method of settling people on the land and increasing production or guiding it into more useful channels. The sole aim of the Dutch was trade, and they traded under the mistaken idea that profits were to be made only by monopolies. The English in India and Ceylon were now keen and vigorous competitors, determined to break up the Dutch monopoly in the spice market. The Dutch company was, moreover, burdened with the heavy cost of maintaining armed forces and the expense of administering the colonies. Dishonesty among officials and other evils also affected the financial security of the corporation. In 1783 Great Britain finally



(Colonial Museum, Haarlem)

NATIVE DANCING GIRL IN JAVA



(Netherlands Chamber of Commerce, New York)
A FAMILY HOUSE AND ITS INHABITANTS IN ONE OF THE SMALLER ISLANDS OF THE
DUTCH EAST INDIES

destroyed the sea power of Holland and won the long fight for the freedom of the spice market. As the century drew to its close the affairs of the Dutch East India Company went from bad to worse. In 1794 it ceased to carry on business, and in 1798 was dissolved.

Control of the colonies was assumed by the States General, and several honest and energetic Governors General were sent out to retrieve the situation. The best-remembered of these Viceroys was Daendels, whose administration lasted from 1808 to 1811. He saw that the colonies could not succeed by trade only, but that attention must be given to production and to the many requirements of an undeveloped country. He introduced improvements in agriculture, and, by having 40,000,000 coffee trees planted, founded one of the

most successful of the present industries, Java today being one of the chief coffee-growing countries of the world. Daendels initiated better relations with the natives, gave consideration to education and religion, undertook important public works by a system of forced labor, wiped out corruption among his subordinates, reorganized the administration and strengthened the defenses of the colonies.

Then for a short time the Dutch lost their East Indian possessions. The British seized them and placed Sir Stamford Raffles in charge. Under his administration reforms, particularly in the system of land tenure, were introduced, and the new rulers made themselves liked by the natives. In the European settlement following the downfall of Napoleon the Dutch regained posses-

sion of their own country, and it was decided that their colonies also should be restored to them, but with two important exceptions—Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, which were retained by Great Britain. In 1816 Dutch rule was resumed in the East Indies, but not without considerable friction with the natives, who had learned to prefer their English masters.

Although the prosperity of the colonies has increased during the past century, they have not been a bed of roses for the Dutch Government. After the withdrawal of the British a critical situation began to develop in consequence of a new attempt to make money out of a monopoly. Coffee was now the principal, if not the exclusive, staple product. The Government, needing more revenue, passed a decree that the natives should cultivate coffee under the superintendence of the authorities and hand over 40 per cent. of the crop for disposal in Holland. As the sale of coffee to foreigners was forbidden, the natives were unable to do anything with the remaining 60 per cent. of the crop by legal means. While the Government could maintain its control of the sale of the coffee its profits were enormous. But a contraband traffic sprung up and destroyed the monopoly. Large quantities of coffee were smuggled to China and there bought by competitors, who forced down prices. A deficit in the Government finances had to be met by a loan, and many firms engaged in the East Indian trade went bankrupt. In 1824 the King of Holland tried to end the crisis by taking the lead in the formation of the *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij* (Dutch Trading Society), which subsequently became and remains today one of the leading banking and commercial institutions of the world. But the situation grew worse. The natives of Java, for whom the monopoly which the Government tried to create meant little less than slavery,

broke out into open rebellion. For five years, from 1825 to 1830, the Dutch were unable to restore order. At last matters became so serious that the Government of Holland was almost about to abandon the island.

INTRODUCING MODERN METHODS

At this critical moment the famous Van Den Bosch came on the scene as Governor General of the colonies. Commencing his administration in 1830, he pacified the natives and began to establish the system known by his name. A vast improvement, it nevertheless retained some of the vices of the previous regime and of the Dutch East India Company. Instead of letting Java depend solely upon coffee growing, he decreed that the natives should devote one-fifth of their land to the raising of different crops for which there were good markets in Europe, such as rice, sugar, tobacco, spices, indigo and tea. Dutch rule was substituted for that of the chiefs, and relations with the natives were placed upon a better basis. One of the bad features of the Van Den Bosch regime was the introduction of forced labor. The natives were compelled to give one in every five of their working days to the State. However, agriculture flourished and the output of coffee and sugar was doubled in a few years and excellent results obtained in the production of tea, tobacco and other commodities. Trade and shipping increased and the population multiplied. Many foreigners, especially Chinese, were attracted to the Dutch East Indies. In 1838 the large island of Sumatra was added to the existing possessions. The Van Den Bosch system remained in operation till 1850, when it was found necessary to introduce various modifications. Since then the chief tendency in the policy of the colonies has been to grant increased scope and opportunity to private enterprise, and the Government has withdrawn from several industries which it formerly carried on for revenue purposes.

The Dutch for the most part have been successful in their handling of the natives, who today are said to be so contented with their rulers that they would not transfer their allegiance to any other nation. But there is one black page in the record. For thirty years from 1873 the Achinese in the northern extremity of Sumatra resisted the Dutch authority, and there was almost constant fighting and skirmishing. Again, from 1902 to 1909 the Achinese were in rebellion. Between 1905 and 1907 there was also fighting in Borneo and the Celebes. It has been alleged that the Dutch waged war with barbarous cruelty and did not spare the non-combatant population. During the fighting in Achin in 1904 a thousand women and children were killed by the Dutch troops. When the matter was debated in the States General, the Colonial Minister, on behalf of the Government, said that he deplored the death of so many women and children, but, he added, the Dutch army had no alternative to making war to the bitter end. Some of the members of the States General urged that if such barbarity were necessary, it would be better to get rid of the colonies. Another argument put forward was that in any case it would be wise to sell the East Indies before the great powers seized them. As the result of these and later discussions, reforms were effected and peace restored. Forced labor, for example, was abolished in 1914.

The natives belong to the Malay-Polynesian and Papuan races. In the less developed portions of the islands they are nearer to the ways of primitive savagery. But the troubles with which the Dutch have had to contend have not been due to lack of civilization among the natives so much as to the fact that native rulers claimed the control of trade, mines, oilfields and other sources of wealth in their respective territories. There are still many local Sultans and chiefs who in theory are not subject to the Dutch Government, the rights of the

latter being established by treaties and declarations, some of which were made over a century ago. With the increasing wisdom of experience the Dutch have in the last few years begun to harmonize the necessities of economic development with the principle that due regard should be paid to the rights and interests of the native population. The bureaucratic and centralized character of the administration is now being modified by the policy known as "the emancipation of native government."

GOVERNING THE ISLANDS

The scheme of government of the Dutch East Indies is this: The Parliament (States General) of Holland is the supreme legislative authority. The home Government has power to make regulations in the form of royal decrees and has a body known as the Council of the Dutch East Indies to advise it both as to new legislation and executive acts. The colonies are actually administered in the name of the monarch by a Governor General, who has his headquarters in Java. He has both legislative and executive powers, but subject to the acts of the States General and the regulations and instructions of the home Government, and he carries on his administration in consultation with the heads of the different departments, who form a kind of cabinet.

At the end of 1916 the States General for the first time introduced an element of democracy into the Colonial Government by passing an act to create a representative body called the People's Council (Volksraad). The Council consists of 39 members. The Chairman is appointed by the Crown; 19 members—5 natives and 14 Europeans and foreign Orientals—are nominated by the Governor General after consulting the Council of the Dutch East Indies; and the remaining 19 members—10 natives and 9 Europeans and foreign Orientals—are elected by members of local councils. The Governor Gen-

eral is compelled to consult the People's Council on the budget, the raising of loans, proposed ordinances to impose military duties on the inhabitants and other matters prescribed by the home Government. He may, if he so desires, consult the Council on any other subject. The Council, which assembled for the first time in May, 1918, is, of course, a long way from being a real organ of democracy, but is very much like similar bodies which in the British colonies were the embryo of complete self-government.

For administrative purposes the colonies are divided into two sections: Java, with Madura (a neighboring island), and the Outlying Possessions. Java is the most highly developed of all the islands and has about 37,000,000 of the 50,000,000 population in the Dutch East Indies. Here the Government has direct control and has also gone furthest in carrying out its policy of decentralization. In the Outlying Possessions the variations in the forms of administration are greater, according to the extent to which the territories have been explored and brought under control. There are still regions which have not been completely penetrated and the natives of which know no authority but that of their own chiefs. In other parts of the islands the native rulers have full power under treaties or agreements. Where a native chief remains ruler the Government is represented by a resident. In the directly controlled divisions the native officials of the highest grade exercise considerable authority. They are known as regents. Subject to having the necessary qualifications, the position of regent is hereditary. He is the head of the native population and adviser to the Dutch official in charge of the division, or regency. There are various other grades of native officials, whom the Dutch take care to fit for their duties by instruction in special training schools and the Civil Service College in Batavia, the capital. Local government has been initiated by the establishment of pro-

vincial councils in Java and district and town councils in both Java and the Outlying Possessions.

No account of the population of the Dutch East Indies would be complete without a reference to the foreign Orientals, who now number about 900,000. They are principally Chinese and Arabs, with the former the larger and more important element. The Chinese are mainly occupied as merchants, storekeepers and cultivators, and have many large business interests and valuable estates. Chinese coolies are employed in growing tobacco and rubber and in the tin mines. The Arabs came with the opening of the Suez Canal and are mostly small dealers or coastal seamen. So that the Government may cope with the foreign Orientals more easily, official advisers and intermediaries are appointed to co-operate with the Dutch administrators and given the rank of Chinese Majors, Captains and Lieutenants. As stated, the foreign Orientals have the right to be represented on the People's Council.

ISLANDS NO LONGER PROFITABLE.

The immense fertility of the soil, the ideal tropical climate, the variety of agricultural production, and the valuable mines and oilfields make the Dutch East Indies a possession worth keeping and, if need be, fighting for. Dutch enterprise has for three centuries benefited enormously from the island empire. But to the Dutch Government during the greater part of the last half century the colonial administration has been a financial burden. At one time the sale of the products of Government industry yielded a handsome surplus over the expenses of administration, but the withdrawal of the Government from business, the cost of native wars, and the necessity of carrying out public works and introducing reforms have converted a profit into a loss, which has to be made good by the taxpayer. The Dutch have done splendid work in improving ports and harbors, building docks, deepening rivers,

constructing roads and bridges, erecting public buildings, making cities sanitary, caring for the health of the natives, extending education and generally raising the standard of civilization. All this has meant vast outlays of money, and, if steps have to be taken to defend the colonies against the designs of more powerful nations, the financial drain must become much more severe.

The possibility of any aggression that might deprive them of their possessions has had a profound influence upon the Dutch. They have learned that their best way of dealing with the natives is to make them contented and loyal. By maintaining an open door policy to all and inviting the co-operation of foreign capital, industry and science, other nations have been conciliated. Throughout the world the Dutch have endeavored to influence public opinion in favor of disarmament. But at the same

time, if peaceful methods should be of no avail, Holland is determined, if she can, to hold her colonies by armed force, and for that purpose has devoted much attention to naval defense. In 1913 the Commission on the Defense of the Dutch East Indies declared it necessary to build a fleet to protect the colonies and proposed the following program: 9 dreadnoughts, 6 torpedo destroyers, 8 destroyers, 44 torpedo boats and 22 submarines. The creation of the new navy was already under way when the World War broke out. At the time when the Disarmament Conference was called, Holland was planning still further to strengthen this fleet because of fear of Japan. Thus, though the Dutch delegates to the conference are not expected to take an active part in deciding the question of reduced armaments, they are as deeply interested in it as the larger powers.

GERMAN MISSIONARIES IN BRITISH COLONIES

LEGISLATION has been passed by all the British overseas colonies and protectorates prohibiting the entrance of any former enemy alien for a period of three years following the conclusion of the war. The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches has recently made an attempt to secure the raising of this ban in favor of German missionaries. A letter sent by the executive of this organization to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies toward the end of July elicited from the Secretary a reply in which he made the following statement:

As regards ex-enemy missionaries, I am to state that experience during the war showed that certain foreign societies and individuals were unable to prevent their national instincts from influencing their conduct to a degree incompatible with the due exercise of their proper functions, and prejudicial to the security of the territories in which they were working.

Consequently, apart from the restrictions applying to former enemy aliens generally, it is considered that missionaries of alien nationality cannot be permitted to carry on work in the colonies and protectorates without adequate guarantees that they will confine themselves to their proper functions, and abstain from any activities calculated to interfere with harmonious relations between the native races and the constituted authorities.

An exception, however, the Secretary added, would be made in the case of "individual German missionaries of unimpeachable antecedents * * * subject to their being under the control of a British, allied or associated subject in the colony, and to their being vouched for by a responsible British ecclesiastical authority." In view of the exceptional circumstances still prevailing in the mandated territories, said the Secretary, a considerable degree of supervision would be necessary for some time to come.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES

BY J. ELLIS BARKER

Remarkable changes that have reversed the standing of the two nations in financial and industrial strength—England's proposal of the Monroe Doctrine, and her support of it throughout the century of its existence—Necessity that the two great English-speaking nations should stand together

THE relations between England and the United States have greatly changed, not so much owing to the war as owing to the natural progress of events. In the past England was far ahead of the United States in population, in wealth and in economic power. The great struggle of 1914-18 has not caused, but has merely accentuated, the vast predominance of the Republic in numbers and in economic strength. The gradual change which has taken place between the two States may summarily be expressed as follows:

Population of United Kingdom.	Population of U. S., Excluding Alaska and Pos'sns.
1821.....21,272,187	1820..... 9,638,453
1831.....24,392,485	1830.....12,860,702
1841.....27,036,450	1840.....17,036,353
1851.....27,724,056	1850.....23,191,876
1861.....29,321,288	1860.....31,443,321
1871.....31,845,379	1870.....38,558,371
1881.....35,241,482	1880.....50,155,783
1891.....38,104,975	1890.....62,947,714
1901.....41,976,827	1900.....75,994,575
1911.....45,216,665	1910.....91,972,266
1921.....42,767,530	1920.....105,683,108

*Ireland's population is omitted from this figure, as no census was taken in Ireland in 1921.

In 1820-21 the population of the United Kingdom was more than twice as large as that of the United States. In 1860-61, before the Civil War, the population of the two countries was approximately equal, but England was far wealthier than the United States because the American indus-

tries were in their infancy, while England was, in the words of Cobden, "the workshop of the world." In 1910-11 the United States had more than twice as many inhabitants as the United Kingdom. Within ninety years the relative importance of the two countries had been completely reversed.

In the middle of the last century England dominated the world with her industries and commerce. At that time she produced two-thirds of the world's coal and two-thirds of the world's iron and steel. She turned two-thirds of the world's cotton into manufactured goods and owned two-thirds of the world's shipping. She financed all the powers, and English engineers built with English money railways and factories without number all over the five continents. The United States was an agricultural nation, which seemingly was destined always to be dependent upon English finance and industry. Steam was conquering the world. Coal was the basis of industry and of wealth, and it was believed that England would always predominate in industry and commerce, because nature had endowed that country with a superabundance of cheap coal. English experts expressed the opinion that the United States could never become an important industrial country, because the American coal fields were sepa-

rated by vast distances from the sea border. Besides, while in England coal and iron occurred close together, these two minerals were separated in the United States by a thousand miles.

American energy and ingenuity have overcome these hampering factors. According to present geological knowledge, the United States has more than twenty times as much coal as the United Kingdom, and America's superiority over England in water power, in oil, in minerals of every kind, and in raw products required in industry, is absolutely overwhelming. America's population and wealth have increased principally in the towns, owing to the extraordinary development which trade and industry have taken. According to conservative estimates, the United States may have 250,000,000 inhabitants in the year 2000 and 500,000,000 inhabitants in the year 2100. Apparently the United States is destined to eclipse completely the small islands in the North Sea.

England's inferiority to the United States is due not only to the smallness of the area of the United Kingdom and to the scantiness of its resources, but also to the fact that industrial efficiency is far greater in the United States than in England. Analytical comparison tends to show that production per worker is three times as great in the United States as in the United Kingdom. From the industrial point of view England has not 45,000,000 inhabitants, but only 15,000,000 inhabitants. However, this artificial difference may be overcome by the Americanizing of the British industries, which is inevitable, unless England is willing to sink to the rank of a third-rate power.

It has often happened in the history of the world that mighty empires have declined and decayed because their territorial basis was too small. All the great sea empires of the world, from Phoenicia and Athens to Venice and Holland, have grown great and powerful because the nar-

rowness of their territories compelled the inhabitants to seek a living overseas and caused them to become great seafarers and colonizers. The few square miles of Sidon, Tyre, Athens, Venice, Holland and other States became, through the pressure of circumstances, the centres of far-flung sea empires, and the greatness of each of these was destroyed because the strength of the motherland was not sufficiently great to defend her vast possessions. Will England have a similar fate? Before considering this question, let us take note of the changed relations between the United Kingdom and the United States.

GROWTH OF FRIENDSHIP

For decades the bitterness caused by the war between England and the American Colonies rankled on both sides of the Atlantic. Americans saw in England a tyrannic power which had desired to enslave them. Englishmen, on the other hand, looking at the matter from the English point of view, brooded on the wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of men of their own race. However, in the course of years the old grievances and hatreds became less exasperating to the thoughtful on both sides. Americans learned to appreciate England, and Englishmen began to understand the mistakes which their forefathers had made in dealing with the American Colonists. The two nations began to draw together once more. Intermarriages became more and more frequent. Eminent Englishmen were received with open arms in America, and eminent Americans were warmly welcomed in England. Abraham Lincoln is probably as much venerated in the one country as in the other, and the Fathers of the Republic are no longer considered as rebels by intelligent Englishmen. Washington and Franklin, Hamilton and Jefferson have become heroes in the eyes of all men who speak the English language.

Had England been animated by strong anti-American feelings she

might have inflicted serious damage upon the United States. However, England has pursued in the past not so much a policy of interest as a sentimental policy. She has seen in the United States a rising power of her own blood, and the maternal instinct has prompted her to defend the young Republic against those who wished to destroy it. After the Napoleonic wars reaction swept over Europe. The powers wished to subdue the Spanish colonies in America which had revolted against the motherland. Their intentions were foiled by the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine.

It is not generally realized that England is largely responsible for the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. It is true that English and American historians do not agree as to whether England or America was chiefly responsible for its proclamation. It is, however, a fact that Mr. Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, after revealing to Richard Rush, the United States Minister to Great Britain, the intentions of the Continental Powers, urged on him in a letter dated Aug. 20, 1823, the formulation of an American policy of resistance to European encroachment on the American Continent, and intimated that Great Britain would be ready to join with the United States in a common declaration to that effect. This offer becomes remarkable when one reflects that the War of 1812 was still fresh in the memory of all Englishmen. The proposal was communicated by Mr. Adams, the American Secretary of State, to Mr. Monroe, the President of the American Republic. Monroe wisely consulted Jefferson and Madison, his predecessors in office, and they approved the idea; finally, on Dec. 2, 1823, President Monroe published his annual message, in which the now famous Monroe Doctrine was clearly and decisively formulated.

In the United States, however, the fact that England played such an important part in formulating and de-

claring the Doctrine is scarcely ever mentioned. Nor is it generally realized that Great Britain has consistently defended it by placing her fleet between the military powers of Europe and the United States, and that Great Britain is, and always has been, as strongly opposed to colonization of the New World by any of the great military powers of Europe as is the United States itself. What one ought, in justice, to call the Canning-Monroe Doctrine is also a leading principle of British Foreign policy. It is an Anglo-American Doctrine.

Great Britain showed her protective feeling for this Doctrine on repeated occasions. She withdrew from the Mexican adventure of Napoleon III. as soon as she recognized Napoleon's aim, and refused Napoleon's proposals of pressing on the States of the North and of the South an armistice which would have led to the perpetual division of the American Republic. During the Spanish-American War Great Britain supported the United States against Germany before Manila, and she refused to support or to countenance European intervention. Though in 1902 she was induced by Germany to join the blockade of the ports of Venezuela undertaken for alleged flagrant wrongs done to German citizens, she withdrew her participation as soon as she saw Germany's hidden aims. All suggestions made by the Germans relative to the establishment of a Greater Germany in Brazil and other South American countries met with an unconditional refusal on the part of England, though political considerations would have made this possibility of embroiling Germany with the United States exceedingly profitable to Great Britain. So reads the historical and diplomatic record, and always it shows Great Britain in the role of the protector of the Monroe Doctrine.

Her motive in this has been one of sentiment, based upon the principle of racial solidarity. This principle has led her also as a builder of empire.

She has constantly striven to enlarge her dominions, not in order to exploit them—it is very doubtful, indeed, whether on balance her possessions yield a profit to the motherland—but in the instinctive desire of reserving the vast and fruitful territories of the New World to the Anglo-Saxon race. Therefore she views not with jealousy, but with approval, America's prosperity and America's expansion. She has had many opportunities to expose the United States to the greatest dangers, without any risk to herself, by merely allowing the European powers to attack them; but she has steadfastly resisted their temptations to countenance European aggression.

THE LOGIC OF ALLIANCE

During many years previous to the war many people in England, among them the writer of these pages, urged the conclusion of an Anglo-American alliance, or even an Anglo-American reunion, on the plea that British civilization and American civilization are so closely akin as to be practically identical; that England and the United States combined should jointly face the danger of a German attack which threatened democracy in both countries, and that the best guarantee for the preservation of peace throughout the world lay in the cordial co-operation of these two States, which would be irresistible if they were united by one purpose. Had there been such an alliance or such a union, the great war would never have occurred.

Germany has been defeated and disarmed, and the short-sighted have proclaimed that militarism is dead, that an Anglo-Saxon union in some form or other is henceforth unnecessary. That idea has contributed to some extent to the slight estrangement which followed the period of stress when England and America fought shoulder to shoulder. The States of the British Empire and the United States are the only countries in the world where democracy is firmly established and where it has been a success. Whether the other

nations of the world which have introduced the democratic form of government will succeed in retaining it seems doubtful. Powerful monarchies with aggressive designs may arise once more in Europe and threaten the peace of the Anglo-Saxon nations. Other dangers also may be impending. It is not written in the book of fate that the white races were created to dominate the earth, or that Providence intended the Anglo-Saxon nations to own nearly all the most desirable portions of the world. The greatest wars of all times have been caused by the economic factor. Nations have always fought for territory; land means bread, means wealth. There is great danger in the fact that the most numerous and the most industrious races of the world are cooped up within narrow bounds and are subject to poverty and periodical famines, while the Anglo-Saxon race possesses boundless thinly populated lands from which it rigidly excludes the teeming millions of the East. How thinly the United States and the British Empire are peopled may be seen at a glance by the following table:

Nation.	Year.	Population.	Sq. Mile.
United Kingdom.....	1911	45,216,665	372.6
Japan .....	..	49,582,505	335.8
Germany	1910	64,925,993	331.0
Italy	1911	34,687,000	313.5
China proper.....	..	407,253,020	266.0
Austria	1910	28,571,934	246.7
France	1911	39,601,509	191.2
Hungary	1910	20,886,487	166.6
Russia in Europe.....	1897	105,413,775	55.2
British Empire.....	1911	417,148,000	36.8
United States and possessions	1910	101,840,367	13.7

The British Empire and the United States have room for hundreds of millions of people. Therefore it is only natural that the European States, which have a population of 200 or 300 people and more per square mile, look with longing and envy to the vast, fruitful, highly mineralized and thinly populated territories, situated in a temperate zone, which are owned and controlled by the Anglo-Saxon nations, and their resentment is increased by the fact that these

hold in addition all the most important strategical points which command the approaches to their world-wide possessions.

The continent of America lies midway between overpopulated Europe and overpopulated Asia. How thinly some of the most desirable parts of the United States are populated is seen by comparing California or Oregon with some of the provinces of China or with Japan, or by comparing Texas with France or Germany. California is larger than Japan, and Texas is considerably larger than was the German Empire in 1914. There is probably little danger of a war occurring between Japan and the United States. It is absolutely inconceivable that England should support Japan in such a war. However, there is a great danger that China may follow Japan's footsteps. That country would be far more dangerous than Japan, because the Chinese are abler men than the Japanese, are far more numerous, and possess infinitely greater natural resources. At present it would seem fantastic to expect Asia to challenge the white race. However, more fantastic things have happened in the past. When Julius Caesar landed among the savages of England, he would have laughed aloud if a seer had told him that the Roman Empire would be destroyed by the barbarians, that the Roman language would disappear, and that the savages of Britain, who were dressed in skins and who painted their bodies with woad, would conquer and rule and civilize the world and direct empires infinitely greater than that controlled by Imperial Rome. The great French statesman, Sully, wrote less than three hundred years ago that France was, and always would remain, the dominant power in Europe because she was the foremost State in the world by the number of her inhabitants. Less than a century ago the eminent Austrian Field Marshal, von Radetzki, foretold that Russia was bound to dominate the world because of the rapid and continuous increase

of the population and the conquering policy of the Czars.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

In the beginning of this article it was pointed out that the continuation of America's expansion in population and in wealth might cause England to sink to the position of a second or a third rate power, especially if her industries should continue stagnating owing to insufficient production per worker. For decades England has followed an individualist policy. English statesmen did not try to develop planfully the vast territories of the empire. Millions of emigrants, who might have been diverted toward Canada, Australia, &c., at very little expense, went to the United States. Had they been directed to the British possessions, and had these been developed with energy, the British Empire might now contain a larger number of white people than the United States, and might possess that pre-eminence in industrial power, productivity and wealth which is now possessed by the Republic.

The World War has awakened England and has shown even to the most determined individualist the extraordinary value of the British possessions and the necessity of peopling and developing the vast empty lands of the empire as rapidly as possible. Thoughtful Englishmen, bearing in mind the fate which has overtaken all the great sea empires of the past, have recognized the necessity of broadening the basis of the empire, of creating a great empire partnership, which is to unite not only the 60,000,000 white, but the other nationalities as well. India is rapidly becoming a self-governing unit, a dominion like Canada and Australia. At present England is the centre of gravity. However, the time may come when Canada or Australia will become the more important partner, owing to superior numbers and superior wealth. It is not inconceivable that the capital of the British Empire will some day be shifted from London

to Ottawa or Montreal, or to Sydney or Melbourne, exactly as the capital of the Phœnician Empire was transferred to Carthage. In the organization of the empire the success of the United States in binding together numerous self-governing communities should serve as a model.

If we glance at the figures given at the beginning of this article it will be clear that before long the United States will completely overshadow England in power and wealth. However, a greater England is arising, and in the future the progress of the British Empire may be faster than that of the United States. The area of the empire is four times as large as that of the Republic, and its natural resources are great and varied. It is not known how great they are, because no scientific inventory has as yet been taken. Emigrants have peopled the United States. The Republic may no longer prove as attractive to those who wish to leave the overpopulated countries of the Old World as it has been in the past. In a few decades Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa may become real great powers. New Zealand alone is almost as large as the United Kingdom.

THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE

All thinking Englishmen see in close relations between Great and Greater Britain and the United States the hope of the future. A few months ago Lord Charnwood, the author of an excellent life of Abraham Lincoln, which is written with love and understanding for that great man and statesman, wrote to me a letter on the future of Anglo-American relations, in which he expressed views thoroughly representative of those held by the majority of thinking people in England. In this letter he said:

Let us not speak of an Anglo-American alliance or Anglo-American friendship of an exclusive sort. These are inaccurate expressions, and the true conception is that of full and frank understanding (in the literal sense) and a friendship which is by no means exclusive, and which does not postu-

late invariable agreement. Unfortunately, inaccurate expression in this matter does a great deal of harm which English people find it hard to understand, for it suggests to Americans a design on our part to make them serve some private ends of our own, though the private ends are largely, and the design is wholly, imaginary. Let us also not imagine that the League of Nations is necessarily the mechanism through which we are to reach understanding with America. I am a believer in the League of Nations, but in several directions it presents possibilities of entanglement to the United States which it would take a long time to explain to English people, but which Americans are apt to feel instinctively and perhaps excessively.

There are two more definite causes of misunderstanding which now need straightening out, even at the cost of what may be called propagandism. I will say little now of Ireland. There are more Irish in the United States than in Ireland, and these care much, and ought to care much, about Ireland; but most Americans can see that we have here an intensely difficult problem (as difficult as some of their own) which mainly concerns ourselves. This only must be said—that any Irishmen in America who approach the question with a primary desire to hurt the British Empire may succeed in that, but cannot possibly succeed in benefiting Ireland. But I suspect there is still more need of clearing up misunderstanding about the Pacific. We here do not yet realize that there are causes of danger and strife around the Pacific at all. Much less do most of us grasp the double fact that Americans generally still feel remote from the world problems which interest us, but are getting keenly interested in a world problem which has hardly yet dawned upon us and is at present connected chiefly with Japan.

Few people in our country realize keenly what Australians and New Zealanders feel, and rightly feel, about color problems (they all sympathize with them entirely when they do). Few of us, again, have the least idea that anything recently happened in regard to Shantung which Americans criticise and for which they criticise us. None of us has the least idea what the real policy of America in regard to Japan may be. On the other hand, we have some interests in common with Japan, and it is fresh in our memory that Japan did the Allies' cause, including that of America, great and indispensable service during the war. The resulting problem is, of course, difficult, and perhaps there is considerable excuse for the marvelous misunderstandings in regard to our attitude which seem to abound in America. Two things, however, are quite certain, and it is surely not demanding too much of American common sense to ask that they should be realized.

In the first place we shall not stand by and see our kinsmen in the Dominions in peril from Japan. In the second place, nothing whatever could move the people of the United Kingdom to fight America on behalf of Japan. Anybody who, after thinking it over for a moment, denied this would be a liar.

There have been misunderstandings between England and the United States about oil in Mesopotamia and about other questions which comparatively are trifling and which can easily be adjusted with a little good-

will on both sides. From the English point of view the principal thing is that a cordial understanding with the United States should assure the co-operation of the two great English-speaking States, their standing together for the defense of the ideals and the institutions and the interests which they have in common. Their harmony and union will give peace to the world. Their disagreement and strife would fill the world with unhappiness and war.

CANADA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY JOHN R. BONE
Of The Toronto Star

The Dominion's rapid strides toward autonomy since the war, as seen at the Imperial Conference in London and in the demand for a Canadian Ambassador at Washington—An analysis of the change and of its significance

AN organization known as the Round Table was formed in 1910 for the purpose of studying the relations of the various parts of the British Empire and the nature of the future citizenship of British subjects. Prominent in the group of organizers were Lionel Curtis, who had been with Lord Milner in South Africa; Philip Kerr, who acted as editor of the Round Table Quarterly and later became Lloyd George's secretary and political editor of The London Daily Chronicle, and R. H. Brand, banker, author, publicist, and now a financial adviser of the British Government. Lord Milner himself was understood to be keenly interested. The Round Table did not seek large numbers or notoriety. It consisted of university young men and others interested in public affairs, and was or-

ganized in groups of eight or ten each. A group was described as a "segment" of the Round Table and held regular meetings in private houses. The headquarters of the society were in London, but the segments existed chiefly, if not exclusively, in the outlying Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Though the organization was formed for inquiry, not for propaganda, and though all gradations of political thought were represented in it, the idea predominant in the mind of the chief promoters was an Imperial Federation of the Empire. The British Empire, they said, had to be reorganized. As it existed it was a conglomeration of States of varying status, whose relations were full of intolerable anomalies and anachronisms. There were only two possible

alternatives: either an organic union bringing the whole empire into a single homogeneous State, or disintegration and collapse, with each Dominion pursuing its own independent course. There could be no middle, muddling course. It followed that the only way to preserve the empire was to organize a new governing body—a new Parliament in which the United Kingdom and the other self-governing nations would be given representation, generally according to population. The Parliament would deal with foreign relations, defense, decisions as to peace and war, and the administration of dependencies not ready for self-government. It would have power to levy and collect taxes. If a world crisis came before this organic union could be put into operation, its exponents feared the worst. The empire would fall to pieces like a house of cards.

The world crisis came in 1914, when the Round Table was at the top of its activities and influence. But it was the Round Table that disintegrated and collapsed—originally because most of its members went to fight—and it has not yet been revived. The British Empire gave a demonstration of cohesiveness and solidarity that amazed the world. There were those who argued that it was its very looseness of organization that gave it its vitality and moral vigor. Canada, for example, after enlisting an army of almost half a million men voluntarily, adopted a Conscription act and asked its people for a fresh war loan of half a billion dollars. What, it was asked, would have been the result if such sacrifices had been demanded not by a Canadian Parliament but by an Imperial Parliament 3,000 miles away? It is probably not putting it inaccurately to say that since 1914 imperial federation, meaning thereby an Imperial Government responsible to an Imperial Parliament with jurisdiction as to taxation covering the whole empire, has been dead. Leading statesmen both of the Dominion and of the

United Kingdom have so affirmed without contradiction.

MOVEMENT TOWARD AUTONOMY

With the retirement of the Round Table Imperialists—Centralists they were often called to distinguish them from many other varieties of imperialists—the pendulum swung sharply to the other side, that is, toward the side of the autonomists, or advocates of the preservation and extension of local self-government. The Round Table discussions had been earnest, keenly analytical and far-seeing, and their influence stopped neither at the circumferences of the segments nor with the collapse of the organization.

A clinching argument used by the centralizers was that under present conditions British residents in the dominions enjoyed a citizenship markedly inferior to that enjoyed by residents of the United Kingdom, and that if only to attain self-respect there must be "equality of status." Many of the dominions' disabilities were theoretical or minor, such as the theoretical power of the Imperial Parliament to veto legislation passed by a Dominion Parliament, or the fact that judicial appeals from the dominions may, in certain instances, be carried to an imperial court. But one disability that was neither theoretical nor unimportant was the status of the dominions in their foreign relations. The dominions had acquired a certain standing in the negotiation of treaties bearing on commercial subjects. On political affairs, however, the only voice authorized to speak for any portion of the British Empire, or of which foreign States could take cognizance, was the British Foreign Office. And as the dominions had no control over the British Foreign Office and no effective machinery by which they could bring home to it their influence, it was evident there was here a real inferiority.

In the piping days of pre-war peace this did not matter greatly, or at least

did not seem to matter. But when the world tragedy broke it was brought home to the dominions that they had been engulfed in a catastrophe in the approach to which they had been of necessity ignored. In all the diplomacy preceding the war, in all the decisions as to foreign policy leading up to the final cataclysm, they had had absolutely no voice. It was not that they complained against pre-war British diplomacy. It was rather that they realized that had British foreign policy been wrong instead of right they had not been in a position to influence it in a correcting direction; that, indeed, of the very nature of the decisions which affected their destiny no less than it affected the destiny of the United Kingdom they had been in many cases in actual ignorance.

The Round Table Imperialists had demonstrated the theoretical inferiority of dominion citizenship. War gave the practical demonstration when 50,000 Canadians were laid under the sod in France and Belgium in a war into which Canada was plunged without even a formal declaration on the part of her Parliament. Here, it was felt, was a situation that needed adjustment.

And so it came about that "equality of status," which had been used by the centralizers as a flaming torch to arouse enthusiasm in favor of an Imperial Parliament, was snatched by other hands for use in quite a different cause. Not through more centralization, but through more autonomy, did the adapters of the phrase assert that "equality of status" might be achieved.

Even a casual observer of Canadian public affairs cannot fail to be struck with the strength of the tide toward more complete autonomy during the last five years. Self-government is, of course, an old story in Canada. In its modern form it dates from Lord Durham's report following the Mackenzie rebellion of 1837, and when, thirty years later, confederation was set up with an exceedingly

liberal Constitution, it may well have seemed that the last word in colonial independence within an imperial organization had been spoken. In legislation the Canadian Parliament's jurisdiction has not been challenged. No act passed by it has been vetoed. Not only does Canada pay no taxes to the motherland, but she actually imposes taxes on British goods when imported.

DAWN OF A NEW ERA

Domestic administration passed completely to the control of the local Government, and when the last detachment of imperial troops was recalled, Canada saw the departure of the last official—outside the Governor General's house—clothed with imperial authority in Canada. In the judiciary a link with the motherland remained, but this seemed a minor matter when almost everything else in the way of independent self-government had been conceded. But growth in population, wealth and national consciousness, the propaganda of the Round Table and the great war ushered in the new era in imperial relations which is now developing. Years ago the self-governing outlying portions of the empire ceased to be known as colonies; they became dominions. But the new responsibilities imposed by the world conflagration, the searching glare spread by that event, and the more acute mental vision of the times revealed the fact that remnants of the old colonialism remained.

Titles were among the first relics of the past to come under fire; first the method of conferring them, and then the titles themselves. By Parliamentary wish, titles are no longer conferred in Canada. Thus a deliberate limitation has been placed upon the prerogative of the King in Canada. It is probably an unprecedented limitation, for a monarch who cannot honor his subjects in any way he sees fit must be unique. But the Canadian protest contained no element of

criticism of his Majesty. It was directed against the setting up in Canada of Old World class distinctions, particularly when it seemed that sometimes the selections might be made by persons not responsible to the electors of Canada.

Later there came an agitation, still continuing, to provide that the Governor General, the representative of the King in Canada, should be appointed, not on the recommendation of the British Government, but on that of the Canadian Government, and that if possible he should be a Canadian. For this proposal there is no official backing. Another agitation, supported by the Attorney General for Ontario, though opposed by large numbers of the legal profession, seeks to put an end to appeals from Canadian courts to the Privy Council.

In another category has been the official conduct and attitude of representatives of the Canadian Government. They have acted, no doubt, under stress of personal conviction, and also under pressure of the logic of events. First came the historic controversy, not yet fully revealed, between Sir Sam Hughes, Canada's Minister of Militia, and the British War Office as to jurisdiction over Canada's army in France. In the same period the Canadian Government requested emancipation from the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. Hitherto the channel of communication between the Dominion and the British Government had been the Colonial Office. In theory the whole Government of the Dominion was a subdepartment of a secondary imperial department. It was requested that this indignity, even if only a theoretical one, should be removed, and that the Dominion Government communicate with the British Government as equal to equal.

In the Imperial War Cabinet, which came into being as a piece of emergency war machinery, the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, took his place, not as a

subordinate, but as an equal. And about this time his speeches began to contain frequent references to the "full nationhood" of the dominions, "equality of status," an equal voice in the decisions of peace and war and similar phrases. The culmination was reached when dominion delegates took their place in the Peace Conference, when they became signatories to the Treaty of Versailles and were admitted to independent membership in the League of Nations.

CONTROL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Having established a new status with the Colonial Office, the dominions now find that, in view of their broadened world outlook and interests, their relations with another department of the British Government require adjustment. That department is the Foreign Office. At present the current toward autonomy is lapping at the base of that Rock of Gibraltar. The protest of the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, against renewal of the Japanese treaty is an official intimation that Canada, in foreign affairs, is now thinking for herself and no longer accepts without question the decisions on foreign relations made by the British Foreign Office. So also is the decision of the Canadian Parliament to appoint a Canadian Ambassador at Washington.

It will be obvious that these are acts of far-reaching importance. The Round Table exponents of an Imperial Parliament used to insist that when the dominions began deciding for themselves the issues of peace and war, and appointing representatives at foreign capitals, the empire would be on the eve of disintegration. The Japanese treaty is a war treaty, and Washington is certainly a foreign capital. Are these steps, then, the first steps toward separation? Is the strong tide toward increased autonomy really a movement toward independence? Ob-

servers in foreign countries who have not lived under British institutions, who do not understand the elasticity of the British Constitution, and who do not appreciate the natural British instincts of the peoples living in the British dominion might be deceived into so thinking. When European delegates saw the dominions apply for membership in the League of Nations they thought crafty Albion was trying to increase her voting power; when later they saw those same dominion delegates declare unyielding opposition to the United Kingdom delegates on important issues they thought the British Empire was crumbling before their eyes. Both deductions were hasty.

There are also Canadian critics who view the autonomist movement with alarm. Sir Gilbert Parker, the novelist, for example, is alarmed at the assaults on the method of appointing the Governor General. If that prerogative is taken from the British Government, he has said in an interview, nothing can hold the empire together. Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, editor of the *Canadian Annual Review*, also sees in the present movement a trend toward independence.

AUTONOMISTS ARE NOT SEPARATISTS

No such admission is made by the exponents of the new autonomy, and the personnel of the chief exponents seems to rob the allegation of force. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier at a pre-war imperial conference opposed a scheme of imperial federation advanced by Sir Joseph Ward of New Zealand, he was accused of separatist tendencies, and a long-forgotten speech was resurrected to support the charge. But Sir Robert Borden, leader of Canadian Conservatives for twenty years, has been known all his life as an imperialist. So has Hon. N. W. Rowell, head of the Liberal Unionist element in the war-time Unionist Government. Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, who protested against the Japanese treaty, is a life-long Conservative who has

been consistently imperialistic in his declarations.

If Meighen, Borden and Rowell are separatists, they are not conscious of the fact. No one would think of charging them with separatist sympathies. And the same may be said of the great majority of Canadian autonomists. If there is any appreciable separatism in Canada, it is concealing its light. It is not articulate, except perhaps, academically in the person of John S. Ewart, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, author of the "Kingdom Papers," a series of exhaustive studies on the constitutional relations of the empire. Mr. Ewart has the keenly logical mind to which the anomalies and anachronisms of the present Commonwealth are also intolerable. To him, as to the Round Table Centralizers, there are only two alternatives—imperial federation or independence. He chooses the opposite horn of the dilemma.

Has the pendulum now swung too far toward autonomy? Did Borden and Rowell, when in office, go further in their declarations for full nationhood and in their concrete proposals—such as for a Canadian Ambassador at Washington—than they were warranted in going by Canadian public opinion? Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, in *The Contemporary Review* for July attached significance to the new Premier's silence on constitutional questions. Since Mr. Meighen has participated in the Imperial Conference, it now appears that his former silence was due to other causes.

As far as the political parties in Canada are concerned, it is doubtful if there ever was an issue, except the war, on which there was as great unanimity as on the general principle of self-government. The attitude of the Conservative and Unionist parties may be assumed to be indicated by the actions, already noted, of their leaders in the Government, while both the Liberal and the Agrarian parties in National Conventions have, since the armistice, adopted formal resolutions

warning the country against any centralizing imperial scheme. Their criticism of the present Government was not that it was too autonomist, but that it might fail to be sufficiently so.

AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

It is true that in Parliament the debate on the appointment of a Canadian Ambassador at Washington evoked considerable criticism, and from widely divergent quarters. Dr. Michael Clark, Agrarian, said "the appointment of a plenipotentiary to a foreign court is a mark of a foreign State," and in making such a step "we are getting very near to revolution." D. D. McKenzie, former Liberal leader, in criticising the project, said: "I am old-fashioned enough to be prouder of being a British subject than of being a Canadian." Hon. W. S. Fielding, formerly Liberal Minister of Finance, said: "We are right on the very verge of independence," and added that it was a ridiculous thing to say that Canada was a nation. W. F. Cockshutt, a prominent protectionist Conservative, took a similarly serious view of the proposal. There were criticisms of details from other quarters. But when the debate was ended, the outstanding fact remained that the appropriation necessary for the appointment was unanimously adopted, and that the principle of the appointment was, with the exceptions noted, approved by almost the whole house, including, of course, the Premier and his Government.

The case for the appointment, as presented by Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Rowell and others, is one of practical utility and expediency. Lord Bryce, Sir Robert recalled, placed the proportion of the work of the British Embassy at Washington devoted to Canadian affairs as between two-thirds and three-fourths. Among recent issues requiring attention were the following: The Chicago drainage canal, supplies of coal for Canada, levels of the Lake of the Woods, the United States Merchant Marine act,

levels of Lake Memphremagog, export of pulp wood from Canada, interchange between Canadian and American railways, Panama Canal tolls, fishing questions. On all such domestic issues there seems absolutely no reason for the intervention of a British ambassadorial staff or for not sending communications direct from Washington to Ottawa, instead of from Washington to the British Foreign Office, then to the Colonial Office, then to Ottawa, a circumlocutory route that might have appalled even the author of "Little Dorrit."

So much for the purely domestic American-Canadian relations. But there is another motive for the Canadian Embassy that is more recent and goes deeper. British Empire foreign policy in its larger aspects now appears for the first time upon the stage of the Western Hemisphere. The World War shifted the pole of world politics from the North Sea to the North Pacific, and immediately within its magnetic field lie the United States and Canada. Canadians who advocate the appointment of an Ambassador at Washington insist that it is of the utmost importance that in the years which lie immediately ahead, when decisions will be made and policies formulated affecting the future of civilization and with grave potentialities for the future of Canada, there should be the freest possible interchange of opinion between Canada and the United States, whose continent-wide border line has not heard or seen a gun in 100 years; that, whether the event proves that the interests of these two countries are common or not, every step possible should be taken to see that each keeps in touch with the other's ideals, views and policies. Nothing should be left to chance or to the possible dulling effects of circumlocution. Herein lies the strong motive for the Canadian Ambassador.

Delay in filling the office has been ascribed by the Canadian Prime Minister to difficulty in making an appropriate appointment. Canada has no school of diplomats to draw from.

Outside the criticism in Parliament already referred to there has been no intimation that public opinion regarded the proposal as ultra-radical or unsound. In other parts of the empire undoubtedly the project caused questionings. If the establishment of a Canadian Embassy at Washington meant that other dominions would set up embassies at Washington and that Canada and the others would set up embassies all over the world, the prospect for the British Foreign Office would, indeed, be chaotic. But at the recent Imperial Conference, it is understood, Mr. Meighen emphasized the unique closeness of the relations between Canada and the United States. On this basis the appointment of a Canadian Ambassador to Washington does not need to be accepted as a precedent.

ANOTHER STARTLING DOCTRINE

But Canadian leaders go further in their desires respecting Canadian-American relations than the appointment of an Ambassador. The doctrine has been laid down by Mr. Rowell and Sir Robert Borden in Parliament, and according to one report by Mr. Meighen at London—and, so far as known, its soundness has not been challenged—that in all British foreign issues where the interests of Canada are paramount, as they might easily be in the case of issues involving the United States, the views of Canada should not merely be consulted, but should be accepted. Here is a far-reaching conception, the significance of which has not yet been universally grasped, certainly not by those who see in Canada's aspiration toward nationhood only a movement toward independence. It is not that these leaders, in seeking to advance Canada's influence on American relations, are seeking separation from the empire; what they ask is that in the decisions affecting those relations Canada shall represent the empire. It may be that in this and in other respects the

movement toward autonomy involves the assumption of responsibilities which the Canadian Nation is not ready for, in which case there will be a continuance for a time, or until some new solution is found, of some of the colonial disabilities, which it may be observed some sections of the people do not seem to regard as irksome.

Canada's representatives will attend the Washington conference as part of the British delegation. Although Canadian nationhood has been recognized by the British Empire and by the League of Nations, it was not recognized by the United States in issuing preliminary invitations to the conference. Apparently, therefore, the status of the Canadian delegates at Washington will be different from what it was at Geneva, where they stood on their own feet and did not hesitate on occasion to disagree with the delegates from the United Kingdom, to the wonderment of foreign observers.

Nothing more interesting in the way of constitutional development has occurred than the incursion of the British dominions into the realm of foreign affairs. Advocates of imperial federation on the one hand, and of separation on the other, predict that the experiment cannot work and if persisted in will end in disruption. But the same thing has been said about nearly every former step in self-government, and the silken bond of empire as it increased in elasticity has increased in strength.

CANADA'S DIFFICULT PROBLEM

The present problem is not easy. The only piece of co-ordinating machinery for the empire as a whole is the convocation, at irregular intervals, of Imperial Premiers, to which convocation the Centralizers wish to give the name and authority of Imperial Cabinet, whereas the Autonomists insist it must not be more than a conference. The task before this imperfect piece of machinery is to

provide for the continuance of the empire on the basis of equal partnership between the United Kingdom and the dominions. In the words of Lord Milner, it is one of the most complicated tasks which statesmanship has ever had to face. The assurance of success lies not in the imperfect machinery of government that is available, but in the will of the peoples of the dominions and of the British Isles to remain united. The strength of the empire is as strong as this will. It can be no stronger, a point which is sometimes forgotten by the Imperial Federationists, who seek in organic union complete insurance for the future.

The course of history is strewn with the wrecks of empires, and fatalists predict that the British Empire will prove no exception. But no previous empire has adopted, as the modern British Commonwealth has adopted and is continuing to develop, the formulae of self-government, freedom and equal citizenship. A passage from the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" is suggestive.

After pointing out that the revolt of Britain in the reign of Honorius resulted in the establishment of a popular Assembly in the seven Provinces of Gaul, and after describing the powers which were delegated to this—in that day—unusual body, Gibbon proceeds:

If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own Government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the Empire of Rome. The privileges of the subjects would have secured the throne of the monarch. * * * Under the mild and generous influence of liberty the Roman Empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude and the instability of human affairs had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigor and independence.

There are autonomists in Canada who are optimistic enough to believe that, after one severe lesson, one hundred and fifty years ago, the British Commonwealth has discovered the secret of immortality that evaded Rome.

PASSING OF THE GREAT ENGLISH ESTATES

AN effort by the British Government to sell at auction Runnymede Meadow, a part of the Crown lands, where in 1215 the barons of England exacted the famous Magna Charta of popular liberty from King John, recently roused a storm of protest, and in so doing served to bring to notice how many of the great historic properties in England, some of which had been broken up into small holdings, have been changing hands since the war. Through force of economic circumstances, one nobleman after another has been compelled to place his estate in the market, and several medieval castles have gone under the hammer. In the year 1920 no less than 349,695 acres of country estates were sold by one firm of auctioneers for £4,332,514. Of these estates, one of the most magnificent—sold for the paltry sum of £50,000—was Stowe House, the once palatial seat of the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, with its great suite of state rooms, its domed marble hall

fashioned after the Pantheon at Rome, and its armory and chapel. Similarly, among great London mansions, Devonshire House, famous as a centre of high social and political life, passed from the long possession of the Cavendish family.

In this respect the Duke of Portland, in addressing his tenants at Welbeck on Aug. 4, predicted the wholesale closing down of historic and stately homes and the housing of their lordly owners in humbler style. "The great war," he said, "has entirely altered the outlook for me and most other large landowners. For centuries past the landed estates have been handed down from generation to generation in one family, and landlords and tenants have lived on terms of mutual trust and affection. I fear, however, that that state of things is passing away, for, with the present enormous weight of taxation and the extremely onerous death duties, the future has become uncertain for all landed proprietors in England."

SECOND ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Permanent Court of International Justice created, with eleven Judges—Important rulings on Article X. and other paragraphs of the Covenant—Progress made in the settlement of several boundary disputes—Action taken in favor of disarmament, despite opposition of larger powers

THE second plenary conference of the Assembly of the League of Nations met in Geneva, Switzerland, on Sept. 5 and adjourned on Oct. 6, 1921. The length of the conference was due mainly to the momentous nature of some of the topics discussed, notably the burning topic of world disarmament. Over the representatives of the forty-eight nations gathered in the old Hall of Reformation fell the shadow of the coming conference on armament reduction called by President Harding in Washington. The debates were animated and protracted, in some instances giving rise to noble and impressive oratory, but the influence of the greater powers—especially Great Britain and France, who wished the Washington conference to have a free hand—was so strong that the smaller nations were checked in their plans. Despite this handicap, they succeeded in putting through a disarmament program which testified to the League's determination to steam ahead independently of Washington.

Another evidence of this spirit was the Assembly's concrete action in electing the Judges for the permanent Tribunal of World Peace, thus completing the last stage of an edifice which will soon be able to function for the highest purposes of the League and the good of mankind. Important amendments to the League Covenant were adopted, several international disputes were started on the way to settlement, the delay on mandates was laid squarely on the shoul-

ders of America, and action taken to expedite a settlement; measures of international beneficence, such as the suppression of the international white slave traffic, the use of opium and other harmful drugs, control of immigration, &c., were also shown to be hampered by the failure of the United States to participate in the League's councils; but the League members gave every evidence of a determination to go forward in spite of America's action in blocking the wheels of their machinery.

The sessions were preceded by a short conference of the League Council, which prepared the agenda of the Assembly discussions and fought out several matters of procedure in respect to disarmament proposals, mandates, &c.

OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY

The second plenary Assembly opened in the Hall of Reformation on Sept. 5 at 11 o'clock. For several days the normally quiet streets of Geneva had been a Babel of foreign tongues, as almost fifty nations had assembled for the coming sessions. The sombre old hall was crowded to the very galleries by curious and interested spectators. Some of the leaders of the preceding Assembly, such as the picturesque Paderewski of Poland, Tittoni of Italy, Rowell of Canada, Huneus of Chile, Puyrredon of Argentina, were absent. Noticeable especially was the absence of all the Central American States. New

members stood out: Bishop Noli, head of the Albanian delegation, come to plead the cause of his country against aggressors; Premier Stribanovitch of Bulgaria; Lord Robert Cecil, representing for the second time South Africa, walked between the benches, showing his eagle profile and his reserved smile; M. Leon Bourgeois, flanked by M. Viviani the "silver-tongued," and by M. Hanotaux, talked energetically; Arthur Balfour, diffusing his suave and charming manner wherever he went, chatted with Hjalmar Branting (now Premier of Sweden); the tall and austere Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, frowning and preoccupied with the appeal which he was preparing to make to the Assembly on behalf of starving Russia, contrasted in his frosty whiteness of visage with Baron Hayashi and Viscount Ishii, small, dapper and ivory-complexioned; Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia and Paul Hymans of Belgium exchanged greetings and conversed quietly.

Exactly at 11 o'clock the youthful figure of Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador to London, and a graduate of Columbia University, took the chair as acting President of the Council amid loud applause. In faultless English Dr. Koo delivered an eloquent address of welcome to the assembled delegates, in which he traced the past achievements of the League in respect to financial and economic matters, transit and communication, moral and social problems—all work which made no dramatic appeal to the imagination, but of the highest value to the world—described the solid foundations the League had laid for future world peace, not forgetting the creation of the International Tribunal, and stressed eloquently the wide vista opened before the organization for the attainment of the aims of international peace and justice.

The first business of the Assembly was the election of a permanent President. Five candidates were nominated at the afternoon session. Jonkheer van Karnebeek, Foreign

Minister of Holland, received the highest vote and took the chair. Then the Assembly got down to business—and debate. Storm clouds broke almost immediately over the application made by the representative of Bolivia asking the Assembly to consider the revision of the treaty between Bolivia and Chile. This treaty, concluded nearly twenty years ago on the ending of the war of Chile against Bolivia and her ally Peru, and caused by a dispute over the rich Tacna-Arica territories, has long been a sore point with the Bolivians. The Chilean delegation rose instantly to combat this demand for revision, and a crisis was averted only after a special commission had decided that the Assembly had no jurisdiction to revise treaties already ratified and confirmed.

UNITED STATES CRITICISED

In a strong speech before the Assembly at the session of Sept. 8, Lord Robert Cecil blamed the United States severely for the delay forced on the League in defending and settling the mandates. He criticised the Washington Government for ignoring the League and insisting on negotiating only with the separate Governments. He recapitulated the League's efforts to get the United States to state its desires, and deplored the failure of those efforts. The fate of the peoples of the mandated territories and the prestige of the League were at stake, he declared, and he urged the Assembly, inasmuch as it knew unofficially the views of America, to proceed fearlessly in its work on mandates. His resolution to refer the mandates to a committee of eight for definition was accepted, and the personnel of this committee named. A bitter attack made by him on the permanent Advisory Council on Disarmament paved the way to the all-important debate on disarmament for which the Assembly was eager.

The debate on disarmament was based principally on the report of the Council and the Disarmament Com-

mission, the tone of which was one of "insipissated gloom." The debate was opened by Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, head of the British delegation, at the session of Sept. 10. Mr. Balfour frankly admitted his belief that the League was impotent to make headway toward disarmament in view of the present frame of mind of the nations. Both he and M. Leon Bourgeois, however, believed that the League should work on for peace in its own way. A far stronger attitude was adopted by Dr. Lange of Norway, who attacked Mr. Balfour's view that the League was impotent because great nations such as the United States, Germany and Russia remained outside, and declared it was the League's duty to proceed with its immediate efforts toward disarmament. The Council, he charged, was not carrying out the Assembly's wishes, and the Permanent Advisory Disarmament Commission was in close contact with War Ministers and lukewarm for universal peace. Germany was being disarmed, Russia was no longer a military bogey, and the United States was moving actively for disarmament. The Washington conference, however, would concern itself mainly with naval disarmament, whereas the League must work for land disarmament in Europe. Its failure to do so would be fatal to it.

After a spirited debate, the proposal of M. Jouhaux, head of the French delegation of labor, that the League call an international conference to limit the private manufacture of arms, was adopted, though the efforts of Lord Robert Cecil and Dr. Lange to have a date fixed for this conference early next June came to grief against the opposition of both Great Britain and France. Both of these advocates of fixing an early date declared that the League could not stop the private manufacture of arms if the United States, with its vast resources, continued to manufacture them. The Assembly, however, through the committee, voted to hold

such an international conference, but left the date indeterminate.

Although it appeared that but few members of the Disarmament Commission believed that the Washington conference would accomplish anything, they united on Sept. 28 in a resolution expressing the gratification of the League that President Harding had called the conference in Washington and expressing sincere good wishes for its success. The committee then voted to ask the Permanent Disarmament Commission to prepare plans for control and ultimate prevention of the use of poison gas in warfare. It also voted for the establishment of a special branch of the Secretariat to carry on propaganda in favor of disarmament among all nations.

JAPAN ALONE SILENT

Thus the disarmament work was mapped out for the future. At the session of Oct. 1 eloquent speeches were made by M. Noblemaire of France, H. A. L. Fisher and Lord Robert Cecil. All the nations joined in disarmament pledges except Japan, which maintained silence. M. Noblemaire defended France from the charge of militarism, and declared that France wished only security, and that moral disarmament—in Germany as elsewhere—must precede physical disarmament. Until Germany, or at least a part of Germany, gave up its hatred and plans for revenge, France must keep her arms in hand. When she gained security she would be only too glad to seek the ways of peace. H. A. L. Fisher paid a tribute to France, and declared that though there had been differences of view, the fundamental aims of Great Britain and France for peace were the same. France and England between them, he declared, had it in their power, aided by the members of the League, to realize the dream of humanity and lay the foundation of general peace. Lord Robert Cecil, as reporter for the Dis-

armament Commission, made an eloquent plea for the revised proposals of the League, which were, taken all together, as follows:

(1) Preparation for the next Assembly of a general plan of disarmament, and, to make that feasible, a request to the nations to furnish data on their armaments, including the amount of money spent on them; (2) a proposal for an international conference on the restriction of the manufacture of arms; (3) a proposal to restrain the use of poison gas in warfare; (4) the establishment of world-wide propaganda for disarmament and (5) a resolution expressing hope for real progress at the Washington Conference.

Lord Robert's report and these resolutions and proposals were unanimously adopted, and thus the Assembly's discussions and committee work on the most important item of its agenda reached their logical end.

ELECTION OF JUDGES

The election of eleven Judges for full membership on the Permanent Court of International Justice, and of four Deputy Judges, took place at the session of Sept. 14, the Council and the Assembly voting simultaneously at the headquarters of the League. A clash between the two organizations soon became apparent, and it took five successive ballots to reach agreement. The final result showed that the following eleven jurists had been chosen full members of the court:

Viscount R. B. Finlay of Great Britain.
Charles André Weiss of France.
Dionisio Anzilotti of Italy.
John Bassett Moore of the United States.
Rafael Altamira y Cravea of Spain.
Senator Ruy Barbosa of Brazil.
Antonio de Bustamante of Cuba.
Max Huber of Switzerland.
B. C. J. Loder of Holland.
Didrik Galtrup G. Nyholm of Denmark.
Yorazo Oda of Japan.

At the same time three Deputy Judges were elected, and later a joint committee completed the list with a fourth, as follows:

M. Negulesco of Rumania.
Mr. Wang Ch'ung-hui of China.
M. Yovanovitch of Yugoslavia.
M. Beichmann of Norway.

The completion of these elections was hailed by President van Karnebeek as a "historic event, which opens a new era in the life of the community of nations." The delegates learned with keen regret of the refusal of Elihu Root to serve on the tribunal, owing to advancing years. The American representative chosen, the Hon. John Bassett Moore, is Professor of International Law at Columbia University. Over ninety nominations were made in all, and each selection was based on undisputed legal eminence.

ARTICLE X. INTERPRETED

Of great import to the Assembly also was the question of amendments to the covenant. Throughout many sessions this aroused veritable storms of debate. First of all, the amendment of Article XXVI., so as to make a majority vote valid, opened the way to further changes. The amendments proposed were the following: Modification of Article X. in such wise as to take from it the offensive features to which the United States Senate had so dramatically objected; amendment of Articles XII., XIII., XIV. and XV., necessitated by the establishment of the International Tribunal; amendment of Article XVI., relating to the economic blockade of any member resorting to war in disregard of the provisions of the covenant; amendment of Article XXI. in such wise as to recognize regional agreements between member nations; an amendment lastly of the covenant provision on membership.

One of the most valuable bits of constructive work done by the Assembly was the definition of the much-attacked Article X. All the delegations agreed that this article did not constitute a pledge by members to go to war to protect the territorial borders of other members, but was a declaration of principle and a pledge by the nations not to violate the territory of their neighbors, on the agreement that such aggression would be



(Keystone View Co.)

JONKHEER H. A. VAN KARNEBEEK
Foreign Minister of Holland, elected President of the second League Assembly

punished largely by use of the economic weapon. The new construction declared expressly that no nation is bound to send troops for such a purpose. An attempt by the Canadian Minister, Charles J. Doherty, however, to secure the elimination of the whole article was sent over for consideration to the next Assembly, and it was made clear, both in this case and in others, that the League intended to feel its way toward fundamental change in the covenant only slowly and cautiously. The amendments of Articles XII.-XV. were accepted without dispute, as required by the establishment of the World Tribunal. Proposed changes in Article XVI., however, made a considerable flurry. Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and other lesser powers wielded strong influence in the

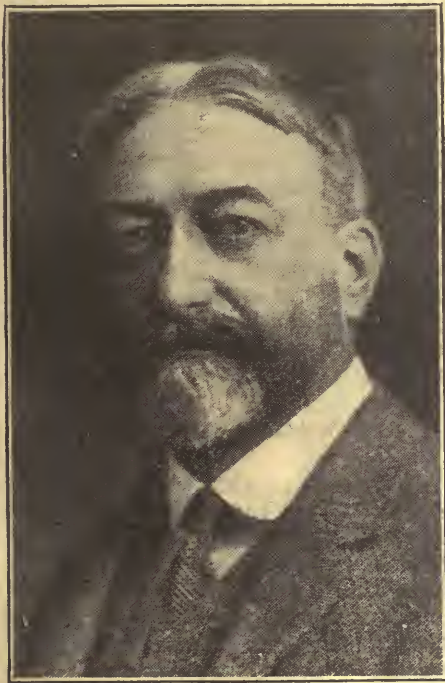
modifications finally accepted. As amended, the article left a way out of obligation to blockade when the Council considered that the proximity of a member to the covenant-breaking State put that member in danger. The crux of the new text added is contained in the italicized portion of the passages quoted below:

The Council will notify all members of the League of the date which it recommends for the application of economic pressure under this article. Nevertheless, the Council may, in the case of any particular member, postpone the coming into force of any of these measures for a specific period, where the Council is satisfied that such postponement will facilitate the attainment of the object of the measures referred to in the preceding paragraph, *or that it is necessary in order to minimize the loss and convenience which will be caused to such member.*

The Assembly rejected the proposed amendment of Article XVI. This amendment had been presented by the new State of Czechoslovakia, and its object had been to secure an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to regional agreements in Europe of a similar purpose. Specifically, Czechoslovakia was the spokesman of the so-called "Little Entente"—the new coalition recently put in force between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—and sought to secure the recognition of its aims. The Assembly decided, however, that all such regional agreements were amply provided for by Article XXI., which sanctioned such coalitions for purposes identical with those of the League; hence it rejected the proposed amendment. The amendment of the article on membership, proposed by Argentina at the Assembly of the preceding year, was also rejected. This amendment proposed that all nations, whether League members or not, should automatically become members of the League. The rejection of this amendment at the first Assembly led to the dramatic withdrawal of the whole Argentine delegation, headed by Senor Puyrredon, from the conference, and the eloquent absence of almost all the Cen-

tral American States at the second conference was attributed to Argentina's withdrawal and dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, the Assembly was unwilling to subject the membership privilege to so drastic an extension at present, and consequently voted to send the amendment over to another year.

It also took similar action regarding a proposed amendment of Article



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JOHN BASSETT MOORE

Former Counselor of the Department of State, elected as American Judge in the World Court of the League of Nations

XVII., on the registration of treaties, declaring that "every treaty or international agreement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be registered with the Secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international agreement shall be binding until so registered." Strong objection had been made by various delegates, especially by Senor Raoul Fernandez of Brazil and Lord Robert

Cecil, to the inclusion of the words "international agreements," which implied, in addition to public treaties, the registration and publication of secret military and technical agreements. The Assembly's tendency also here was to go slow—the subject was a very complicated and difficult one—and to consider the proposed change in the light of another year's study. Under the article, Germany, who was a signatory to the convention, had the largest number of treaties registered. The latest treaties included one with China, four with Poland, one each with France, Sweden, Danzig, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Serbia and Switzerland; also several agreements with the allied powers relating to the administration of the Sarre Valley.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

In the field of international disputes, the Assembly was confronted by the ever-recrudescent Vilna problem, the complaints of Albania against military aggression by Yugoslavia and Greece, the demand by Austria against Hungarian aggressions in Burgenland, or Western Hungary, assigned to the Austrians under the League settlement, and finally the demand by Bolivia that the League consider the revision of her treaty with Chile. This last appeal was settled during the first meetings of the Assembly by Bolivia's withdrawal of her demands.

The Vilna dispute between Poland and Lithuania had been announced some weeks before as settled by a compromise agreement engineered by M. Paul Hymans of Belgium, but as the matter was explained on the floor of the Assembly the two nations were again in dispute, the Lithuanians insisting on the immediate withdrawal of the irregular forces of General Zeligowski and on Vilna being set up as an autonomous community, and the Poles, headed by M. Askenazy, energetically refusing this solution. After considerable debate, the Assembly at its session of Sept. 24

united in a resolution urging Poland and Lithuania to reopen new parleys to settle the outstanding subjects in dispute. This resolution was adopted enforcedly in view of the fact that the requisite unanimity could not be obtained, though the sentiment of the delegates was undeniably against Poland after the exposition of the opposing factions. The fact that Poland allowed General Zeligowski to remain in occupation of Vilna reacted strongly against the Poles, and Askenazy's attempts at rebuttal were considered weak and unconvincing.

The quarrel between Albania and her aggressive neighbors, Yugoslavia and Greece, stirred up the Assembly, especially when Bishop Noli, head of the Albanian delegation, gave the delegates proof that Albanian villages were being bombarded by Serbs. An attempt by M. Spaikalovitch, who has been called the "stormy petrel" of Yugoslavia, to pooh-pooh the claims of Albania, and to subject that country to a violent onslaught of vituperation, met with reproof by M. van Karnebeek, the President of the Assembly, who told Spaikalovitch to moderate his language. The dispute waxed warm and split the Assembly into two divisions, one demanding immediate support for Albania, the other urging that the matter be settled by the larger powers at their leisure. The delegates representing the larger powers inclined to this latter view. Albania, however, took the stand that she would be completely swallowed up by her more powerful and aggressive neighbors if something were not done forthwith, and was opposed to the suggested solution by the Council of Ambassadors, whose competency she denied, and demanded that the controversy and aggression be settled by the League of Nations itself. This, however, the Assembly could not do, as the contention of the Yugoslavs had been all along that the boundaries of Albania had never been settled, and that no charge of aggression on such hypothetical boundaries could legitimately be made. The delegates therefore de-

cided to urge the Council of Ambassadors to settle these boundaries as soon as possible, to enable the League to act *en connaissance de cause*.

Regarding the aggressions of the Hungarians in Burgenland, it was decided to suspend a decision pending an investigation.

The settlement of the status of Upper Silesia was found by the Assembly too complex and thorny a problem to be settled by any swift decision. The whole dispute between the Germans and the Poles as to whether this plebiscite territory should fall to one or the other had been passed on some weeks before by the Supreme Council, and by the Council had been referred to a committee composed of representatives of Brazil, Spain, China and Belgium, for intensive study. The investigation was continuing, but the formidable nature of the task was recognized by all, and, pending a report from this committee, the Assembly's hands were tied.

NO ACTION ON RUSSIA

A special appeal came before the Assembly on the subject of financial help for starving Russia. This appeal was made by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen of Norway, who had concluded a working agreement with the Soviet leaders on behalf of the European relief organizations for the distribution of food. His request that the Assembly authorize a money grant met with strong opposition, and Dr. Nansen showed bitterness over the contradiction displayed between the eloquent expressions of sympathy for the starving masses of Russia and the refusal to alleviate it by concrete assistance. He implied plainly his view that the League was playing politics, under the leadership of some of the greater powers interested in the overthrow of the Soviet Government. M. Spaikalovitch of Yugoslavia seized the opportunity to launch a vitriolic attack upon the Soviet Government, with which, he declared, no intercourse should be had

on account of the principles for which it stood. Yugoslavia, he said, was close to the Soviet land, and knew better than some other nations what the Soviet leaders stood for. The Assembly, despite Dr. Nansen's appeals decided to refer the subject to the coming international conference at Brussels on measures of relief for Russia.

The three Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia—were admitted to membership. The admission of Hungary was deferred. The renewed claims of Armenia, based on the changed aspect of the military situation in the East, were considered, but no action was taken either in Armenia's case or that of the Caucasus nations. Herr Mensdorff, the Austrian delegate, was heard by the Assembly on Austria's financial distress, the alleviation of which, like so many other matters, was held up by the failure of the United States to act, in this case by reaching a decision on the League's suggestion that the Washington Government forego its financial claims on Vienna.

Many other subjects were discussed by the Assembly in its month's sessions, notably regarding international measures to be taken by the League to prevent the traffic in women and children, which since the conclusion of the war had again made its appearance, the suppression of opium and other dangerous drugs, the prevention of disease, and immigration problems and subjects akin. It ap-

peared that all the League's activities in regard to these international perils were being held up by the same cause—America's refusal to participate in the League's councils. International bodies had been set up by the League, but they were functioning badly in a number of instances because of the Washington Administration's continued refusal to co-operate with them. A new program, however, was laid out for future activity in this field, to which the League attaches high importance.

The question of finances was brought up by the report of the committee charged with this subject presented to the Assembly at the session of Oct. 5. This report showed that Great Britain and France are scheduled to pay 9.2 per cent. of the total cost. Italy, China, Japan and India were each to pay 6.65 per cent. In the third category were placed Argentina (which has not yet officially withdrawn from the League), Spain, Brazil, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, each to pay 3.58 per cent. The scale was graduated down to twenty-one-hundredths of 1 per cent. for Nicaragua, Luxemburg, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Liberia. Under this ruling Great Britain and France will pay 1,800,000 gold francs, the nations in the second category 1,300,000, and those of the third 42,000 gold francs. The budget for 1922 amounts to 23,786,846 gold francs, as against 21,250,000 for 1921.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

To the Editor of Current History:

IN the August number of *CURRENT HISTORY* George L. Koehn, at Page 740 of his article on the "Menace of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," states that no "treaty of general arbitration" is in effect between the United States and Great Britain. Article 1 of the treaty of 1908 with Great Britain, provided that "differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not

have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration" at The Hague, excepting matters affecting vital interests, independence, or honor, and those concerning third parties. This treaty was renewed for ten years by an agreement signed at Washington June 3, 1918, proclaimed Sept. 30, 1918. Is not this a "treaty of general arbitration," or has it been abrogated?

DELAPLANE WILSON.

Pedro Miguel, Canal Zone, Sept. 14, 1921.

GERMANY'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

Shall It Be Bankruptcy or State Socialism?

BY EDWARD BERNSTEIN

Member of the Reichstag and leader of the Moderate Socialists

Germany's desperate finances and the Government's efforts to increase its revenues by heavy taxes—Opposition to such taxation, and the alternative of socialization through "seizure of real values" by the Government

THE awkward situation of the German Republic in respect to finances is well known to the world today. The whole Reich—a collective term now connoting all Germany—with its confederated States and local Government bodies, is struggling under depressing deficits. Incomes, fortunes, increments of fortunes, interest on capital, inheritances and trade are highly taxed. All commodities are hit by the tax on the amount of business done—the turnover—and a number of them besides are subject to direct taxes and importation duties.

The deficit in the National Treasury, which affects all the States and municipalities, as well as the Reichstag budget, is steadily on the increase. The increasing shortage is partly due to the continuous fall of the international market value of the mark, which has led to a corresponding rise of prices, wages, &c. It is also due in a high degree to the increasing payments that have to be made to the Allies on account of reparations, charges for occupation troops and kindred purposes; also to the outlays for pensions to the victims of the war, and for compensation payments to the German nationals expelled from districts and provinces which, by the dictatorial provisions of the Treaty

of Versailles, were ceded to other countries.

The funding debt of the Reich has now reached a total of approximately 90,000,000,000 marks. The floating debt in Treasury bonds, &c., amounts to about 240,000,000,000 marks. Paper money issues, inclusive of about 7,000,000,000 marks in notes issued by Government departments to cover small loans, reach a total of nearly 88,000,000,000 marks. Taken in the aggregate, the debt of the Reich is now in excess of 300,000,000,000 marks.

In the defunct empire the finances of the Reich were handled quite distinctly from those of the States. Up to 1913 there was a partition of the sources of revenue in force based on the principle that the importation duties and home taxes on commodities went into the Treasury of the Reich, while direct taxes and some kindred taxation were left to the States and the local bodies. A deficit in the budget of the Reich was to be covered by an assessment on the States according to population (the "Matricular Umlage"). In compensation therefor the States were entitled to all the revenue from import duties and from a few other imperial taxes totaling more than 130,000,000 marks.

The Constitution of the republic is much more highly centralized than was that of the empire. The Social Democratic members and some other



DR. EDWARD BERNSTEIN

Member of the German Reichstag and a leader of the Majority Socialist Party

progressives of the Constitutional Assembly would have preferred to do away with the historical federalism of the late empire, and to make Germany a unified republic organized on the principle of a modern democratic federation. This could not be achieved, but in the domain of finance the principle of centralization made some headway. In accordance with the Constitution and the finance law of the republic, the whole system of taxation, with some few unimportant exceptions, is now enacted and administered by the Reich, the States and the local bodies receiving certain percentages of its revenue. This must be taken into consideration if the sum total of the budget in revenue and expenditure in the Reich is to be justly estimated.

BUDGET AND INCOME TAXES

According to the budget for the year 1921 the total expenditure was estimated at 87,500,000,000 marks, of which 26,000,000,000 was for payments demanded by the allied powers under the Treaty of Versailles. This item will ultimately turn out to be a much higher one, and besides this Germany has to pay the annuities prescribed by the London ultimatum. The total revenue was estimated at 49,300,000,000 marks, of which the largest part is revenue from direct taxation, viz., 25,000,000,000 marks, and the largest single item is the revenue from the income tax, viz., 12,000,000,000 marks. Altogether, the direct taxes of the Reich on property and income are as follows:

- a. Taxes on incomes of individuals.
- b. Taxes on incomes of corporations (societies, partnerships, &c.).
- c. Special tax on the income from capital.
- d. Emergency tax on fortunes (the "Reichsnotopfer," or "sacrifices for the need of the nation").
- e. Regular tax on fortunes.
- f. Inheritance and succession duty.
- g. Tax on the increments of fortunes.

The income tax is a progressive tax on the annual incomes of individuals from whatsoever sources such incomes may derive. It leaves a certain minimum income free; at the creation of the law (March 31, 1920), this minimum was put at 1,500 marks, but it has since been increased considerably in consequence of the fall of exchange. The tax on the taxable income begins with 10 per cent. on amounts up to 24,000 marks over the free income; from there on for every additional hundred marks a surplus tax of 20 per cent. is levied; so that for 30,000 marks 3,600 marks must be paid. This progressive tax rises to 25 per cent.; from 35,000 marks upward it is 30 per cent.; from 40,000 upward, 35 per cent., and so on up to incomes above 400,000 marks, where the tax is nearly 50 per cent. of the whole, viz., 191,600 marks. For every 100 marks above this scale

there is an additional tax of 60 marks; the scale then runs as follows:

For 500,000 marks...	251,000 marks
For 1,000,000 marks...	551,600 marks
For 10,000,000 marks...	5,951,600 marks
For 20,000,000 marks...	11,951,600 marks

This means an income tax of 59.76 per cent. There are, however, many deductions for particular expenses allowed, and the exemption possibilities are not few. It is most unlikely that any one of our multi-millionaires pays over 50 per cent. on his actual income.

The tax on the incomes of corporations was created in 1920. It affects all corporations, societies and associations that have an income from property, investments and business enterprises, with the exception of those whose incomes fall to the Reich, the States, the municipalities, public schools, recognized benevolent institutions, workers' insurance organizations and the like. Co-operative societies are taxed only for income from possessions and from business with non-members. The tax is 10 per cent. of the taxable income of the said corporations and associations, plus an additional tax on all the dividends, bonuses, &c., distributed out of that income if they exceed 3 per cent. of the capital. The tax begins with 2 per cent. of the distributed sums if the dividends, &c., do not exceed 4 per cent. of the capital; it rises progressively to 10 per cent. if the dividends exceed 18 per cent. of the capital.

The revenue out of this tax is estimated in the budget of 1921 at 1,050,000,000 marks, which is not much if one considers the great profits the industrial companies make at present. In fact, this law favors the companies against the individual taxpayer not a little. While the income of the latter may, as we have seen, be taxed up to nearly 60 per cent. in cases where large amounts are involved, the incomes of the companies have at the highest to pay only 20 per cent. The legislator was here led astray by the desire to avoid double taxation. But

he did not reckon with the wiles of the shrewd capitalist. A much larger number of capitalistic enterprises than in former years were changed in 1921 into limited liability associations. In the whole year of 1920 only 7,862 limited liability societies, with 778,000,000 capital, were founded; but in the first five months of 1921 the number of such societies created was 4,112, with a capital of 1,758,000,000 marks, or more than double the capital of the whole twelve months of 1920. A similar increase is shown by the limited liability share-holding companies.

The limited liability association is a form even more popular in capitalistic circles. The law concedes it all the advantages of the limited liability share-holding companies without some of their duties. It lends itself easily to all sorts of evasions of the law.

The syndicates, the Kartelle and kindred monopolizing associations have, as such, never been taxed in Germany, and are not now taxed. Where they have as a central nucleus a limited liability association, its capital is, as we have seen, ludicrously small compared with the actual capital of the combined enterprises. Moreover, these and other capitalistic associations can evade that part of the corporation tax which taxes the distributed dividends by simply accumulating the profits instead of paying out dividends; that is what many of the societies and associations, particularly those recently created, are now doing.

PENDING TAX LEGISLATION

In view of this fact the Government of the republic has worked out and laid before the Reichstag a bill which raises the tax on the annual income of societies up to 30 per cent. and abolishes some of the exemptions granted societies that hold considerable part of the shares of other societies; this latter proviso would hit to some extent the highest associations of syndicates. The bill is one of quite a number now pending, all in-

tended to increase the revenue of the republic. They fall into three main groups, namely: (1) Those for taxation of wealth and income; (2) those for taxation of movements of capital and values, such as stock exchange transactions, betting, and bookmaking, automobiles and insurance, and (3) those for further taxation of commodities, such as food, fuel and illumination.

If the taxes of the first group are intended to hit "Besitz," or wealth—a term here used somewhat freely in face of the declining value of German money—the second group is in this respect of doubtful character, for a tax on transactions in capital can often act as an indirect supertax on the already-taxed savings of the non-wealthy. Of the third group a good many of the bills hit the necessities and small luxuries of the masses; especially is this true of the proposed tax on the trade in food and fuel. This tax is fixed at 3 per cent. of the turnover of dealers, but since most commodities change hands three or four times before reaching the consumer, the latter will, in fact, be mulcted about 12 per cent. by this tax alone. The present tax is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of each turnover, and yet its yield has surpassed all expectations. It was first estimated that it would yield from three to four billion marks, but its actual yield is pretty sure to exceed 7,000,000,000 marks. From the doubling of the tax and its extension a yield of about 24,000,000,000 marks is estimated, which, with Germany's population of 60,000,000, would be 400 marks per capita of population. A tax on a very important necessity of the masses is the coal tax, and its proposed increase has raised much discontent.

NATIONAL INSOLVENCY

Altogether the bundle of bills elaborated with much pains by the Ministry of Finance has met with a great amount of adverse criticism. Quite apart from the objections and counterproposals of the people af-

fected by it, such as manufacturers, traders and the like, who nearly always raise the first outcry, many political scientists, experts of commerce and finance have expressed great doubts about its adequateness, and in socialist circles it is attacked as both unjust and insufficient. The proposed taxes will, as a whole, prove insufficient to yield the sums that are required to stop the gap in the budget and provide the means for paying the billions due to the allied powers. The first social-economic effect of the taxes on traffic and commodities will be to provoke movements for rises in wages and salaries, create by this new uneasiness in the industrial world and contribute to lower the value of the mark.

"SEIZURE OF REAL VALUES"

In the ranks of those who hold these opinions a strong movement has arisen to demand as a means of reaching a system of sound finance the seizure of real values. It has as determined supporters the two Social Democratic Parties, who in the Reichstag command 169 votes of a total of 467 members, and who have declared that they will make their vote on the finance bill dependent upon the consideration of this demand. It is therefore of interest to be informed of its nature and significance.

This term, "the seizure of real values," often also called "gold values," comprises those objects whose value, like that of gold, is not essentially affected by the movement in the value of paper money. In particular, the term refers to industrial, commercial and financial establishments, to land or town estates, inhabited houses and buildings used as factories and the like. It is proposed that the Reich shall be declared partner of those of them that the law designates, and share in their annual net profits to a generally estimated percentage ranging from 20 to 25 per cent. This participation of the Reich is to take the legal form of mortgages,

which the Reich may either administer itself, issuing debentures on them, or which it may sell if necessity requires. If one considers the value of the property and the profits of all the enterprises concerned, there can be little doubt that the measure would provide the Reich with considerably more means than any group of the proposed taxes. The Reich, moreover, would be in position to raise money on the debentures in cases of emergency. It is further pointed out as an essential advantage of the measure that with it the industrial and other establishments would not be deprived of a cent of their working capital or their stock in trade, since a part only of the net profits or surplus revenue would go to the Reich or to the owner of the debentured mortgage.

Promising as this sounds, the measure is nevertheless strongly objected to by almost the whole capitalistic world, and particularly by all the landowners. All the middle class parties of the Reichstag have so far declared against it. The capitalistic entrepreneurs see in it a dangerous step that would open the door to troublesome interference in the management of their enterprises, and the landowners, hitherto the spoiled children of the legislator and of the assessment authorities, hate the idea of a public partnership in the surplus of their estates. It is, moreover, said that the measure would increase the danger of *Ueberfremdung*, that is to say, of a wholesale transfer of German enterprises and fixed German property into the hands of foreigners. And finally the general fear is expressed that it may prove an indirect way to socialization.

SOCIALIZATION OR BANKRUPTCY

It must be admitted that there is a certain amount of truth in this, and there is also some truth in one or two of the other assertions. The measure would certainly be a step in quite a new direction and consequently likely to be fraught with unexpected pos-

sibilities. But, conceding this, one is compelled to ask whether there are any alternatives free of the danger of leaps into the unknown? There are none. The described finance bills of the Government, even if fully adopted, will, at best, yield sufficient revenue to cover the deficit in the household of the Reich, but they remain far behind their object of covering all the necessary expenditure, for there are, besides the needs of the household, the needs for the fulfillment of the obligations to the allied powers as fixed by the London ultimatum; the annuity of 2,000,000,000 marks in gold value plus 26 per cent. of the value of the German exports, which will amount at least to another billion gold marks. With the present value of the German paper mark, this would make over 50,000,000,000 of the latter, and they are not provided for. The financial policy of the Government turns around the core of the problem, instead of resolutely taking it in hand.

The situation is this: that Germany must either proceed to heroic measures or declare herself bankrupt. What will follow if she chooses the latter alternative everybody knows; the French Government has left no doubt about its intentions in this case; the German owners of real values will then fare not a bit better than under the suggested measure. And as regards the danger of selling out to foreigners, there is only the alternative of letting it go on, as now, in the open market where there is no limit or control, or to carry it out, if inevitable, in an organic way to the necessary extent and in such forms as would safeguard the general interest of the community as much as possible. In the quite exceptional position in which Germany finds herself she will never succeed in solving her economic problems without courageously taking to new ways.

Even though this seizure of real values should lead to socialization, this would not be so great a danger as has been depicted and feared. Limited to a certain percentage of the

surpluses, it takes more regard of the economic interests of trade than any other scheme of socialization yet worked out. Since Germany has become a republic she has had two commissions on socialization, both composed of renowned socialistic and middle-class economists of great learning and a goodly number of experts, whose reports are most fruitful reading and contain very ingenious plans and suggestions. The same can be said of at least a part of the daily increasing general literature on the subject. It should also be remembered that of all the schemes yet devised, there is none that has not its difficulties and possible drawbacks.

The German Republic found itself at its birth, as regards economics distinguished from finance, before two great tasks: on the one hand there was the necessity to restore as far as possible the economic life of the nation, disorganized in more than one respect by the war and the blockade, troubled by the excited and irritated spirit of the workers and of the several millions of homecoming soldiers, and menaced on the one hand by the demands of the victors and on the other by the Bolsheviks and their agents, who worked with unlimited finances for civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the realization of which, under the given conditions, would have meant disaster. They had to be fought, and the Socialist workers, the founders of the republic and its staunchest and most indispensable supporters, had to be satisfied in their desire for the quick realization of efficient socialistic reform.

It is evident at the first glance that these two tasks could only in a degree be reconciled and that they were in many respects mutually contradictory. We cannot experiment on a sick and weakened organism without endangering its life. The most urgent of the two tasks was the first, and this is one of the reasons why in the series of social reforms taken in hand just that one which seemed to the

workers the most decisive, viz., socialization of the means of production, was deferred the longest. Another reason is this, that if socialization means only absorption of enterprises or trades by the State or the municipality, there was already in Germany more socialization than in most other countries, though almost all the establishments concerned worked with terrifying deficits. Thus, e. g., the State railways, which before the war had always had considerable surpluses and furnished a large portion of the public revenue, had now a deficit of several billions, and the outlook was that this deficit would grow for years instead of diminishing. Such, indeed, has been the case.

UNOFFICIAL SOCIALIZATION

But socialization is not a set formula that requires only one mode of practical application. It is the expression of a principle that allows a variety of applications according to conditions and the nature of the object, viz., the principle of regarding economics as social functions subjected to the general interest, and in their different forms and performances entitled to maintenance only so far as at each phase of social evolution and according to the mode of production they serve the general interest better than any other possible form. What is of consequence is the recognition of this principle and its realization in the whole domain of social life. As I wrote some twenty years ago: "A good factory law can contain more socialism than absorption by the State of whole groups of factories." (*Neue Zeit*, year 1897-98, Vol. 1., P. 740ff.)

From this point of view the young German Republic, in spite of all the difficulties it had to fight against, has done more in the way of socialism than is generally known or recognized by the mass of the people themselves. From the proclamation of the maximum eight hours working day and kindred measures of social legis-

lation in the first days of the revolution down to the law of 1920 on the establishment of Shop Councils, quite a number of prescriptions to raise the social status of the employes in all spheres of economic life have been carried out. These measures leave the outward form of social institutions untouched, and are therefore not appreciated by the general public at once in their whole social import; their true significance will show itself only later in the light of the measures engendered by them.

As regards economics proper there are a number of measures which, while not making trades or industries public property, yet subject them to a high degree of public control. This is true, for instance, of the office to control the coal trade in respect to fixing prices, and so on. In this office—the Kohlenhandelsstelle—the Reich, the owners and the workers are all represented. Both the Social Democratic Parties urge the transfer of the whole coal industry to public ownership as a first measure of socialization in the traditional meaning of the word. But besides the opposition of the middle-class parties, there are great objective hindrances in the way. It must never be forgotten that Germany, though a republic, is not a free country. She is, by the Treaty of Versailles and its amplifications in the London demand, to a great extent in a state of bondage. The Allies have reserved the right to lay hold of all public property in case Germany should fail in payment of the reparation and other bills against her. One will easily understand that these conditions do not encourage the taking over of whole industries by the State.

A LIVING PRINCIPLE

But if socialization in the traditional meaning of the term does not make headway at present, the principle is nevertheless alive in the spirit of the nation. One proof of this is the movement for the better

organization of the economics of the whole country by the legal application of the economic principle of the trusts. "Planwirtschaft"—methodical economy—it is called, and it proposes to save unnecessary costs by eliminating establishments that work uneconomically and by carrying out a methodical distribution of production. A gifted member of the working class, Herr Rudolf Wissel—originally a metal worker, and for some time Minister of Economics of the republic—and Herr Walther Rathenau, an ingenious captain of industry of great learning, have both worked out schemes to that effect, which are now being animatedly discussed. On the other hand, the majority of the Commission on Socialization proposes a scheme for the nationalization of leading industries under public control without making the Reich the actual owner, and to this plan both the Social Democratic Parties would by preference give their support.

But both schemes are at present only discussed, and for practical application are relegated to the background by the movement for the seizure of real values. It has already been shown how popular this proposal is with the organized workers of the country. It would signify but a partial socialization, but this on such a large scale that its adoption would be hailed with the greatest satisfaction by them, and would thus go far in strengthening the general situation of the republic. And since the law can receive a form that removes the exaggerated fears of the manufacturers and traders, it is yet not unlikely that in some shape at least it will finally find acceptance. One of its great advantages is that it proposes to furnish the means for fixing the exchange value of the mark. In some circles of the middle classes the opposition is already less violent than it was at first. They begin to parley, and political necessity will do the rest.

Berlin, Sept. 15, 1921.

RESTORING THE RUINED FACTORIES OF FRANCE

BY LOUIS LOUCHEUR

Minister of the Liberated Regions

A brief statement, written for Current History, of the progress made in the reconstruction of war-damaged industries—Nearly one-half the pre-war quota of employes again at work

THE reconstruction of the French factories damaged or destroyed during the war constitutes a task unprecedented in history. It is a question not only of re-erecting the buildings, but also of restoring the plants and tools under most difficult conditions. A modern factory is as complex as a piece of clockwork; if any smallest part is absent or defective, the whole machinery is thrown out of gear. The difficulties of reconstruction were increased by the fact that many special plants had themselves to be rebuilt before the outfit for certain factories could be provided. In many cases it has been found necessary to assist in the installation, at the cost of much time and labor, of side industries without which the reconstruction of essential industries would have been greatly retarded.

In order to get some idea of the vast work already accomplished, as well as of the work still to be done, it is necessary to compare the situation before the war with the situation when the armistice was signed on Nov. 11, 1918. The ten ravaged departments held about 30 per cent. of French industry. They produced 35 per cent. of the sugar made in the whole country, 50 per cent. of the coal brought to the surface, 63 per cent. of the steel turned out, 81 per cent. of the textiles, 92 per cent. of the iron ore. When the enemy armies withdrew, it is no exaggeration to say that ruin and desolation were uni-

versal throughout those areas. Without dwelling upon the moral and physical sufferings or the courage of the population that had remained in the invaded districts; without mentioning the fair lands played up by trenches and shells, and dotted with unexploded projectiles, I will merely refer to the 290,000 houses that were damaged and the 300,000 that were completely destroyed. My theme is now the industrial damages, their extent, the measures projected for the restoration of factories and the results thus far obtained.

At the time of the armistice 20,603 works had suffered damage, as follows:

(a) Works completely destroyed (buildings and material past being turned to account in any way whatever).....	4,486
(b) Works plundered (buildings of no further use, plant stripped or destroyed).....	6,376
(c) Works damaged (buildings and plant capable of further use, wholly or in part, after undergoing repairs).....	9,741
Total	20,603

The aggregate damage suffered by these industrial establishments, on the basis of their value in 1914, exceeds 7,000,000,000 francs, of which 920,000,000 represent the damage inflicted upon coal mines. The effect of the invasion has been to reduce the production of the damaged works in a proportion varying from 25 per cent. for workshops turning out machinery to 74 per cent. for the coal mines, 81 per cent. for iron and steel works, and as high as 93 per cent. for some of the most important branches of the textile industry.

For the purpose of speeding up the reconstruction of the liberated regions, the Government created a Board of Industrial Reconstruction, and this proved to be a very pliable organism, adapting itself readily to the actual conditions, in spite of the very great diversity of the questions raised. Powerfully seconded by the Central Association for the Revival of Industrial Activity in the Invaded Areas, by the Central Purchasing Board and by the Regional Committees instituted in the devastated departments, the Board of Industrial Reconstruction was most favorably received by the manufacturers that had suffered damage.

But what words of praise could do justice to the courage and self-devotion of those manufacturers and their staffs in the accomplishment of a task on which depended the restoration of the economic power of the whole country? Thanks to them, the factories rose again from their ruins, and while the work yet to be accomplished is immense, the results obtained allow us to take a sanguine view of the future.

The most urgent task after the withdrawal of the enemy forces was to bring about the return of workmen and to supply them with food and building materials. To give an idea of the conditions under which these supplies were brought up it will be sufficient to state that 5,600 kilometers of railways had been destroyed or rendered unserviceable, as well as 500 bridges and 12 tunnels; that 51,547 kilometers of national or departmental highways were out of use, and that 3,168 engineering works had been destroyed, while the canals were obstructed and useless.

With rare determination, masters and men set to work together, and the difficulties experienced only increased their desire to succeed. Their efforts can be compared only with those of the farmers, daily risking their lives in restoring to cultivation fields strewn with the most dangerous engines of war.

At the close of the year 1918 practically all the damaged factories were silent and dead. Six months later, by July 1, 1919, about 10 per cent. of the pre-war personnel had returned to work. One year later, on July 1, 1920, the number of employes was 42 per cent. of the personnel employed in 1914, and by July 1, 1921, it was over 47 per cent. of that personnel, in spite of the present economic crisis, whereby the reconstructed factories are affected as adversely as the rest.

There remains, however, a serious obstacle in the path of industrial reconstruction. Putting the damaged factories into proper condition is not enough in itself; it is also necessary to recruit the personnel whose task it is to breathe life into reconstituted works. French industry has been hard hit in this respect. To the workmen lost in the war must be added those who came back maimed for life; the facts must be taken into account that a certain proportion of the working classes will not return to their native towns and that for the last five years no apprentices have been trained. A far-reaching scarcity of labor, therefore, confronts employers. It is difficult to estimate the importance of this deficit, but it may be put down at something like 250,000 hands. For the housing of labor, large blocks of dwellings have been built, strong companies have been founded for the supplying of cheap dwellings, and the day may be said to be at hand when a large proportion of the working population of the devastated areas will be housed under distinctly favorable conditions.

To sum up: A situation unparalleled in history has been met by a series of efforts to which nothing in the past can be compared. Important results have been obtained, but they have not made us lose sight of the huge task which remains to be accomplished. The keenness hitherto shown by workmen and employers alike permits us to look forward confidently to the future.

POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS OF TALAAT PASHA

The former Grand Vizier's own account, written shortly before his assassination, of why and how Turkey entered the war—Secret alliance that preceded the conflict—Causes of the Armenian massacres as stated by the man who ordered them

EDITORIAL NOTE—The following article is a translation of portions of a manuscript penned by Talaat Pasha, the Young Turk leader and former Grand Vizier of the Turkish Empire, after his flight from Constantinople and during his sojourn in Berlin, where he was carrying on a campaign of Turkish Nationalist intrigue when he was shot and killed by an Armenian student on March 15, 1921. (See July CURRENT HISTORY for his connection with the Armenian massacres.) After Talaat's death the manuscript passed into the possession of his wife, who remained in Germany; she has not yet published the whole of it, but after the acquittal of her husband's assassin she permitted the Paris correspondent of the *Vakit*, a liberal Turkish newspaper published in Constantinople, to reproduce the most interesting portions of it. These have been translated from the Turkish for CURRENT HISTORY by M. Zekeria, a native of Constantinople. They represent about fifty pages of the original manuscript, the opening sentence of which, "I do not tell all the truth, but all I tell is truth," aroused a great sensation in Turkey.

FROM the beginning of the revolution of 1907 down to the Balkan war, Turkey had no definite foreign policy. One day a pro-English feeling would prevail at the Porte, the next we would turn toward Germany. We were in a hesitating state, not knowing where to go, whose hand to shake. We followed the exigencies of the hour, trying to be equally good to all the European powers.

After the Balkan War we thought that the loss of Turkey's European provinces was largely due to our undecided and vacillating policy. Consequently, we thought it necessary to settle all our difficulties and disputed problems with the European powers,

and, discarding all pretexts of European intervention, to devote our efforts to the social and economic reconstruction of our country. With this aim in view, the Cabinet of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha organized a commission under the Presidency of Hakky Pasha—the former Turkish Prime Minister, who was Turkish Ambassador to Germany during the war, and who died in 1917 at Berlin—and invested it with the extraordinary mission of visiting all the European capitals, with full authority to solve unsettled problems and to reach an agreement with the nations of Europe about their supposed interests in Turkey. Hakky Pasha began his work, going first to England. After concluding an arrangement with the English Government he was to go to Paris, then to Germany, &c.

But just at that time Russia sent a vigorous note to the Porte. After the Balkan War there was a worldwide belief that Turkey had become very weak and was lying on her death-bed. Russia, taking advantage of this opportunity, demanded the application of the Treaty of Berlin to the eastern provinces of the empire. This treaty had been violated many times after its signature, and its stipulations had become obsolete. Russia, however, wished to use it as a means of aggression at a time when she knew that Turkey was not able to resist. This unexpected hostility of Russia created great anxiety at the Porte. Trying, on the one hand, to

get the help of the other Ambassadors at Constantinople to frustrate the consequences of the Russian note, we gave, on the other hand, a telegraphic order to Hakky Pasha at London to sign an agreement with England and secure her help for the realization of a constructive program by the Turkish Government in the eastern provinces.

According to the Treaty of Berlin, the integrity of these Turkish provinces, where our interests were clashing with those of Russia, was assured by England. Hakky Pasha, starting from this point, asked the English Government to appoint English subjects as supervisors of the constructive work to be carried on in this disputed area. The English Government accepted this proposal, and some of the English inspectors who were to go to Turkey for this purpose were even selected and their names announced. The application of this agreement would have eliminated the dangerous effects of the Russian note and would have saved Turkey from great embarrassment. St. Petersburg, realizing this, immediately applied to London and began to use its influence against the agreement. Unfortunately, she succeeded. As a consequence, the English Government subsequently withdrew its consent, and the project to get English help for the constructive work failed.

WHY TURKEY FAVORED GERMANY.

When England turned her back to the Porte, Germany was courting Turkey to secure her sympathy. During the Balkan War Germany had not failed to flatter the national feeling of the Turks, while the other nations had only insulted it. When we addressed the Ambassadors to ask their help against the Russian demand, they all advised us to submit to the Russian desires, except the German Ambassador, who encouraged us in our project and promised us his help. Although the negotiation at London failed, we continued

our political activities, and, with the moral aid of Germany, we were able to divert the move of the Russian note and to put it among the problems of the general reform program.

But this incident, which was followed by others, gave a new impetus to the pro-German feeling among the members of the Cabinet. After the Balkan War, the political balance of the Balkans being broken in a way unfavorable to Turkey, we advocated an alliance with one of the European groups to offset this disadvantage. The amiable attitude of Germany encouraged us, and during the diplomatic conversations in regard to the eastern provinces we suggested to the German Ambassador at Constantinople that we were ready to make an alliance with Germany. The German Ambassador received this suggestion favorably, and asked instructions from Berlin. The German Government, however, did not appear enthusiastic about it, and in its answer expressed the belief that Turkey was too weak to make an alliance with Germany; that an alliance might be useful only if contracted at a propitious time, and that for the moment the time was not ripe for such a union. All our endeavors to find an ally failed because of this fact. The European powers wished a strong and powerful ally to help them.

In the Summer of 1914, however, Germany, to our surprise, revived our old suggestion and proposed to consider it anew. As no change had occurred in our foreign policy in the interval, there was no reason for refusing this proposal, which we had initiated some time before. Consequently we accepted the discussion of the problem, and in some consecutive meetings with the German Ambassador we prepared a project of alliance. Both parties easily fell into accord regarding the guiding principles and signed an agreement which would form the main lines of a political and military alliance between Germany and Turkey.

Immediately after the signature of this document the incidents followed which ended in the World War. When we signed the agreement there was no prospect of war. But after it was signed the assassination of the



(Photo by Paul Thompson)

TALAAT PASHA

Turkish official who ordered the massacre of Armenians, and who was assassinated by an Armenian youth in Berlin

Austrian Prince and the hostilities between Austria and Serbia suddenly proved ominous. We realized that the change in the attitude of Germany in seeking our co-operation was due to a forecast of future events; but we thought that, even so, this alliance would be still to the benefit of Turkey, because none of the European powers would admit us into their circle without hope of gaining material benefit.

TRYING TO AVOID WAR

Some months later we were facing the World War. Our position was exceedingly delicate. By the alliance recently concluded, we were engaged on the side of one of the combatants.

The German and Austrian Ambassadors visited us every day, insisting upon our immediate entry into the war on their side. Every day we were pressed to answer such questions as these: "When will you join us? When will you show your good will by fulfilling the terms of your agreement?" &c.

The answer to these questions was simple. We could have said: "Italy, although one of the allied members, has not yet joined the Central Powers; though the neutrality of Belgium has been assured by international treaties, Germany herself has not respected her own signature." But such an answer would have been equivalent to the denial of the alliance, which we had sought so anxiously and esteemed so highly. Moreover, such an attitude would have shown the world our faithlessness to our agreement, and would have ended the confidence of the civilized world in our word. Consequently we preferred to make a more diplomatic reply to the Germans' insistence. We told them that Turkey was faithful to her word; that she would gladly act as soon as necessity showed the need of her help; that as Russia was the most inveterate and menacing enemy of Turkey, it was not only a moral obligation for Turkey to ally herself with Germany in the war, but a necessity proved by historical facts; that it was useless and even dangerous, both for Turkey and for her allies, for us to join the Central Powers without knowing what would be the attitude of Bulgaria, who by various pacts was closely tied to Russia.

"After the Balkan War," we further explained, "our European frontier was modified in such a way that Constantinople was rendered defenseless before a serious attack of the Bulgarian Army. If Bulgaria joins the Allies against Turkey, our capital will be exposed to a danger which neither Germany nor the Turkish Army can prevent. Therefore, it will be an unsafe adventure for Tur-

key to enter the war, unless Bulgaria decisively defines her position. It is possible to win the help of Bulgaria, as there is a hostile feeling among the Bulgarians against Serbia. If Germany can induce Bulgaria to go against the Serbs, Turkey will be glad to fulfill her engagement."

This ambiguous and yet apparently logical and skillfully prepared answer saved our position for a long time. Delaying our entry into the war, we could follow the military operations at the fronts and the political changes which occurred in Europe and in the Balkans.

THE ALLIES EVASIVE

There was a belief that during this period, in which we tried to remain neutral, the Allies had offered us very alluring proposals, and that we refused them without serious consideration. This is an exaggeration of facts. The truth is, that from the beginning of the World War until the incident of the Black Sea, which caused us to enter the conflict, not a real or formal proposition had been handed us by the Allies. It is true also that the French and English Ambassadors advised us many times to keep our neutrality. Even when they observed our inclination toward Germany, the only promise they could give us was that, in the case of our preserving strict neutrality, they would guarantee the integrity of the empire and would persuade Russia to do the same. They never went further in their proposal than that, and never proposed anything else.

The pledge to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire had been repeated many times after the Paris conference, but never kept. It was not possible and wise, therefore, to give serious consideration to the evasive proposal of the Allies. Who could assure us that this promise would or could be kept after the war? We had a good example of what might happen in England's attitude regarding the eastern provinces.

دیک ایستہ یورم کہ ہرردہ نوجبر منتظم بر
شکندہ ویا لکن ضرورتک اجبار ابتدکی درجہ
پایہ شدہ . برجوق برلرہ جو قدن بری تراکم
ابتش اولان عداوتنر بو وسیلہ ایلہ انفلاق
ایددرک قطباً آرزو ایتدیکمن سوء استعمالر
سبب اولمدر . برجوق مأمورلر حدنشد زیادہ
ظالم وشدت کوستردیلر . برجوق برلرہ بغیرحق
برطاقم مصومولرہ قربان اولدیلر . بونی اعتراف
ایدہ رم .

Translation: I confess also that the deportation was not carried out lawfully everywhere. In some places unlawful acts were committed. The existing hatred among the Armenians and Mohammedans, intensified by the barbarous activities of the former, had brought many tragic consequences. Some of the officials abused their authority, and in many places people took the preventive measures into their own hands and innocent people were molested. I confess it.

Had she not broken her word upon the demand of Russia? Who could say that tomorrow Russian ambition would not nullify all the agreements entered into with the Allies?

On the contrary, we had many reasons for not believing in their promises. In the very beginning of the war England, without any reason, without even a previous announcement, had requisitioned our two great dreadnoughts, Osman I. and Reshadie, in construction at English arsenals. These two warships were ordered from England at the cost of a tremendous sacrifice on the part of the Turkish people. Poor and rich alike had shared in the expense. The Turkish women had sacrificed their valuable jewels for these ships. In spite of all our efforts and protests, we lost them, because England refused to give ear to our representations. This fact created a very bad impression both on the Porte and on the public. The requisition was interpreted by the Turks as a scheme to secure in the Mediterranean the supremacy of the Greek Navy, which had been recently strengthened by an American dreadnought, renamed the Averoff.

After these facts we could hardly

believe that England would fulfill her assurance of integrity. It was true, however, that the Allies earnestly desired our neutrality. In many cases, for instance in the purchase of the German ships the Goeben and the Breslau, and in the abolition of the capitulations, they never went further than a formal protest, and never tried to break political relations with Turkey. The Allies, who were fighting against a formidable enemy, and who knew not what the result of the war would be, appreciated the im-

were suspicious of the policy of the Porte. The German military mission was a source of real anxiety for them. We had changed the names of the German warships and put them under Turkish rule and the Turkish flag; the Allies, however, naturally protested against the keeping of the German officers and the German crews on board. On this score we were in a very difficult position, and yet the Allies limited their efforts to keeping us neutral.

BULGARIA AND RUMANIA

In answer to Germany's pressure for our immediate aid, we insisted so much upon a definite decision by Bulgaria that at last Germany asked us if it would not be advisable to enter into diplomatic negotiations with Bulgaria to that effect. It would have been unwise if not impossible to refuse such a suggestion. At that time Mr. Radoslavov was at the head of the Bulgarian Government, and Mr. Gnatiev, with whom we were personally acquainted, was his Foreign Minister. After a long discussion of the matter in a meeting of the Cabinet, we decided to send a delegate to Sofia to get into personal touch with leading persons and to investigate the situation. In company with Halil Bey, Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies at that time, I went to Sofia. We interviewed Messrs. Radoslavov and Gnatiev; we discussed at length with them the position of Bulgaria, and after many

مقام مسئولینک تجزیہ سی مسئلہ سی

کذاک اعتراف ایدرم کہ حکومتک وظیفہ سی
بوکی مظالمک، سوء استعمالک اوکنہ کجملک،
منع ایتمک ممکن اولامادی بقدر بدیه باعتراف لاری
برمانی، اونلری جزالاندیرمدری. نه کم بعض
برلرده نهب وغایتلر، ایدرلر بایلدی، خصوص
عداوتلرله تمباً حرکت ایدلریکی آکلشیلرجه
حکومت فاعل ومسئیلری توقیف، محاکمه،
تجزیه ایدمدر.

Translation: I confess also that the duty of the Government was to prevent these abuses and atrocities, or at least to hunt down and punish their perpetrators. In many places, where the property and goods of the deported people were looted and the Armenians molested, we did arrest those who were responsible, and punished them according to the law.

portance of even a small and weak nation going against them. Their policy, therefore, was not to gain our assistance, because they soon understood that was impossible, but to keep us out of the war as long as they could. On the other hand, our aim was to delay joining the Central Powers as long as possible, and while watching the political changes which might occur in the Balkans, to secure our interest as best we might.

The first military operations were favorable to Germany, and very hopeful for the Central Powers. Even after the battle of the Marne, in which the Germans were defeated, the military experts strongly believed that ultimate victory would belong to Germany. The Allies, meanwhile,

فقط بالکیز منفرد ومیل حادثلرده بایله بیان
بورطیفه تک دها عمری برصورتده ایدر
لازمی: تهجیر مالدلری بایلان برلرک جملہ
سندہ عمیق وحدی تحقیقات باقی، سوء استعمال
کوردان مرستلرک بونون علاقہ دارلری آراوب
بولاق وجملہ سی آغیر صورتده. جزالاندیرمدری
اقتضا ایدرمدی.

Translation: I confess, however, that we ought to have acted more sternly, opened up a general investigation everywhere where deportation had taken place, for the purpose of finding out all the promoters and looters, and punished them severely.

close conferences we understood that the key of the situation was not in Sofia, but at Bucharest. Bulgaria, deprived of her previous gains by the second Balkan War, was ready to go against Serbia. Even the threatening attitude of Greece was not considered dangerous at Sofia. The only source of fear was Rumania. The Bulgarian leaders were afraid of a Rumanian blow, which, with the help of the Russian Army, might be a great menace in the Balkans. It was impossible to secure the help of Bulgaria without assuring her protection from the danger that threatened in the rear. We left Sofia, therefore, for Bucharest.

Bratiano was the Prime Minister of Rumania at that time. The German Embassy was occupied by von Kuhlmann, later Foreign Minister of Germany, and the Austrian Embassy by Count Tchernin, later Foreign Minister of Austria. We visited both of them and also saw Mr. Radev, Bulgarian Ambassador to Rumania. According to the program planned in our conferences with them, each of us began to pay separate visits to the King, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and different political leaders of Rumania. In the evening we met in one of the embassies, where we reported our activities and prepared the program for the next day.

After a long discussion of the matter with the Rumanian leaders, we got the impression that Rumania was in favor of strict neutrality. The Rumanian Government promised us to keep its neutrality, despite all changes that might occur in the Balkans. Radoslavov, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, informed of the pacific intention of Rumania, asked a written agreement to that effect. When we applied to Bratiano for a written assurance he said: "Rumania promised the world to remain neutral during the present war. Serbia belongs to one of the hostile parties. To give a written promise to Bulgaria, encouraging her to war with Serbia, would mean to use our

neutrality in favor of one of the combating nations. This act, therefore, would be the negation of our promise. Consequently, to sign a written agreement in favor of one of the combating parties is against our interest and our national honor. But verbally I promise you that Rumania will not change her neutral attitude, even if Bulgaria should declare war against Serbia."

This assurance, though valuable, was not strong enough to induce Bulgaria to make a decision. She wished, and insisted upon getting, a written promise. Realizing that our mission had failed, we returned to Constantinople.

I do not know how far the aim and the result of our trip to Sofia and Bucharest were known by the allied representatives, but after our return the situation went on in the same indeterminate way. The German and Austrian Ambassadors continued playing their tricks to lead us into the war, and the allied representatives endeavored to avoid breaking political relations with the Porte. The Porte, between these two opposing forces, tried to delay war as long as possible.

GERMANY FORCES THE ISSUE

Day by day our position became more and more difficult. The addition of the German naval mission to the German military organization, the increasing number of German officers and crews, and their ever-growing influence in Constantinople rendered the situation very critical. Just at this moment the incident of the Black Sea occurred. The German Admiral Sushon, taking some of the strongest ships of the Turkish fleet, went out on the Black Sea, attacked the Russian fleet and bombarded some of the Russian ports. Contrary to the general belief, this incident had not taken place with the knowledge of the Porte. During the war I did not deny the rumor that it had; but now that the war is over, and I am not in power, I most emphatically de-

clare that I learned, as everybody did, of this regretful incident just after it happened, and that no one of the Cabinet members gave his consent to this sudden attack on the Russian fleet.

This incident caused the Porte real anxiety. All the members of the Cabinet were angry: Some of them, such as Mahmoud Pasha Churuk-soulou, Minister of Public Works; Mr. Suleiman Elbustany, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Oskan, Minister of Posts and the only Armenian member of the Cabinet, resigned as a protest, and Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance, threatened to resign if the incident was not closed amicably in a short time. Even Said Halim Pasha, the Prime Minister, consented to keep his place for only one session of the Cabinet, in which we were to discuss the matter at length, and to reach a final decision. This incident had created great surprise and excitement, not only in political circles, but among the people as well, who followed with enthusiasm the German victories at the front.

The situation had become exceedingly critical. We had to decide whether to admit this incident as an accomplished fact and to side with Germany, or to apologize for the sudden attack of the German Admiral and try to close the incident peacefully. We immediately convoked an extra session of the Cabinet at the home of Said Halim Pasha. At the end of a long and animated discussion, we authorized Said Halim Pasha, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to see the allied representatives, particularly the Russian Ambassador, and to try to settle the matter peacefully. At the same time Djavid Bey, who was known as pro-ally, was to see Mr. Bompas, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, and to ask his help.

TURKEY PUSHED INTO WAR

Immediately after the Black Sea incident had occurred, the Russian Ambassador sent a vigorous protest,

which was followed by similar protests from the allied representatives. The French and British, however, showed a certain inclination for a peaceful settlement, and, in order to close the matter amicably, they proposed that we disarm the two German ships, the Goeben and the Breslau, which had been annexed to the Ottoman fleet; that we send back all the German officers and crew, end our secret relations with Germany, and fulfill all the requirements of neutrality. Acceptance of these conditions would have amounted to breaking our alliance with Germany. The situation, already critical, had become acute. It was impossible to prolong this rather ridiculous position. We had to choose one of two alternatives; either to satisfy the demands of the allied Ambassadors, which meant to lose Germany forever, or to join the Central Powers. At a meeting of the Cabinet we discussed the matter very minutely.

Personally I regretted the incident, which aggravated the already existing difficulties, but in fact I was in favor of war. I firmly believed that, if we avoided the fulfillment of our agreement then, we should lose the confidence of all the civilized world. The Allies had already observed that we inclined toward Germany. We could hardly hope for effective help or material advantages from the Allies. They had never done more than give meaningless and ludicrous assurances of integrity. If we insisted upon keeping our neutrality until the end of the war, refusing aid to our allies in the time of their necessity, Germany and Austria also would reasonably refuse to help us in case they were victorious. Consequently, no matter whether the Allies were victorious or not, if we did not take part on one side or the other, Turkey was doomed. In both cases the victorious party would punish Turkey for her inaction, and would try to satisfy its political ambitions against the empire. At the end of the war we should be in a most disadvantageous position. As a statesman, I could

not consent to yield my country to such a disastrous fate. I was, therefore, in favor of entering the war on the side of Germany. I wished only to delay this decisive act as long as possible and to join Germany at the most propitious time.

The Black Sea incident accelerated Turkey's entrance into the war, which I believed to be inevitable. Djavid and Rahmy Beys, in whom I had unlimited confidence, opposed our entry, not because they were against it, but because they believed that the propitious moment had not yet arrived. But once the necessity of war was admitted, the question of time was of very little importance.

In the meantime, while we were discussing what decisive attitude to take, the news reaching the Porte from the Caucasian frontier indicated an increasing concentration of Russian forces on the front. This concentration, which necessitated equal precautionary measures by us, had created a very tense feeling between the two armies. Since we had advanced so far and had reached this climax, it was hardly possible to retreat. I therefore advised the members of the Cabinet to consider the Black Sea incident as an accomplished fact, and openly to declare war against the Allies. As this suggestion was backed by a majority in the meeting, we refused the conditions proposed by the allied Ambassadors, and openly joined Germany. * * * *

DEPORTATION OF THE ARMENIANS

The deportation of the Armenians, in some localities of the Greeks, and in Syria of some of the Arabs, was used inside and outside the empire as a source of attack on the Turkish Government. First of all, I wish to inform the public that the rumors of deportation and assassination were exceedingly exaggerated. The Greeks and the Armenians, taking advantage of the ignorance of the American and European public of the Near Eastern situation and of the character of the

Turks, used the deportation as a means for propaganda, and painted it as best suited their aim. In saying this, I do not mean to deny the facts. I desire only to eliminate the exaggerations and to relate the facts as they occurred.

I admit that we deported many Armenians from our eastern provinces, but we never acted in this matter upon a previously prepared scheme. The responsibility for these acts falls first of all upon the deported people themselves. Russia, in order to lay hand on our eastern provinces, had armed and equipped the Armenian inhabitants of this district, and had organized strong Armenian bandit forces in the said area. When we entered the great war, these bandits began their destructive activities in the rear of the Turkish Army on the Caucasus front, blowing up the bridges, setting fire to the Turkish towns and villages and killing the innocent Mohammedan inhabitants, regardless of age and sex. They spread death and terror all over the eastern provinces, and endangered the Turkish Army's line of retreat. All these Armenian bandits were helped by the native Armenians. When they were pursued by the Turkish gendarmes, the Armenian villages were a refuge for them. When they needed help, the Armenian peasants around them, taking their arms hidden in their churches, ran to their aid. Every Armenian church, it was later discovered, was a depot of ammunition. In this disloyal way they killed more than 300,000 Mohammedans, and destroyed the communication of the Turkish Army with its bases.

The information that we were receiving from the administrators of these provinces and from the commander of the Caucasian Army gave us details of the most revolting and barbarous activities of the Armenian bandits. It was impossible to shut our eyes to the treacherous acts of the Armenians, at a time when we were engaged in a war which would deter-

mine the fate of our country. Even if these atrocities had occurred in a time of peace, our Government would have been obliged to quell such outbreaks. The Porte, acting under the same obligation, and wishing to secure the safety of its army and its citizens, took energetic measures to check these uprisings. The deportation of the Armenians was one of these preventive measures.

I admit also that the deportation was not carried out lawfully everywhere. In some places unlawful acts were committed. The already existing hatred among the Armenians and Mohammedans, intensified by the barbarous activities of the former, had created many tragic consequences. Some of the officials abused their authority, and in many places people took preventive measures into their own hands and innocent people were molested. I confess it. I confess, also, that the duty of the Government was to prevent these abuses and atrocities, or at least to hunt down and punish their perpetrators severely. In many places, where the property and goods of the deported people were looted, and the Armenians molested, we did arrest those who were responsible and punished them according to the law. I confess, however, that we ought to have acted more sternly, opened up a general investigation for the purpose of finding out all the promoters and looters and punished them severely.

ATROCITIES CONDONED

But we could not do that. Although we punished many of the guilty, most of them were untouched. These people, whom we might call outlaws, because of their unlawful attitude in disregarding the order of the Central Government, were divided into two classes. Some of them were acting under personal hatred, or for individual profit. Those who looted the goods of the deported Armenians were easily punishable, and we punished them. But there was another

group, who sincerely believed that the general interest of the community necessitated the punishment alike of those Armenians who massacred the guiltless Mohammedans and those who helped the Armenian bandits to endanger our national life. The Turkish elements here referred to were short-sighted, fanatic, and yet sincere in their belief. The public encouraged them, and they had the general approval behind them. They were numerous and strong. Their open and immediate punishment would have aroused great discontent among the people, who favored their acts. An endeavor to arrest and to punish all these promoters would have created anarchy in Anatolia at a time when we greatly needed unity. It would have been dangerous to divide the nation into two camps, when we needed strength to fight outside enemies. We did all that we could, but we preferred to postpone the solution of our internal difficulties until after the defeat of our external enemies.

As to the deportation of the Greeks and the Arabs, this charge is based more on propaganda than on real fact. The truth is that the Greeks living on the coast of the Sea of Marmora supplied food and petrol to the enemy submarines, which, passing through the strait, entered the Marmora and threatened our communication by sea. In order to prevent the Greeks from aiding the enemy, we deported those who were guilty to Anatolia. But their deportation was carried out in a very regular way. They suffered neither loss of life nor of goods. As to the Arabs of Syria, we confined ourselves to the application of martial law, and punished only those who promoted a revolution to overthrow the Turkish authority in Syria.

These preventive measures were taken in every country during the war, but, while the regrettable results were passed over in silence in the other countries, the echo of our acts was heard the world over, because everybody's eyes were upon us.

WHAT SOVIETISM HAS DONE TO RUSSIA

BY WALTER EDGAR IVES

The real nature of the Communist idea, as defined by Bolshevik leaders, and how it has worked under Lenin and Trotzky, crushing first the Russian farmer, then the workman—Peril of the insidious poison in other countries, including the United States

SOVIET Russia has now become a name of ominous import to the whole civilized world, including America. The new and unprecedented experiment of creating an alleged workingman's Government has been linked with a propaganda aimed at world revolution which has caused all the Western nations extreme disquietude. Alarmed by Bolshevik propaganda in the Near East and India, Great Britain has temporized with the Soviet regime; France has refused compromise, and has followed an aggressive policy; the United States remains firm for a system of non-intervention. The friends of the communist republic point triumphantly to the new reform measures introduced by Lenin not long ago to placate the hostility of the peasants and to stave off the imminent economic catastrophe. Lenin succeeded in putting through a partial return to private industry; a number of factories were denationalized, free trade was permitted to the sullen, hostile peasants; the latter were relieved of the forced requisitions of their grain and were allowed to "pay in kind." Glowing reports came out of Russia following the application of these new measures, while the extreme Bolshevik leaders looked on askance at these apostacies to the fundamental tenets of communism.

Hardly had the new measures been

set in motion when the Moscow Government was confronted with one of the most critical situations it has yet been called upon to face. Famine stalked the land, thousands were perishing in the normally rich Volga country, and the death of millions was threatened. Staggering under this last blow, the communist leaders called on the hated bourgeois Governments of the outside world, whose existence they had long been threatening, for help. The United States relief organization has already delivered more than 5,000 tons of food to the starving people. The Soviet Government, by incredible efforts, has found the seed necessary for the next harvests. The vast and suffering land is saved again. Or at least the Soviet Government is saved—for the time being. Those who favor it point triumphantly to the new measures, and declare that by successive modifications it will evolve into a true democracy and maintain its power. Those who judge it wholly upon its record, and who have seen clearly, from the utterances of the Bolshevik leaders themselves, that these recent concessions are nothing but temporary expedients, wrung from them by necessity; that their beliefs remain the same, and that they still cling to the dream of world revolution, have armed their hearts with patience in the hope of an overthrow from within.

Meanwhile the ramifications of Bolshevik propaganda extend from Moscow in radii that reach like lines of steel to the Far East and the Far West, and even across the ocean into the United States. Underground and secret, the poisonous leaven is working everywhere. Turkey is infected by it, and Afghanistan. To Italy, Milan, Bologna and Imola have spoken in plain language. In Germany it has already caused the blood of thousands to flow. Like a poisonous stream it crawls through France and Great Britain. Dammed up in America by official hostility, it flows on underground. The leaders of our Government, however, underestimate its danger. Only Lenin, in the Kremlin, knows how dangerous it is to the "bourgeois" Governments. Labor and intelligentsia alike are being misled by it. For the communist arguments are insidious and speciously convincing. The average man, to say nothing of the more ignorant elements of our population, would be wholly unable to answer them. To minds unprepared, they seem convincing. And therein lies the danger—and the lesson.

About a year ago a combination of circumstances brought me into intimate touch with one of the leaders of the Communist Party in one of the principal foreign capitals. I had gone to Europe for a study of economic conditions. As regards communism, I had long believed that there must be some good fundamental reason why the Soviet theory had been able, through these years, to hold its own, and even to expand throughout the world. But this was as far as I had gone. I decided now to take advantage of this unforeseen opportunity, and to devote myself to the study of my new friend's philosophy. I succeeded in gaining the confidence of his coterie, and was admitted to one of its secret sessions. I there learned, for the first time, what the communist doctrine really was. This revelation was illuminating, and I

bowed to the apparent cogency of its reasoning. It is this doctrine in all its nakedness which I wish to lay before the reader, before showing exactly what its application did to Russia.

At this secret session, the men and women whom I found around me were not at all the type of wild-eyed communist which the world usually visualizes. On the contrary, they were sober, serious-looking people, keen-eyed and determined of expression. I soon discovered that I had before me some of the master minds of the Russian revolution—the monster's brains.

FROM MARX TO LENIN

The principal speaker, whom I shall call, for reasons of convenience, Mischinev, spoke wholly in French. His argument—the chronological development of the whole communist creed—traced down the history of socialism from the pre-Marxian period until its final emergence into pure communism and its culmination in the Soviet revolution. This is what Mischinev said:

The early pioneers of socialism—men like Fourier and Owen—had not been able to detect in the capitalistic form of society which survived the French Revolution—a movement not strictly anti-capitalistic in character—the massed powers which unchecked will crush this society. Marx for the first time showed how the development of production under the domination of capitalism, entailed the ever-growing subjugation of the masses, and he also showed that a concentration of industry must be met by a parallel concentration of the masses abused by this industry. Emancipation through organization now became a slogan ominous in the ears of the capitalist exploiters.

Engel's famous manifesto of 1847 made the issue clearer. It was to be an uninterrupted struggle by brain and wit, pending the inevitable resort to armed revolution. This was already communism, which is fundamentally the doctrine of the revolution. The Marx-Engels doctrine, however, degenerated in the hands of the Social Democrats, who advocated evolution, as opposed to revolution. The principle of influencing governmental decisions through general elections was preached by Ferdinand Lassalle, the leading mind of com-

munism in the sixties. This theory was advanced by the wave of prosperity during that decade, and was only temporarily checked by the business reaction all over Europe which set in about 1880, favored in Germany, in particular, by Bismarck's ruthless policy of suppression. Then came the unprecedented boom of prosperity in the nineties. The workmen obtained everywhere representation in their respective Parliaments, and the era of the "Revisionists" (revisers of the Marxian doctrine)—led by such men as Bernstein in Germany, Jaurès in France and Trèves in Italy—now began.

The fallacy of revisionism, however, became apparent with the formation by capital of trusts, syndicates and other all-powerful and despotic organizations, which imposed protective agricultural tariffs, brought sharp rises in grain and other commodities, and began to push to the wall not only the proletariat, but also to a great extent the middle classes. The trade unions, which had held their own against the average employer, were powerless against the steel, coal and oil kings, who commanded tens of thousands. The imperialistic policy of all large European nations bade well to convert the fight of the syndicates and trusts for the markets of the world into a world war. Increased taxation for the support of military and naval armaments and exploitation of every description awoke the workers from their Utopian dream of revisionism.

Then came the first Russian revolution of 1905, which demonstrated the power that is dormant in the masses. Already these masses were feeling their power. The idea of the mass strike originated in this same year in Austria. The practicability of the measure was soon afterward recognized in Germany and France, and in the latter country the Syndicalists proclaimed it under the name "La grève générale" (the general strike), as the all-potent means of the coming emancipation. In Germany a slogan was made of the poet's ominous verse:

Alle Raeder stehen still,
Wenn dein starker Arm es will!

Then came the momentous question of deciding whether the general strike was to become a primary or a secondary weapon in the hand of the proletariat. In other words, was it to be wielded by the Parliamentary labor leaders as an auxiliary aid, or was it to be used directly by the masses in their own advantage? And although it was fully established that Parliaments everywhere formed but a screen for the secret councils in which the sharks of junkerdom and capitalism decided all the vital questions, including the fate of the people, the majority of leading minds of socialism, men like Karl Kautsky, advocated the general strike as an auxiliary weapon! Kautsky & Co. thus revealed themselves as sham communists, and sought to postpone, if not

to avoid, the decisive battle which the desperate situation of the masses imperatively demanded. Only one great minority leader, Anton Pannekoek, then by far the most intelligent mind of socialism, stood out, portrayed the Parliamentary farce in all its grotesque colors, and proved conclusively the necessity of smashing a capitalist state in all its veiling democratic forms to achieve victory. Slowly the masses moved toward his view.

But before the blessing of seeing theories transformed into practice in at least one country was bestowed on it, the proletariat had first to suffer the fatal consequences of its own impotence. It must go through the hell of the World War, and bleed to death in the interest of a feudal bourgeoisie, of junkerdom and capitalism. Nearly a century of oppression had not sufficed to rouse the enslaved masses to more than an occasional timid resistance. It remained for the monster of the World War to show them their utter helplessness.

The Russian people were the first to understand the monster's teaching, and to draw the consequence by bringing about the long-deferred revolution. This revolution constituted the first answer of the proletariat to the World War, and hence it is the harbinger and champion of the international revolution. Despite all obstacles and counter-revolutionary efforts of the capitalist nations, the Russian proletariat, ruling by the dictatorship of the proletariat through the workmen's councils, will continue a relentless war throughout the world to make this dictatorship universal. It will listen to no futile arguments of heretical Mensheviks in Russia, Italy, Germany or France, who plead for delay until the capitalist system has developed to its maximum of power. Soviet communism aims to bring about the revolution now. From all over the world, despite all baseness and lies of the bourgeoisie and their press, we receive day by day the proofs that this preparatory fight of the proletariat is progressing, stimulated by the developments in Russia, the land that has pointed out to them the road to liberty.

AN INSIDIOUS DOCTRINE

The sensation I had, as I listened to this long and chronological explanation, may be best described as a thrill of novelty, despite the fact that I had been made informally familiar with the cardinal points of the Soviet doctrine before I was admitted to the conclave. I venture to say that the average loyal citizen would have found himself in my state of mind. Research work has convinced me that the number of my

readers who have had the opportunity to obtain clear and exhaustive definitions of the communist idea is negligible. The value of such definitions, in my mind, is beyond all question. Our own Government has underestimated the danger and the insidiousness of this doctrine, which Soviet propagandists are ever spreading throughout this country. The public mind must be prepared to understand the true aspect of this teaching and be taught to refute it. The menace is all the more pronounced because the propagandists understand how to dwell upon and utilize such elements of truth as may be contained in their indictment of capitalistic society to further their sinister ends. And there is no gain-saying the existence of such elements. To deny, for instance, that imperialism, whether displayed in military or in naval power, is not pregnant with plutocratic ideas, and hence to maintain that the World War was void of all capitalistic tendencies, requires a large measure of simplicity or duplicity, or both. There was this difference between the principal contestants, that on the one side such plutocratic factors as were at stake were shrouded in forms of suavity, while on the other the frame was rudely carved in lines of offensive arrogance. It was German arrogance that preferred the quick decision of arms to the laborious one of commercial development.

This truth was for a long time so cleverly veiled that many students of the war, not excluding myself, were, prior to America's entry into the conflict, deceived as to the real issue, and were led to back the wrong horse. Only after my visit to Germany in 1916 did I come to see things in a different light. By a series of circumstances, I came to believe that two fundamental evils were struggling for preponderance, and that as long as one must necessarily come out ahead, it was best in our own interest to have the lesser evil gain the upper hand.

In the following pages I shall at-

tempt, from my knowledge of conditions in Soviet Russia, to give the general guiding lines along which the public should be instructed to meet and to refute even the most convincingly advanced theories of communism. Inasmuch as the improvement of the social condition of the proletariat is fundamentally the goal at which communist science pretends to aim, the proof that the application of the revolutionary theory in Russia has brought about exactly the reverse condition will mean a good step forward on the road that will lead deluded minds back to common sense as readily as it has rid me personally of pernicious misconceptions. I shall attempt to give this proof in condensed form.

HOW LENIN CRUSHED PEASANTS

To the observer who follows Mischinev's invitation and turns his eyes to Russia for enlightenment, it will at once become obvious that any attempt to draw a parallel between developments in Russia and other countries would be based on a fundamentally wrong presumption—the presumption that the war placed all countries in the same indescribable state of chaos and demoralization as Russia. In Russia the animal-like and drifting hordes would have followed the leadership of a Hottentot chief or the archfiend himself, if only he used the right means to chain them to his colors. Lenin, the daring adventurer who utilized the breakdown of a civil and military machine to seize dictatorial power, chose the right means to prop his rule. The slogan which the new Government of Lenin and his satellites used to gain the unqualified support of the bestial, drunken mobs was this: "Soldiers, workmen, peasants, the country is yours, all that it contains is yours, satisfy your passions!" This was for the analphabets, the illiterate hordes. Those proletarians intellectually higher were attached to the Government by being given posts in the new bureaucracy.

To the support of these two groups, the leaders added that of the Red Guards. It was this latter body that in November, 1917, executed the coup d'état which put Lenin in power. It consisted at the time of perhaps 10,000 daring adventurers, who did not worry over questions of polity, but, like the rabble, were out to gratify their passions. The recruits were chosen either from such of the more intelligent workmen as preferred army life to work in a Government office, or they were selected from the Lettish population. The Russian Lett was notorious for his savagery, and always to be counted on when it came to a question of shedding blood. Like the official caste, the Red Guard Army was endowed with every imaginable privilege. The combination of both formed the whip in the hand of the Government which was to scourge the deluded masses as soon as the Government gained sufficient strength.

The peasantry was that part of the proletariat which was first to feel the lash. The Government quite suddenly canceled all the privileges which the peasant had enjoyed during the period in which it was gathering strength. For example, he was ordered to deliver all arms to the Government within twenty days. He was further informed that free transportation on the railways would cease, and that he must pay for the class he used. The peasant, hitherto encouraged and even urged to possess arms, and taught that as a free citizen of the divine new communist society he was entitled to the free utilization of all public property, railways or otherwise, was dumfounded. He was given little time for thought. The Red Guards promptly appeared at his home within the twenty days of grace, and, where arms were found, no need remained for bringing the delinquent to justice after the departure of the Government's representatives. As for the trains, one of the Red Guards' most popular pastimes consisted in lasso-

ing the hapless peasant as he slept peacefully in the sleeping car which, in the days of the Czar, he had never so much as dreamed of entering, and yanking him out of the window of the compartment just as the train was set in motion.

These and other Draconian measures created an atmosphere of desperate acquiescence. Meanwhile, however, as a natural consequence of the corrupt methods and mismanagement of the new official caste, prices began to soar, money lost its value, what production remained came to a complete standstill, and it became virtually impossible to obtain food. This lack of food, which was most dangerous, the Government blamed on the *kulak* (literally, "fist"), or well-to-do peasant, who was charged with hoarding food and profiteering. As a matter of fact, the *kulak* had long before been exterminated. The Government's invitation to the workmen to organize armed bands to compel the farmer-peasant to "sell" his product, amounted virtually to declaring civil war between the workmen's proletariat and the proletariat of the peasantry.

DECREE OF PAUPERISM

To facilitate the disintegration of this peasant proletariat, the Government devised a scheme which combined trickery with brute force. I refer to the "Decree of Village Pauperism" issued early in 1918. It ordered the formation of a committee in each village, ostensibly to safeguard the rights of the peasant against the extinct *kulak*. All inhabitants of the village, except those in possession of twelve kilograms of flour monthly, were said to have a "surplus," and were forbidden membership on this committee. This absurd limitation meant that 80 per cent. of the grain-producing inhabitants of even a very poor village community were excluded from the committee and classed as *kulaks*. The small percentage eligible con-

sisted mostly of peasants who had been "tipped off" by the Government to keep their wheat or grain production down to the prescribed limit, and who now found themselves richly compensated and in a position to produce their bread clandestinely. Other members were drawn from Soviet workmen who in the guise of destitute farmers had been sent to settle in the villages. For a time all was well. When these committees began to grow too powerful, the Government calmly suppressed them and confiscated their ill-gotten loot for its own benefit.

In addition to these various blows, the amazed and resentful peasantry were ordered by a decree of September, 1918, to hand over to the Government all the land taken from the bourgeoisie and the real *kulak* in the early days of the communist regime. As the principle of equal division of land among the rural proletariat had been, and still is, one of the main features of the communist doctrine, such a measure was a heavy blow to the faithful. A further demand that all chattels that had gone with the land must also be delivered created a perplexing situation. The chattels had vanished. The Government, facing the fact that these chattels could not be restored, gave the peasant an opportunity to redeem himself upon other lines. In the late Fall of 1918 the introduction of universal military service was decided on.

This step was another measure diametrically opposed to communist doctrine. The peasant, like the workmen, wanted peace, and was reluctant to don again the garb of militarism. It was, however, on him, who was expected to "redeem" himself, that the main burden fell. He resorted to subterfuge, to obstruction and desertion, in some cases to open resistance. He was dealt with in a manner beyond description. Furthermore, the Government, to finance the succession of military campaigns which now began, issued the "Decree of the Ten-Billion War Tax." It was again on

the rural proletariat that the main burden fell. Arbitrary levies and denunciation were employed. The so-called Special Commissions for the Suppression of Speculation and Sabotage descended on the rural communities. In some cases whole villages were practically exterminated in penalty for not understanding and conforming to arbitrary and unexpected interpretations of a given tax, viz., the tax on luxuries.

Mindful of the revolutionary slogan that all systems must perish when they become intolerable, the enslaved rural masses, frantic in their travail, rallied at last to execute the counter-revolution. Hundreds of thousands strong, they rose in the provinces of Samara, Brjank, Tula, Rjasan and dozens of others, and all during the Spring and Summer of 1919 they fought sanguinary battles against their oppressors, the real battle of the proletariat for liberty, a battle forced on them, not because they were capitalistically inclined, but because they had been reduced by their liberators to a condition unparalleled since the time of Ivan the Terrible.

The Government used every possible means to conceal from the world the seriousness of this rebellion. Where complete denial proved impossible, official reports were issued minimizing the facts. The full truth leaked out finally through private sources. This counter-revolution, which loomed up again and again during 1919, was finally smothered because it lacked arms and organization. The "open letters" issued by Trotzky, declaring that the Government wished to consider the peasants as its friends, were a fiendish joke, calculated merely to deceive the foreign peasantry regarding the real condition of their Russian brethren. The fact that there is apparently today no open rebellion against the Government must not be mistaken as evidence that the Russian peasantry have become reconciled to their lamentable lot, which had not improved

one iota in 1920 when I made my personal investigation. The most recent measures of free trade and payment in kind are merely a palliative devised to cure a dangerous epidemic of peasant hatred; they will fail of their purpose. The will to counter-revolution still burns on. It is only complete impotency that is keeping the rural proletariat of Russia in subjection.

SUBJUGATION OF WORKMEN

What, now, was the experience of the town proletariat? Like their brothers in the countryside, they were destined to undergo a similar process of progressive disillusion. Like them, they had been taught that they were liberated of all yokes, under no compulsion to submit to restrictions of any kind. The workman had been taught that the factory was his, and that the managing council chosen by his vote would be submissive to his wishes. He was unwilling to submit to even the most elementary requirements of production, such as the keeping of hours or the dropping of occupations of a personal or private nature during working hours. He was now suddenly asked to take orders from the factory council. Passive and even active resistance began. For a time obstructive measures triumphed, inasmuch as the Government was still busy waging its war on the rural proletariat. For many months the workman was able to defy, when he saw fit, any orders his council dared give him. Unpopular delegates were simply deposed and replaced by representatives subservient to the workmen's will to maximum profits at a minimum outlay of work and inconvenience. But an end came to this blissful state as soon as the Government's hands were free for a new battle. The Red Guards began to appear in the industrial communities.

The Government's first measure was to revoke the right of the workmen to recall their delegates—at

least within a period of six months. This removed them from the workmen's control and dictation. Thus a basic principle of the communist doctrine, preached since the time of Karl Marx—the right of recall of workmen's representatives—was annulled. Mischinev, the communist whose speech I summarized at the beginning of this study, very wisely passed over in complete silence this flagrant violation of a fundamental principle of communism. Why should a communist apostle weaken his cause? And this was but a first step. A mass of other measures followed, leading up to the complete suppression of the workmen's proletariat. The workmen's council was now given sweeping power. Only a small element were sincere communist idealists, striving to promote production. The rest were selfish grafters, who sought their own advantage under a regime of tyranny.

It is curious and interesting to observe how closely these newly organized councils followed the parallel of the rural committees previously discussed. Like these committees, the councils became too powerful; their egotistical dictation threatened to bring production to a standstill. The Government followed its old procedure. The councils, in the Fall of 1918, were divested of power and reduced to the position of factory police and official denunciators. The power was now entrusted to Executive Councils, formed by special commissaries, who were sent to the factories from Moscow and Petrograd. This was the first step toward nationalization.

The new Executive Councils, however, were no more successful in promoting production than the preceding delegates. In addition, the food shortage became so threatening that the Soviet leaders feared disaffection in the ranks of the Red Guards. It was necessary to placate the workmen. This was done by once more appealing to the lowest instincts of the most debased elements of the masses.

They were told that sabotage of the "bourgeois intelligentsia" was to blame for the failure of the Government to redeem its promises of prosperity. But this "bourgeois intelligentsia" had already been exterminated, with the exception of needed technical and scientific experts. The fury of the deluded and greedy populace was thus let loose upon the peasantry, on the lower middle classes in the cities, and on the few remaining honest elements of the workmen class itself. And the Government issued its "decree of the workmen's right to take possession of the bourgeois home."

In many cities, notably Petrograd, where the death toll of the bourgeoisie had been especially heavy, the most desirable apartments and homes, unless requisitioned by the Government, were vacant. Nevertheless, the Government unceasingly directed the workmen to occupy the inhabited homes. The process of ejecting such bourgeois elements, mostly women and children, as were still scattered over the city, and also the lower middle classes, compensated the lewd sections of the workmen for all their sufferings. Another bait to the scum was the "decree of the right of requisition," which gave to the mob the property of all classes who had saved up some bare necessities, including such workmen as had incurred the displeasure of the Government commissaries in charge of requisitions. All these and similar measures had only a temporary effect upon the restive proletariat masses, but they enabled the Government to "carry on" until the crop of the Fall of 1918 insured the regime against disaffection in their own ranks.

But then began the military campaigns against foreign nations, which gave the Soviet leaders a new pretext for carrying on their policy of suppression. "For Russia's sake" the working proletariat was stripped of its few remaining rights. The right of free speech was abolished. Pamphlets and printed matter of every

kind were vigorously suppressed unless specially sanctioned by the Government. The right of assembly was denied. Any displeasing attitude or utterance, no matter how inconsequential, was prosecuted under the act against sabotage and counter-revolution.

NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

And even yet oppression had not reached its limit. In the late Fall of 1918 the general nationalization of industry was decided upon. The Executive Factory Council was now to be composed of a member of the General Executive Council at Moscow, of a technical factory superintendent to be appointed by the General Executive Council, and of a workmen's representative to be chosen by the workmen in the factory. Nine times out of ten the Government so manipulated the appointment of the workmen's delegate that the latter was no more the representative and champion of the rights of the workmen than the other two members appointed by Moscow direct. Very soon the new "representatives" of the workmen, availing themselves of their position as direct representatives of the Moscow Government, began to practice their persecution on a vastly more sweeping scale than the preceding councils had done. The first act of the councils was to create a general spy and denunciation system everywhere, in factory, school, home, and elsewhere, the minuteness of which was admirable. Less than six weeks after nationalization had been carried through, even members of families dared not exchange their views on the new order of things.

Nor was this tyrannical and terroristic rule without its ironic aspect. The workmen were given the explicit right of appeal to the General Executive Council at Moscow. They had even been urged to make use of that right. If the naive complainant was lucky, he never received an answer to his com-

plaint to Moscow. If he wasn't, the reply would be the arrival of the Red Guards, sent to hale the renegade before the supreme council. As a rule, this was the last heard of him. It is not surprising that complaints grew more and more infrequent. Meanwhile the work of crushing the proletarian workman continued.

In February, 1919, a national decree was issued which directed follows:

A. For not reporting to work, 5 days' imprisonment. Second offense, 10 days' imprisonment. Third offense, court-martial for sabotage and counter-revolutionary tendency.

B. For being late to work: One-quarter of an hour late, 5 hours' arrest in the factory jail; one-half hour late, jail from 5 P. M. until 7 A. M. One hour late, 3 days in jail.

In March this decree was amplified as follows:

1. The council has the right to regulate the legal working time and to institute regular overtime as it sees fit.

2. The right to strike is abolished. Any attempt at disregarding this order will be prosecuted under the act against sabotage and counter-revolution.

The first part of the new decree entailed the imposing of from ten to twelve working hours. The second part, in all its outrage to the rights of the workingman, was simply an official confirmation of what had hitherto been an unwritten law. Where, in the history of capitalism, against which Mischinev inveighed so bitterly, where during the most rampant epoch of trustism, or even under the stress of the World War, was labor ever subjected to measures such as those adopted in the decrees just quoted?

And here also the law of almighty nature, reaction, whipped the proletariat of the cities to the same hopeless battle against the tyranny of a ruling minority. Unorganized, despair their only leader, the urban workmen rose spontaneously to share their rural brethren's fate. On March 18, 1919, the flame of insurrection shot up from the enormous Putilov Works at Petrograd. The Soviet Govern-

ment had been in power for nearly eighteen months. Could there have been a more terrible indictment of its rule than this desperate attempt not of the bourgeoisie but of the very proletariat masses to free themselves from the monster's grip? The Government dealt with the rebellion of the unorganized and poorly armed majority as it had dealt with the revolt of the outraged peasantry. Machine guns, those loathed tools of capitalism, struck up their frenzied dance. Toward the end of 1919 the torch of active resistance had been quenched in the proletariat's blood. The quiet that now apparently prevails in Russia is the quiet of the graveyard.

And yet the Mischinevs, apostles of this infernal creed, have the effrontery to continue to hold up Russia as an example of the perfect State!

RUSSIA ON EXHIBIT

But how is it, I am asked, that occasionally not only Socialists, but representatives of the bourgeoisie, who have been guests of the Bolsheviks, will return to their native land full of praise for the so-called new social order? The explanation is simple. Everything is done to make the guest's visit an unforgettably agreeable one. The guest is shown what the Government is anxious for him to see, and nothing more. There is an artful display of "glory," enthusiasm and pomp. What student of affairs communistic has forgotten the glowing reports of the festivities of the Third International at Moscow in February and March, 1919, that were brought to the outside world by the returning delegates, in some cases serious-minded newspaper men? Grand opera and theatrical performances, high-sounding addresses by Trotzky, Kamenev, et al.; overflow meetings, overwhelming enthusiasm of the "masses," official dinners, brilliant parades, the unending line of Red Guards, infantry, cavalry and artillery, second to none in dress, physique and discipline, moving down

the richly decorated avenues and squares. Dazzled by all this magnificence, the foreign guests did not observe that from these wildly cheering "masses" the lower middle classes and even the proletariat were conspicuously absent. These frantic crowds were all members of the privileged official class, tied to the Government by the strongest ties, those of self-preservation and self-interest—the instinct of the gangster to protect the chief whose capture will deliver his henchmen into the hands of the law.

Only of late have the Soviets begun to find it more difficult to deceive their foreign guests. Returning observers have begun in many and important instances to be divided in their opinions of this ideal State. On Oct. 6, 1920, a Parliamentary executive group of the Italian Socialist Party listened to a report at Trieste of a special Italian labor commission which had just returned from Soviet Russia. Three members of the commission, notably Deputy Bombacci, drew an optimistic picture of the Soviet regime. He was strongly opposed by the majority of his colleagues. Deputy d'Aragona, General Secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor, summed up his experiences as follows:

The economic life of Russia is characterized by an enormous moral and material misery. The means of production in the hands of the Soviet has meant complete ruin. The capitalist régime has been successfully destroyed in Russia, but communism has failed to build up a moral organization in its place.

Why, then, does not the Red Army rise up against such an oppressive system, and why does it continue to fight for Holy Russia? The elaborate spy and denunciation system of which I have already spoken, the introduction of foreign elements, Mohammedans, Chinese and Germans, and the self-interest of the strong and reckless minority in the army representing the ruling class, are sufficient explanation of the first part of this query.

The repeated victories of this army are explained by the irrefutable fact that the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, Judenitch and, perhaps also, at least to some extent, Wrangel, were Czarist reactionaries.

The deathblow to Bolshevism can be struck only from without. France is the only nation which from the start has had the correct conception of the methods that will eventually prevail against the Bolshevik tyranny. If the world is to be freed from the plague emanating from Russia, the nations will sooner or later have to come to the French point of view and co-operate in an active campaign against it. There is no use to hope for an anti-Bolshevist upheaval from within; even should it occur, it will simply mean new complications. A counter-revolutionary Russia which has gained power without foreign help will carry punishment to the foreign countries that have remained inactive in yet another form.

We are squarely placed before the alternative: Recognition of communism, or its destruction at the source. Unless we are willing to stoop to the former, we must do away with the suspense in which we shall be held for years to come, a suspense, which will make a return to normalcy impossible, and which will render life intolerable. Our course is twofold: first, at home, in place of violent and senseless suppression of the Crimson Creed, the adoption of a policy of counter-propaganda and enlightenment, spread through Church and home, in school and factory, this to go hand in hand with the stern but just punishment only of actual violation of law; second, abroad, in place of the hitherto prevailing weakness and vacillation, acceptance of France's principle of active measures against the present Russian Government, the source of the malady that has infected the world. May our Government give the deserving answer to Civilization's categorical "QUOUSQUE TANDEM * * *?"

THE BALKAN TURMOIL

BY CONSTANTINE STEPHANOVE

A Bulgarian scholar and statesman residing at Sofia

Bulgaria's passionate protest against unjust treatment by the Entente Powers—Painful impression caused by their note making Bulgaria responsible for any disorder in Thrace—The Stambolisky Government's record in fighting trouble makers

HAVE the conditions of things in the Balkans changed since the great war? Not in the least. Today France and England are replacing Russia and Austria, and are continuing their clandestine diplomacy. England is stubbornly supporting Greece, which she virtually created at the Peace Conference, while France, finding herself outplayed in the Near East, is beginning to take the side of the Bulgarians, with ominous results for them. France's intimate relations with Ismail Kemal Pasha and her efforts to create an autonomous province out of Thrace under her protectorate have evoked England's hostility toward Bulgaria. This fact explains why the English press so readily gave publicity to the recent reports emanating from Greek sources to the effect that Bulgaria had official connection not only with the Angora Government, but with the Moscow Soviet as well; that she was secretly making military preparations for an attack on her, and that, in the meantime, she was encouraging the local bands to harass Greece in Thrace. And, in order to mitigate public opinion abroad in regard to King Constantine's return, the Greeks spread the news that ex-Czar Ferdinand was on his way to Bulgaria to regain his throne!

The truth is Greece greatly fears Bulgaria lest she make a dash for the Aegean, particularly now, while she is engaged in Asia Minor, and since the friendly meeting of Mr. Dimitroff, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior,

and Premier Pashitch of Serbia, at Belgrade on June 5 last. All the more is she suspicious of Bulgaria, since France is very friendly to the latter and is working for United Yugoslavia with Bulgaria in it. Greece's apprehensions, naturally enough, were sympathetically viewed in London, where the official circles are hostile to a Serbo-Bulgarian rapprochement. The echo of it was manifested first in the form of press reports about Bulgaria's alleged complicity with the enemies of Greece, &c.

But England's espousal of the Greek cause was subsequently more concretely expressed on July 23, when the Bulgarian Government was presented with a "friendly" and "mild" diplomatic note. Though both the French and Italian Ministers accompanied their British colleague in the handing of the note, it was plain to all that they had done it reluctantly and out of courtesy. The sudden change of England's attitude toward Bulgaria—until then Bulgaria's warmest supporter—marks a new phase in the Near Eastern question, which doesn't presage good to the peace of the world. The respective Ministers, in presenting it, declared that they "were authorized by their Governments to call attention to the inclination of some individuals to create disturbances in Thrace, which, if realized, would cause grave consequences," and gave warning that "Bulgaria will be held responsible should any movement or movements be started in that province."

Those familiar with the earnestness and efficacy of the present Cabinet in putting into execution the Entente's wishes, in fulfilling its peace obligations, and in suppressing every symptom of Bolshevik or any other kind of illicit movement in the country, all are at a loss to understand the present action of the three great powers. Though the Government has incurred the unbounded enmity of all opposition parties and the public in general, because of its blunderous home measures, even its direst enemies agree that Premier Stambolisky's Cabinet has shown itself sufficiently able to cope with any attempt on the part of any organized body of people to involve the country in new conflicts with its neighbors.

To that effect it has shown itself drastic, merciless and severe to the point of brutality. It has terrorized the Macedonian, Thracian and Dobrudjan benevolent organizations, interned or driving out of the country many members, and arresting others. It had gone so far, in its zeal to please the Entente Powers and its neighbors, as to hinder delegates of these organizations from going abroad to plead their cause before Europe and America. For two years its mailed fist has been raised upon half a million refugees from Macedonia, Thrace, Dobrudja and the Tzaribrod district, who had fled to its borders for safety from a persecution and terror surpassing the blackest days of Turkish misrule.

All in the desire to further good neighborly relations and of leading to a federation of the Balkan States, Premier Stambolisky's Government repeatedly renounced interests in Macedonia and the other Bulgar provinces. And recently, in order to show the Serbians that its desire for a clearer and more amicable understanding is bona fide, the Government promulgated the new orthographic program which, as the Bulgarian Minister at Belgrade recently declared, renders the Bulgarian and Serbian languages more nearly iden-

tical, being another step toward paving the way for a Serbo-Bulgarian rapprochement.

Stambolisky's Government, little successful in solving the country's economical and financial problems, has shown an exceptional aptitude in handling every reactionary manifestation in the country, particularly that of the "narrow Socialists or Communists." The Entente representatives had a splendid opportunity to witness the masterly hand of Stambolisky in suppressing, on Dec. 24, 1919, the serious attempt at revolution by the Bulgarian Communist Party. This plot was aided by secret Bolshevik agents who had slipped into the country with the Russian refugees which the Entente itself had forced Bulgaria to admit. More recently, on St. Cyril's Day, the communistic clubs and printing press in Sofia were demolished by an infuriated populace, maddened by the explosion of a bomb believed to have been hurled by a Bolshevik. This one regrettable incident at any rate shows how strongly hostile the common people in Bulgaria are to Bolshevism. It could not be otherwise in a country in which the peasantry forms the great bulk of the population and is master of its own house.

The note presented by the powers to the Premier was untimely and uncalled for. It was a mistake, for it has created just the opposite effect from that which it was intended to produce. It is more than a mistake, it is one of a series of political blunders which characterize the Entente Powers' Oriental policy — blunders which have protracted the World War to this day, so that nobody can foretell the end of it. The Supreme Council is daily showing itself blind to the eternal truth that there is but one solution of a problem, and that is the right one. Its solution of the Near Eastern problem is a wrong one, for it flagrantly violates the very principles the Entente preached always up to the eve of victory.

There is more and wicked oppression of humanity in the Near

East today than existed prior to the war, and that under the eyes and with the sanction of the greatest democracies of Europe! These nations, in the name of the principles of democracy, are strangling the most democratic and manly people in Southeastern Europe. That people has been slandered and sinned against as seldom has been the case with another nation. And today, when its neighbors have doubled and tripled their population and territory, while its own have dwindled to one-tenth of theirs, it is still being slandered, blackened and conspired against.

Why? Because its cultural weapons are more feared than its military power. The Macedonian Bulgar, even in Turkish times, was a better educated man than his free Serbian brother. Consult the statistics and assure yourself of it. The educational level in Bulgaria today is higher than that of its older and more fortunate neighbors. It is the only country in Southeastern Europe where there is a spirit of tolerance that vies with that of the most advanced States. Come and see it for yourself, as we are witnessing it.

Why doesn't Bulgaria complain of the Greek, Serbian and Rumanian bands that are disturbing her peace? Wouldn't that be more natural, she being the weakest of the four? Isn't this a question which is a genuine test of their respective claims and positions? "Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all" explains the attitude of these nations. Isn't that the strongest argument against Bulgaria's neighbors' claims to Mace-

donia, Dobrudja, Tsaribrod and Thrace? And isn't that the real cause of their well-concerted propaganda of intrigue against Bulgaria? If you doubt that, too, and if you doubt the testimony of impartial historians, learned investigators, consular reports, incontrovertible evidence brought out by missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, send another Carnegie commission and find out which of the four States has most claim to your sympathy, which has sinned least, and which has suffered most by blackmail and blackest vituperation.

The note in question in reality is a very successful diplomatic stroke inspired by Greece and Serbia, whose internal state of things breathes of revolution; the rulers of those States are seeking to divert public attention elsewhere, and Bulgaria offers the most alluring victim, being disarmed and almost stifled geographically.

England. France and Italy couldn't do more than this note has done to encourage Bulgaria's neighbors in their tactics and to tighten their grip upon the unfortunate races condemned to bear their inhuman rule. In that respect the note is not only a blunder, it is a crime, for it encourages the persecution and the wholesale murder of innocent people. For, pray, what have the poor Macedonians and Dobrudjians and Thracians done to the Entente powers to merit such a fate? You have punished Bulgaria, the enemy; why punish those victims who were dragged into the bloody whirlwind as everybody else in Europe was?

THE PRINCESS MARY

BY W. T. MARSDEN

An intimate Character Sketch of the only daughter of the King and Queen of England—How she sold some of her jewels to raise money for the soldiers—Anecdotes of her tastes and ways

THE war made a profound difference in the life of the only daughter of King George and Queen Mary of England. It enabled her to break away from nearly all the restrictive etiquette that surrounds a Princess of the reigning house, to meet all sorts and conditions of people, and to obtain a vastly broader view of life than it is normally possible for the daughter of the sovereign to do. The Princess was 17 when the war broke out, and her education was not yet completed. She was reminded of the fact by her parents when she expressed her wish to leave the schoolroom and take a part in those various activities called into being by the war.

The desire of the Princess was granted on one condition: She would have to pass an examination in various branches of her studies. If she did not get certain marks she would have to remain in school for at least another six months. The examination papers were set by two of the King's Chaplains, and in all subjects but one she gained the necessary 50 per cent. of marks. The subject she failed to pass in was English composition. She was set to write a character sketch of Horace Walpole and made two mistakes in it—one in regard to a date, the other an error in spelling. For these two mistakes the Princess lost sixty marks out of a possible hundred; but a distinguished historian, who later read the essay, and who was unaware of the identity of the writer, declared it to be an ex-

tremely original and able character study of the famous statesman.

"And now what are you going to do, Mary?" asked the King on the morning when their Majesties informed the Princess that she might regard herself as being free from the necessity of pursuing her studies.

The Princess had an answer ready that rather surprised her parents. She took from the drawer of the writing table in her boudoir a sheet of foolscap on which she had drawn up all the details of a scheme for starting a fund to provide every man serving in any branch of his Majesty's forces with a Christmas gift of a pipe and a box of tobacco. The royal parents gave their consent to the scheme, and a few weeks later the Princess sent a letter to the press appealing for funds. She acted in the matter with an impulsiveness that is one of her most delightful characteristics as well as one of her weaknesses.

The fact is that had the Princess considered the matter more carefully she would have seen the difficulties in the way of accomplishing her object. Her appeal for funds was not made until October. It met with a generous response from the public, but there was not quite enough time remaining before Christmas to get in the considerable sum of money required to pay for the immense quantity of tobacco and the large number of pipes that had been ordered as soon as the Princess had got her scheme into working order.

When the fund (it was known as the Princess Mary's fund) was closed shortly before Christmas of 1914, it was found that it fell short by nearly £1,000 of the money required to pay the sum due under contracts that had been entered into with various tobacco and pipe manufacturers. It would, of course, have been easy for the Princess to go to the King and Queen for the money, but they were busy, and she would not trouble them. The actual cash in her own possession was a balance of less than £100 to her credit in the Post Office Savings Bank.

The Princess did not take long to consider what she would do. Through a friend she disposed of enough of her jewelry to raise the money required. It was not till after the armistice that her royal Highness made her parents aware of how she had acted in this matter, and though she had rather a severe lecture from the Queen, both parents, I think, were pleased with what she had done and readily pardoned her.

On the Princess's war work there is no need to dwell here. How she became a girl guide and assisted in the organization of many war charitable enterprises has been fully related in the press. But one incident, I think, has not been told before, and it sheds an interesting light on her character. After the outbreak of war she had begun to attend sewing parties engaged in making various articles of clothing for the soldiers. At one sewing party she met the daughter of a doctor and took a particular liking to her, so that the two came to be on quite friendly terms. One day the doctor's daughter addressed her simply as "Princess," though the official way of addressing a daughter of the reigning house is "your Royal Highness" or "Madam"; only people intimately acquainted with her would call her "Princess" in speaking to her. When a lady of the Court who was present pointed out this fact, the doctor's daughter at once apologized for her familiarity. The apology greatly

distressed the Princess. "Of course call me Princess—or Mary would be better," she exclaimed. "I do not see why we should not call each other by our names; how ridiculous all this etiquette and ceremony at a time like this! I will not have it with my friends, anyway." And a week later the doctor's daughter was a dinner guest at the palace, and is still an intimate friend of Princess Mary.

The most trying public ceremony which the Princess had to perform was that of inspecting the First Battalion of the Royal Scots at Edinburgh in September, 1919, as their Colonel-in-Chief. Here is an account of the incident given me by a lady of the royal household who knows her Royal Highness intimately:

The Princess was terribly nervous; some one had drafted out a long speech for her, and she had stayed up until nearly 2 o'clock the night before the ceremony committing it to memory. But the following day, when driving to Edinburgh, she told a friend that she would not deliver the speech. "It is all so tedious and ceremonious," she said; "I am going to say only a few words." After performing the ceremony of inspection and investing about 150 officers and men with decorations and medals, she turned to the Colonel and said: "I am awfully proud to be Colonel-in-Chief of this regiment. My great-grandmother and my great-grandfather were also Colonels-in-Chief of it, as you may know, and you can understand how proud I feel. It is a splendid regiment and the oldest, I think, in the British Army." That was all, and what could have been better? The few words were said so simply and unaffectedly.

Princess Mary is not especially devoted to out-door life, but she is a fairly good horsewoman and plays a moderately good game of golf and lawn tennis. She has often confessed that her favorite form of taking out-door exercise is driving, a taste inherited from her mother, who never finds a country drive, however long, tedious or monotonous.

The Princess was going out to drive to some hospital with her governess, in the early days of the war, when she met Lord John Hamilton at the entrance to the palace. "You will be sorry to hear, your Royal High-

ness," said Lord John, "that poor Poulton has been killed." "Oh, I am sorry!" she exclaimed; "I must go and tell father." And it was from

ners, "that no horse seems to have won the Derby twice?" After the laughter that the Princess's question caused had subsided, Lord Derby said to her gravely: "Because, your Royal Highness, horses, like human beings, cannot have the same birthday twice." The Princess said nothing, but she seemed more mystified than ever, until the King later explained to her that the Derby was a race for three-year-olds.

The Princess during the past few years has paid a good deal of attention to the study of domestic and foreign affairs, her chief instructor being her father. "I do not want Mary to have any politics," said his Majesty once to a member of the household, "but I want her to understand them."

Not long since the Princess sat next to M. Paul Cambon at a luncheon party and discussed with him the relations between England and France. The conversation, it may be added, was carried on in French. "Our work as diplomats," said the French Ambassador,

"would be much easier if more people had so good a knowledge of foreign affairs as your Royal Highness." And the compliment was well deserved.

But though the Princess takes a serious and intelligent interest in public affairs, she greatly enjoys the lighter side of life. On one occasion, when she was going to the palace theatre with her parents, a lady-in-waiting who is rather blase said to her, "I expect we shall all be terribly bored before the end of the show." "Oh," exclaimed the Princess with a laugh, "I am sorry for you if you feel like that; I simply love a good music hall show."

The Princess thoroughly enjoys dancing, and although modern dances,



PRINCESS MARY

Only daughter of the King and Queen of England

the Princess that the King a few minutes later heard, much to his Majesty's sorrow, that the brilliant young Rugby player who captained England in 1914 had been killed in France. Lord John Hamilton himself was killed not long afterward.

Of racing the Princess Mary is profoundly ignorant, though she has witnessed the most classic events in the racing world. Lord Derby was lunching at Buckingham Palace one afternoon, and afterward in company with the King and Princess Mary was looking at his Majesty's collection of prints of famous race horses. "Why is it," asked the Princess of Lord Derby, after she had looked at prints of several Derby win-

such as the fox trot, tango and two-step are not danced at the state balls, she persuaded her mother last Winter to allow them to be danced at small dances in the palace which were arranged by Princess Mary and the Prince of Wales, and at which brother and sister acted as host and hostess. The Queen's objection to modern dances was very strong, and up to twelve months ago she would not allow them to be danced at the palace, nor would she permit the Princess to attend any social gathering where any modern dance was on the program. The ban was lifted only after she had been persuaded to permit a party of a dozen young people at the palace to try a few modern dances. After that the Queen allowed the Princess and her eldest brother to give a series of dances at the palace, but, as I have said, modern dances are still barred at the state balls.

Princess Mary and the Prince of Wales have done away with that very strict rule of royal etiquette that no member of the royal family should dance more than once with a person not of royal rank. At a dance some little while ago, when the Princess first took advantage of her newly won freedom in the ballroom and danced three times with the same partner—the heir to a Dukedom—the rumor arose that the Princess had become engaged, and it traveled so far that it had to be officially contradicted in the press. But now no one would be so foolish as to argue that because the Princess danced several times with the same partner she was engaged to him.

An incident of another kind shows what a clever and practical econo-

mist the Princess is. She recently went to visit a hostel for working girls in London, and in conversation with several of the girls learned that, though the institution was well conducted and comfortable, it was regarded as an expensive place. The charges amounted to £2 12s 6d a week (about \$12.75 at normal exchange). The woman who managed the hostel was well known to the Princess, and she spoke to her on the matter. The manageress declared that it would not be possible to work the place at a reasonable profit if the charges were cut.

"I know," she said, "that your Royal Highness understands such matters, and if you would look into our books and show me how we can reduce our charges, I would feel very grateful and very much honored."

The Princess took the manageress at her word. She put off all her social engagements and spent every day for a week at the hostel, going through the books as carefully as any professional accountant. At the end of her labors she made out a detailed statement showing how foodstuffs of the same quality as were being supplied could be purchased 10 per cent. cheaper than under existing contracts and how certain other expenses might be cut by almost 20 per cent. "If these reductions are made," said the Princess when she showed her report to the manageress, "you will be able to reduce your charges to the girls to £2 a week and maintain your profits." In a few weeks the recommendations of the Princess were given effect, and the hostel is now generally regarded as one of the cheapest and best institutions of its kind in London.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

[American Cartoon]

The Taxpayer and Disarmament

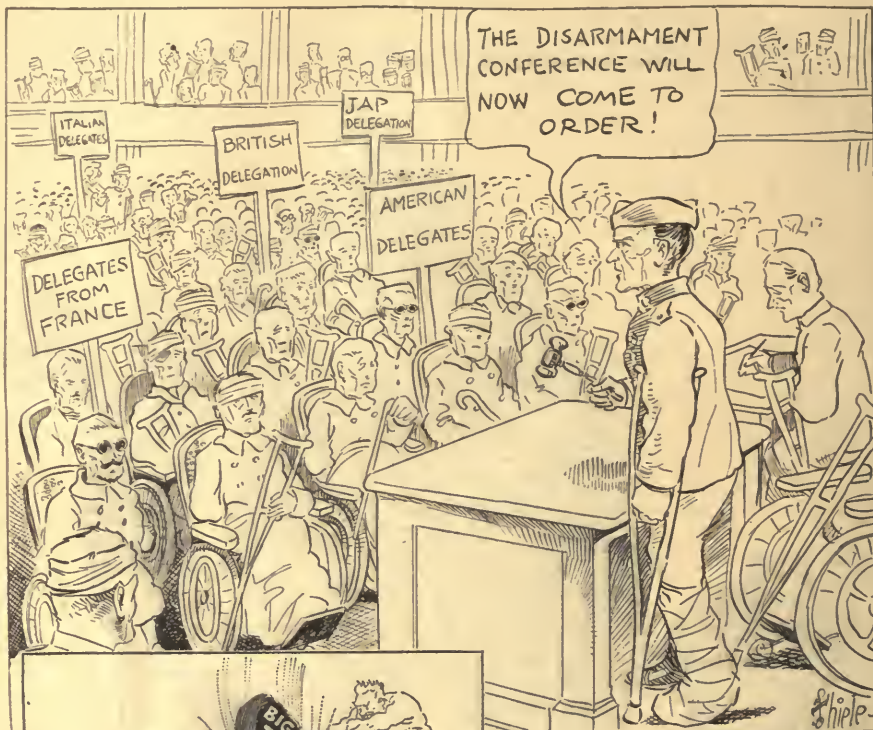


—New York Tribune

The camel's sagging back: How many more straws will it bear?

[American Cartoons]

IF PRESIDENT HARDING WANTS RESULTS



—Sioux City Tribune



CAUSE AND EFFECT

—Chicago Tribune

[English Cartoon]

CRUELTY TO PERFORMING ANIMALS



THE BRITISH LION (very fed-up): "It's no good; I've done my best to please this De Valera, but I can't get through that last hoop!"

[English Cartoon]

The Wreckers

—London Opinion

Shameless profiteering on the part of many retail tradesmen is the chief obstacle to an immediate decrease in the cost of living.



[American Cartoon]

Let Labor's Partner Up



—National Republican, Washington

[American Cartoon]

STILL HANGING



—Dayton News

[American Cartoons]



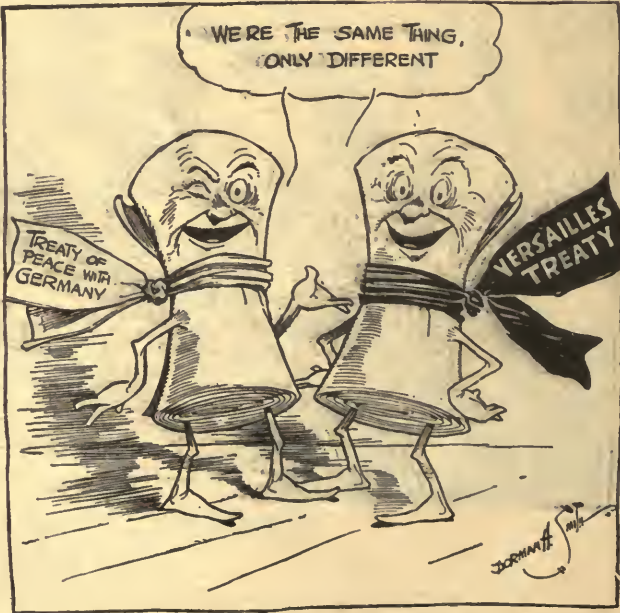
Relief for the
Weary Strap-
Hanger

—San Francisco Chronicle

The technical state of war that has existed between the United States and Germany is nearing an end. The treaty of peace has been signed and ratified by Germany. It has also been signed by Ellis Loring Dresel, U. S. Commissioner in Berlin, but has not yet been ratified by the United States Senate.

The Siamese
Twins

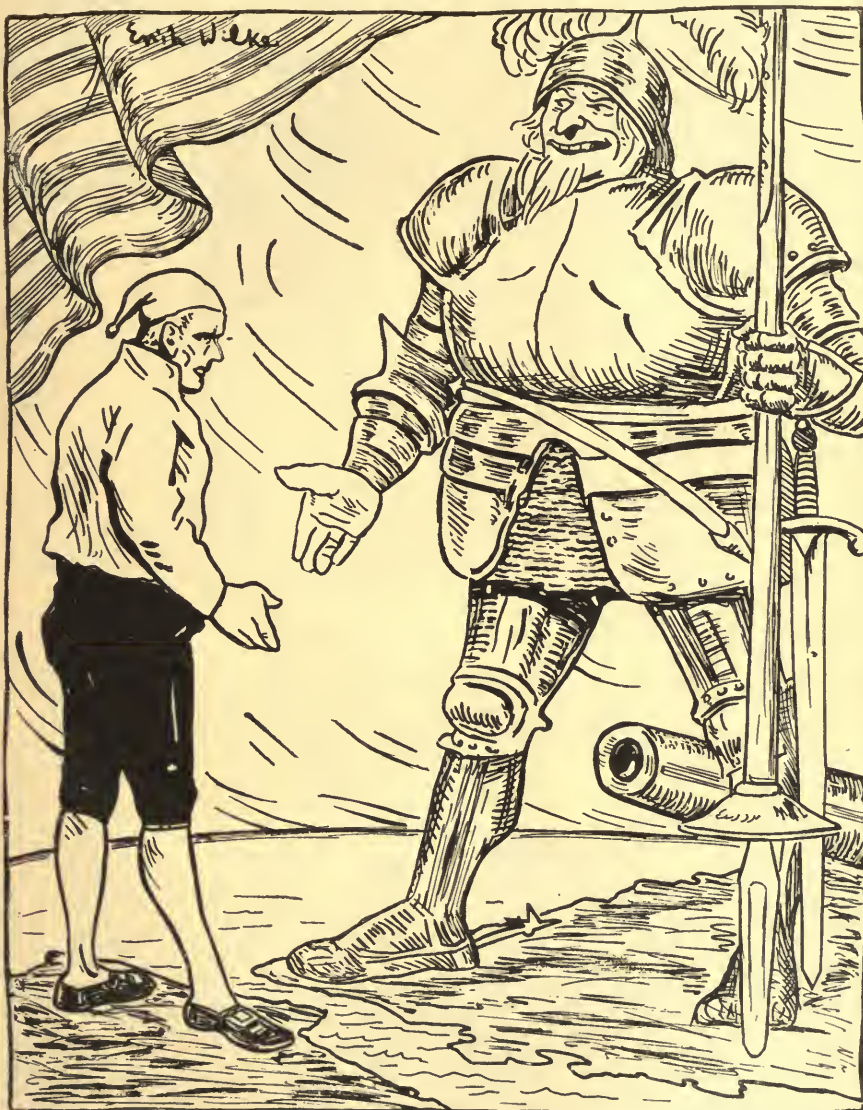
In the treaty of peace negotiated with Germany the United States Government reserved all the rights that were accorded it under the Treaty of Versailles.



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

[German Cartoon]

BEFORE THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE



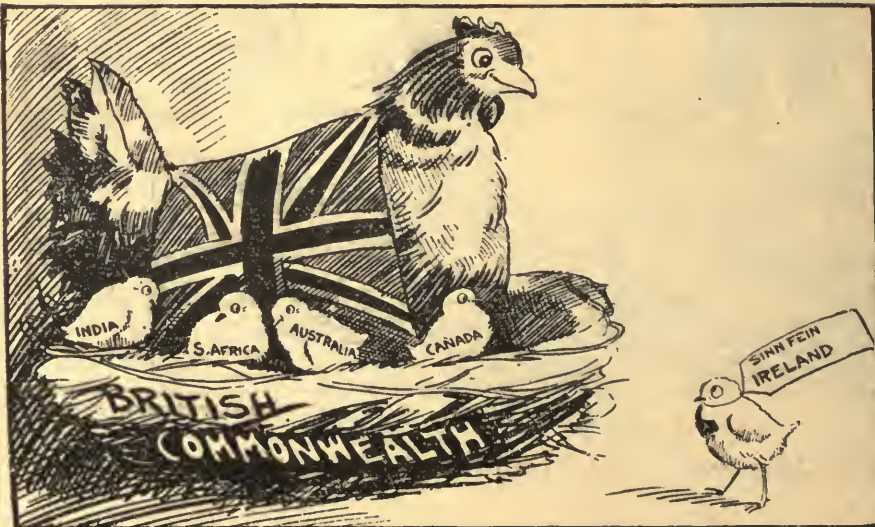
—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

UNCLE SAM: "Well, Friend Fritz, I don't need to invite you!"

[American
Cartoon]Up Too
Far in
Front—Rochester
Democrat and
Chronicle.

[English Cartoon]

It's a Wise Chick That Knows Its Own Nest



—Sunday Chronicle, Manchester

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Greco-Turkish War



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

[American Cartoon]
The Fence Post That Was Guaranteed to Grow and
Bring Forth Fruit!



—Sacramento Bee



[American Cartoon]

The World: "I
Want to Let
Go!"

—Detroit News

[American
Cartoon]

Beginning
to Show a
Preference



—Rochester
Democrat and
Chronicle

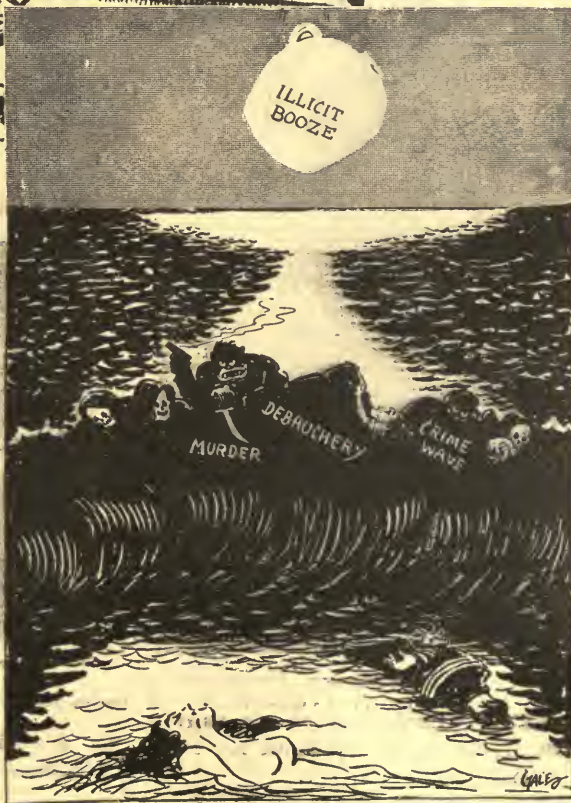
[American Cartoons]



Nobody
Loves Me

(San Francisco
Chronicle)

The Path of
the Moonshine



—Los Angeles Times

[Dutch Cartoon]

Trouble Teaches Man to Pray



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

RUSSIA: "Capitalism of the world, save me from the effects of my Bolshevism!"

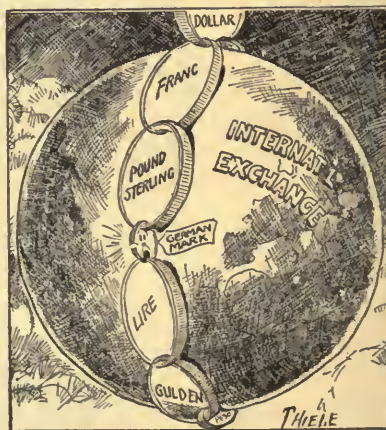
[Polish Cartoon]



—Mucha, Warsaw

Awaiting the decision of the League of Nations on Upper Silesia.

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Journal

A chain is no stronger than its weakest link!

BUILDING A NATION IN PALESTINE

Official Report of Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner for Palestine, on the results achieved by one year of the British Civil Administration—Progress along all lines of development

NO other outcome of the war has appealed more generally to the imagination of the world than the movement to make Palestine again the national home of the Jews. The difficulties in the way of the enterprise were tremendous, and many Jews were and are still opposed to the whole Zionist idea. Nevertheless, a new State, under a British mandate, has been created in Palestine, and has now been a going concern for more than a year. What has it accomplished? This question is answered in interesting detail by the first annual report of the British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, which he presented to Parliament in August, 1921, and which has since been published as a British White Paper under the title, "An Interim Report of the Civil Administration of Palestine During the Period July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921." The essential portions of the report are as follows:

The country is underpopulated because of its lack of development. There are now in the whole of Palestine hardly 700,000 people, a population much less than that of the Province of Galilee alone in the time of Christ. Of these, 235,000 live in the larger towns, 465,000 in the smaller towns and villages. Four-fifths of the whole population are Moslems. A small proportion of these are Bedouin Arabs; the remainder, although they speak Arabic and are termed Arabs, are largely of mixed race. Some 77,000 of the population are Christians, in large majority belonging to the Orthodox Church, and speaking Arabic. The minority are members of the Latin or of the Uniate Greek Catholic Church or—a small number—are Protestants.

The Jewish element of the population numbers 76,000. Almost all have entered Palestine during the last forty years. Prior to 1850 there was in the country only a handful of Jews. In the following thirty years a few hundreds came to Palestine. Most of them were animated by religious motives; they came to pray and to die in the Holy Land and to be buried in its soil. After the persecutions in Russia forty years ago, the movement of the Jews to Palestine assumed larger proportions. Jewish agricultural colonies were founded. They de-

veloped the culture of oranges and gave importance to the Jaffa orange trade. They cultivated the vine and manufactured and exported wine. They drained swamps. They planted eucalyptus trees. They practiced with modern methods all the processes of agriculture. There are at the present time sixty-four of these settlements, large and small, with a population of some 15,000. Every traveler in Palestine who visits them is impressed by the contrast between these pleasant villages, with the beautiful stretches of prosperous cultivation about them, and the primitive conditions of life and work by which they are surrounded.

The success of these agricultural colonies attracted the eager interest of the masses of the Jewish people scattered throughout the world. In many countries they were living under the pressure of laws or customs which cramped their capacities and thwarted their energies; they saw in Palestine the prospect of a home in which they might live at ease. * * *

Societies were formed which purchased areas of land in Palestine for further Jewish colonization. The Hebrew language, which, except for purposes of ritual, had been dead for many centuries, was revived as a vernacular. A new vocabulary, to meet the needs of modern life, was welded into it. Hebrew is now the language spoken by almost all the younger generation of Jews in Palestine, and by a large proportion of their elders. The Jewish newspapers are published in it. It is the language of instruction in the schools and colleges, the language used for sermons in the synagogues, for political speeches and for scientific lectures. [English and Arabic are the other two official languages.]

Large sums of money were collected in Europe and America and spent in Palestine for forwarding the movement. Many looked forward to a steady process of Jewish immigration, of Jewish land colonization and industrial development, until at last the Jews throughout the world would be able to see one country in which their race had a political and spiritual home, in which, perhaps, the Jewish genius might repeat the services it had rendered to mankind from the same soil long ago.

The British Government was impressed with the reality, the strength and idealism of this movement. It recognized its value in insuring the future development of Palestine, which now appears likely to come within the British sphere of influence. It decided to give to the Zionist idea, within certain limits, its approval and

support. By the hand of Mr. Balfour, then Foreign Secretary, it made in November, 1917, the following declaration: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

A Zionist commission was sent to Palestine, after its occupation by Allenby's forces, to carry into effect the policy thus formulated. Meanwhile, however, the Arabs of Palestine became alarmed by the implications which they read into the Balfour declaration, despite the concluding provision in respect to the "civil and religious rights" of the non-Jewish communities. Fearing expulsion and the expropriation of the Arab holy places, they set on foot an anti-Jewish campaign among the Arab populace, which culminated finally in a serious outbreak in the streets of Jerusalem in April, 1920, when a number of Jews were killed and wounded and Jewish shops were looted.

Such was the political atmosphere, continues Sir Herbert Samuel's report, when the British Government established a civil administration on July 1, 1920. This administration made it plain from the start that it intended to safeguard the rights of the Arabs fully, while giving to all legitimate Zionist aspirations their fullest development compatible with the limitation expressed. The long delay in settling Palestine's international status, however, tended to disturb the people's minds. A Government loan, consequently, could not be negotiated, and hence many public works could not be carried out. The Zionist organization, owing to post-war financial conditions, could not contribute any large sums either for development or colonization.* Hence there was comparatively little expansion in employment opportunities. About 10,000 Jewish immigrants arrived, however, between September, 1920, and May, 1921. The Administration was further faced by new

anti-Jewish riots at Jaffa, Petah Tikvah and Chederah, which began on May 1 and continued for several days. These riots were suppressed by armed troops, with considerable loss to the attackers. Martial law was proclaimed over the area affected, but for some weeks there was considerable unrest. In all, some 88 persons were killed and 238 wounded, and considerable property was looted. A number of the Arab agitators were prosecuted by special civil and military courts, and a commission of inquiry was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas Haycraft, the Chief Justice of Palestine. Meanwhile a delegation of eight members, appointed by a conference representing a considerable body of Moslem and Christian opinion, left for England in July to lay their views upon the political situation before the authorities. (This delegation has since been received by the British authorities, and has been given every opportunity to present the grievances of the Moslem and Christian minorities. On Sept. 14 the Zionist Congress in session at Carlsbad passed a resolution urging the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and emphasizing a friendly policy toward the Arabs.)

The report describes the steps taken by the Administration to build up a workable system of government as follows:

ADMINISTRATION—The administration of the country, entrusted to the High Commissioner, is conducted through a staff the heads of which, both in the central departments and in the districts, are British. A new framework of government has had to be constructed; it has been found necessary in certain cases to introduce new laws and regulations; experienced administrators, familiar with Western methods and impartial in local disputes, have been indispensable. It is intended to reduce the number of British and to increase the number of Palestinian officials. This process had, indeed, already begun.

In October, 1920, an Advisory Council was constituted. It consists of ten unofficial members nominated by the High Commissioner, of whom four are Moslems, three Christians and three Jews, and of ten members of the Administration. Its functions are consultative, but no case has yet arisen in which the Government has been unable to accept the opinion of the majority of the unofficial members.

It is the policy of the Administration to continue, whenever possible, to apply the Turkish laws, to which the people are accustomed. Changes are made only where they are indispensable. "Ne pas trop gouverner" is a good maxim, particularly in an Eastern country, and above all in the early years of a new régime.

*The Zionist Congress on Sept. 14, 1921, passed a budget of £1,500,000 for the development of Palestine, providing for land purchase, credit, institutions for the promotion of agricultural and urban settlements, irrigation, education and an agricultural experimental station.—Ed.

It was stated at the inauguration of the Advisory Council that its establishment was no more than a first step in the development of self-governing institutions. * * * Steps are now being taken to frame a Constitution for the country, which will include an elective element,



(Times Wide World Photos)

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL

British High Commissioner for Palestine

and the leaders of the various sections are being consulted as to its terms.

FINANCE—The cost of the civil administration in Palestine has been kept within the amount of the local revenue, and no grant-in-aid is received from the British Exchequer. Several taxes, oppressive in their incidence and small in their yield, have been abolished. * * * The civil administration has reduced the import duties on building materials and on live stock from 11 per cent. to 3 per cent. In substitution for the octroi, an additional import duty is levied of 1 per cent. on most articles and of 2 per cent. on some. A more important reform has been the abolition of the tobacco monopoly established by the Turks and conducted by the Tobacco Régie. The effect has been that the price of tobacco to the consumer has greatly fallen; that the cultivation of tobacco, hitherto prohibited, is about to be begun in several districts; that two factories for the manufacture of cigarettes have already been opened, employing a considerable number of work people, and

others are in prospect, while at the same time the Government is drawing a large new customs revenue from the importation of tobacco.

The railways of Palestine were taken over from the military authorities in October, 1920, and their revenue and expenditure included in those of the Government. The revenue of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in Palestine was amalgamated with the general revenue of Palestine as from April 1, 1921. On the other side of the account, Palestine will be charged, under the provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres, with an annuity in respect of her share of the Ottoman pre-war debt. The amount of that share has not yet been definitely fixed, but it is estimated to be less than £200,000. [The Egyptian pound runs a little less than the British pound sterling.]

DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SECURITY—The defense of Palestine is assured by a garrison maintained by the mandatory power. The numbers of the garrison have now been reduced to 5,000 combatant troops. The charge thereby imposed upon the British Exchequer is £2,500,000 a year. It therefore appears that the cost of a British garrison, with its complement of ancillary troops, officers, artillery, horses and mules, is now at the rate of £1,000 a year for every two fighting men, or £1,000,000 for every 2,000 men.

The Palestine Administration maintains a police force with a strength of 1,300, drawn from all sections of the local population. The force is not yet at a satisfactory standard of efficiency, but a training school has been established, and is already achieving good results, and every effort is being made to raise the standard. In addition, a new gendarmerie of 500 men, 300 mounted, of whom 50 on camels, and 200 unmounted, is being organized. This force, though it will form a part of the Palestine police, will not be employed on ordinary police duties. It will be highly trained under British officers, will receive better pay than the ordinary police, and will be employed, in bodies of not less than twenty-five men, in the protection of the frontiers against raids from neighboring territories and in suppressing any internal disturbances that may occur.

A great number of blood feuds among the Bedouins of Palestine have been settled by the intervention of district officials. In the Beer-sheba district alone 134 have been dealt with. The peace and order of the country have been thereby improved.

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE—A judicial system has been established by the military and developed by the civil administration, which dispenses justice with a degree of integrity, impartiality and promptitude hitherto unknown in Palestine. Minor jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases is exercised by Palestinian Magistrates. Four District Courts, presided over by British Judges, who sit with two Palestinian members, try the more serious civil and criminal cases and hear appeals from the Magistrates' judgments. There is a Court of Appeal at Jerusalem with a British Chief Justice and a British Vice President, which is the Supreme

Court and hears appeals from the District Courts. In cases in which a British or foreign subject is tried for a criminal offense, the court is constituted with a British Magistrate or with a majority of British Judges. * * * The Ottoman law remains as the foundation of the legal system, with such amendments, principally affecting a simplification of the procedure, as have been introduced by ordinances and rules of court issued by the Administration. In the Beersheba district tribal law continues to be administered among the Bedouins by the Shelkh's court, from which an appeal lies to a British officer.

TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENT—All the railways, as stated, have been brought under the control of the Government. In addition, the Palestine Railway Department operates, on behalf of the army, the Sinai Military Railway between Kantara, on the Suez Canal, and Rafah, on the Egyptian-Palestine frontier. The total length of the entire system is approximately 1,000 kilometers. Within the limits of the funds available, many improvements have been effected during the last twelve months. The main line between Rafah and Haifa, hastily constructed during the campaign, has been strengthened and protected. The line from Jaffa to Ludd Junction was of narrow gauge, involving the transshipment of all goods carried by railway between the Port of Jaffa and other parts of Palestine and Egypt. This railway has now been broadened. Stations have been improved and new stations opened. Sleeping cars and dining cars are run on a number of trains.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY—A Department of Commerce and Industry has been created, which keeps in close touch with the trading classes and uses its best endeavors to promote the economic development of the country. Chambers of Commerce have been formed in all the principal towns of Palestine. There has been a general fall in the prices of commodities, in sympathy with the world movement, but they still remain high in comparison with prices in Egypt and elsewhere. Except that the export of live stock is still prohibited, and except for the usual police regulations dealing with the importation of arms and deleterious drugs, &c., all restrictions upon the import and export trade have now been abolished. Several new industrial enterprises are being established. A revival of house building is beginning in various parts of the country. The granting of mining concessions and of 'prospectors' licenses is still prohibited by instruction of his Majesty's Government. Egyptian currency has been made the only legal tender in Palestine, together with the British gold sovereign, at the rate of 97.5 Egyptian piastres to the pound. The prohibition on the export of gold has been rescinded, with some advantage to trade and with no counterbalancing disadvantage.

AGRICULTURE—A department was formed in the last months of the Military Administration for the assistance of agriculture, which is, and must remain, the principal industry of Palestine. This department now includes itinerant agricultural assistants, who notify imme-

diately of all plant diseases and insect pests, so that steps may be taken to prevent their spread; a field staff of veterinary surgeons to deal with contagious live-stock diseases; a fisheries service, five meteorological stations, and a forestry section, under whose supervision the felling of trees has been stopped, forest nurseries have been established, and several hundreds of thousands of trees have been planted. Such are the first beginnings of a process which should add largely to the productiveness of Palestine, increase its rainfall and bring fresh charm to its scenery. The measures that have been taken, and particularly the provision of ££370,000 to agriculturists, have assisted the revival of the country. Large additional areas have been cultivated this year, and the head of stock showed a remarkable recuperation. The agricultural development of the country * * * is hampered by the confusion into which the titles of ownership of land were allowed to fall during the Turkish régime. Land settlement courts have been established. A survey department has been created. A land ordinance has been enacted, which includes provisions designed to prevent land from being purchased by speculators and held back from productive use. The ordinance includes important clauses also for the protection of existing tenants when areas of land are sold for colonization. A Land Commission examines all proposals dealing with the use of State lands or the colonization of private lands. The land registries were reopened in October for transactions. * * *

EDUCATION—There is evidence throughout Palestine of an active desire for opportunities for education. The majority of the Moslems are illiterate. The Administration has adopted a scheme under which the people of any town or village where a school is needed are invited to provide a suitable building and to keep it in repair; the Government defrays, out of general taxation, the salaries of the teachers and the other costs of maintenance. Under this scheme new schools are being opened at an average rate of more than one a week. It is intended to continue this process until the whole country is covered. A period of four years will probably be necessary. To assist in the staffing of these schools, the two Government training colleges * * * have been considerably enlarged. Peripatetic teachers paid by the Government have been appointed to work among the Bedouin tribes of the Beersheba district. A number of voluntary schools, maintained for the most part by organizations outside of Palestine, assist in providing for the needs of the population. A system of State grants to these schools, accompanied by Government inspection, has been inaugurated. Law classes have been established in Jerusalem, which will enable young Palestinians to qualify as advocates in local courts.

IMMIGRATION AND TRAVEL—Since the ports of Palestine were opened to immigration with certain restrictions in August, 1920, slightly over 10,000 immigrants have arrived in the country. These were almost all Jewish; only 315 non-Jewish immigrants were registered. Of the Jews, 8,084 came under the auspices of the Zionist Organization. During the disturbances

in Jaffa and the neighborhood, early in May this year, all immigration was suspended for the time being. But in any event it was becoming increasingly evident that the flow of immigrants was greater than the country was able to absorb. The postponement of works of development, due to the causes specified earlier in this report (lack of available funds), restricted the openings for employment far more narrowly than had been anticipated. New regulations were consequently drawn up. To obtain a visé to enter Palestine a person must now be able to show that he belongs to one of the following categories: (1) Persons of independent means who intend to take up permanent residence in Palestine; (2) Members of professions who intend to follow their calling; (3) Wives, children and other persons wholly dependent on residents in Palestine; (4) Persons who have a definite prospect of employment with specified employers or enterprises; (5) Persons of religious occupation who can show that they have means of maintenance here; (6) Travelers who do not propose to remain in Palestine longer than three months; (7) Returning residents.

In the month of July the ports have again been opened, and persons belonging to those classes have been arriving. * * * Partly among the immigrants and partly among the pre-war residents of Palestine a small group of communists was formed. This group sought to become an agency of Bolshevik propaganda. It aroused against itself an almost universal hostility. * * * As many as possible of this group have been identified; fifteen who are aliens have been deported from the country

and eight who had acquired Ottoman nationality, together with five aliens, have been bound over to be of good behavior.

The foregoing summary gives the salient features of Sir Herbert Samuel's report. Various other topics are discussed, including the growth of the postal service, the work of the Department of Public Health to stamp out malaria and trachoma, the measures taken to insure full religious liberty and the encouragement given to archaeological research. An interesting concluding section deals with the neighboring district of Trans-Jardania, which is now administered by the Emir Abdallah, the younger brother of Emir Feisal, King of Mesopotamia. The Emir holds office as the representative of the mandatory power for Palestine, with the assistance of a small number of British officers. This arrangement is provisional, and a definite settlement is expected within six months. Conditions were troubled before Abdallah's advent, but since he took hold of Trans-Jardania all has gone smoothly. The relations between this outlying province, inhabited by some 35,000 people, and Palestine are intimate and amicable.

MESOPOTAMIA'S KEMALIST MENACE

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE British Colonial Office has made public the reply King Feisal sent to the message of King George congratulating his Shereefan Majesty on assuming the throne of Irak, at Bagdad, Aug. 23. It professes eternal friendship and gratitude for British aid in restoring his nationhood and enabling his Arabs to fulfill their aspirations, and expresses hope of an early treaty to cement the bonds wrought by the mingling of the blood of Briton and Arab on the war's battlefields.

The Colonial Office also issued a statement in regard to the Central Arabian Emirate of Nejd, whose relations with the neighboring Arab countries had given some cause for anxiety to the British Government, particularly during the political campaign preceding the coronation of Feisal. This noted the Nejd Arabs' choice of Emir Bin Saud as Sultan of Nejd and its de-

pendencies, and the conveyance to him of their resolution by Sir Percy Cox, British High Commissioner of Irak. Emir Bin Saud expressed grateful acknowledgment of Britain's attitude and reliance on her friendship. Also he expressed pleasure at King Feisal's confirmation and a desire for close friendship with Irak.

But the Nationalist Turks are not to allow Feisal to reign in peace. As early as Sept. 20, it was observed by Sir Percy Cox that Kemalists were strengthening their positions on the Mesopotamian borderland. They had sent Nihad Pasha thither with the twofold object of crushing that section of the Kurds of Southern Kurdistan which, under British auspices, aspires to emulate Irak and of promoting an insurrectionary movement against King Feisal, which if successful would be supported by Kemalist bayonets. It is also reported at Bagdad

that part of the scheme is to favor the support of the ex-Sheik-es-Senussi as King of Northern Irak, if disturbances break out against Feisal. Pirs and Sheiks of all descriptions have considerable influence among the barbaric but simple-minded Kûrds, and it is said to be certain that the ex-head of the Senussi confraternity has been most useful in distributing Kemalist propaganda. This matter was made the subject of a semi-official statement issued on Sept. 23, describing a quelling of mutinous Kurds in Mesopotamia by 200 local levies under British officers and the submission of Ubaidullah, the leader of the Kurdish malcontents.

After the coronation one of the first official acts of King Feisal was to organize the Government by calling on the Naqib of Bagdad, President of the Provisional Council to the State of Irak, to form the first Cabinet in the history of the new nation. The portfolios were distributed thus:

President, His Highness the Naqib, G. B. E.; the Interior, Haji Ahmed Namji; Defense, Ja'far Pasha al Askari; Finance, Sassoon Effendi Haskail; Justice, Naji Bey Ibn Yusif al Suwaidi; Auqaf, Saiyid Muhammad Ali Effendi al Fathli; Commerce, Abdul Latif Pasha Mandil; Public Works, Izzat Pasha; Education, Shaikh Abdul Karim Jazairi; Health, Dr. Hanna Khaliyat.

PERSIA FLOUTS BRITAIN

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

WITH the departure of Mr. Armitage-Smith, the British Controller of Persian Finances, from Teheran on Sept. 20, the last vestige of British civil authority departed from Persia. Three days later, with the demobilization of the South Persian Rifles, British military authority vanished. Thus Persia has accomplished in 1921 what Great Britain, under Russian imperial pressure, prevented W. Morgan Shuster from accomplishing for her ten years ago.

This disbanding of the South Persian Rifles is far more important than the exit of Mr. Armitage-Smith, for it can hardly fail to affect British military prestige in the Middle East. Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, had first rejected the offer of the Persian Government to take over the corps. The reason given was the absence of

guarantees for the effective taking over of a highly disciplined force with a very considerable quantity of munitions. His Majesty's Government therefore decided that the disbandment must continue, and that no arms or munitions should be disposed of in Persia, either to the Persian Government or to unofficial persons.

The press of Teheran resented the impudatation, and has declared that the corps was "the most undisciplined military force in Persia and a constant menace to established government." It was, however, according

to all experts, a most effective body of highly trained men. Its organization was begun in the Spring of 1916 by Brig. Gen. P. M. Sykes at Bandar Abbas, when it became known that Germany had ordered the Turks to attempt to reach India by way of Persia.

In a recent article General Sykes, in relating the history of the corps, stated that in 1918, when Persia thought that Germany would become the victor, the Persian authorities undermined the loyalty of the corps and succeeded in causing it to be disbanded. General Sykes takes a gloomy view of Persia's future. He gives it as his opinion that Persia will be bankrupt and fall a prey to anarchy. She will be free, indeed, of British influence, but powerless to resist a Bolshevik attack or Bolshevik penetration. She is acting against her true interests in turning her back on her old friends, but until she passes out of a stage of civilization that resembles that of Europe in the Middle Ages there is little hope of a stable Government being formed. The construction of a railway would, more than any other single measure, constitute a step in this direction, but unless heavily subsidized a railway could not pay, and consequently is unlikely to be built. The friends of Persia will not abandon hope, but seldom has the outlook been as gloomy as at present.

THE WAR IN ANATOLIA

Both Greeks and Turks are left with equivocal advantages after mutual rough handling—General Papoulas's report of the Battle of Sakaria River

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THERE is a French mission at Angora; an Italian mission is on its way; but Great Britain, which alone has received from the Greeks the terms on which they will make peace with the Nationalist Turks, has not a mission at the capital of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, nor up to the middle of October had she dispatched one thither. There are unmistakable signs, however, that hostilities will not be resumed, at least not on a large scale; for both armies have severely handled each other, and by the end of October the Winter, with its severe snow storms and intense cold, will have begun on the central plateau, where the altitude ranges from 4,000 to 8,000 feet.

The retreat of the Greeks that followed the great battle of the Sakaria River, in which they are said to have lost 25,000 men and the Turks at least twice as many, was continued until Sept. 25, when they reached the old Turkish line, running from east of Brusa southward via Eski-Shehr, Afium-Karahissar and Seid-Gazi. On that day it was officially announced in Athens that the military operations were over for the season. But five days later the Turks started a drive on Afium-Karahissar with three divisions, including about 60,000 men, and were defeated with severe loss after a nine days' battle. This was a palpable victory for General Papoulas, as the Turks had tried to do on his right wing what they had succeeded in doing on his left wing last Spring. It was a great moral stimulant for the Government at Athens, for, although a lengthy report had been published on Sept. 10 concerning the battle on the Sakaria itself (Aug. 23-Sept. 2) and the drive across the river, it was silent on the subsequent retreat of the Greeks. The Papoulas report, which generally corresponds to the Battle of the Sakaria River as briefly sketched in these columns last month, ends as follows:

During the subsequent days the fighting has subsided along the greater part of the line, with the exception of our left wing.

The enemy is feverishly fortifying himself in new positions, and has put up an obstinate and desperate defense. Our army, after an admirable march of ten days and an heroic and victorious battle of fifteen days, has inflicted defeat and severe losses on the enemy. It has occupied the enemy's strongly fortified positions and established itself firmly on the east of the Sakaria. It is fighting 300 kilometers (187 miles) from its base, and part of its march was over 180 kilometers (112½ miles) of desert. During this pause it is stretching its lines of communication and remedying their defects, while preparing to continue its successful operations until the object of definitely defeating the adversary is attained.

A few days later the river was recrossed and the retreat was in full swing. Curious as it may seem, however, on the very day that the Kemalists made their abortive attack upon Papoulas's right wing before Afium-Karahissar, Mustapha Kemal was being made a Marshal at Angora with the title of "Victorious," and was eloquently thanking the Grand Parliament for the honor. The theme of the speech is old—the desire of the Turks to live their own lives on their own land at peace with the world—but toward the end the peace element was emphasized more than formerly. He said:

As President of the Parliament I say before you openly that we do not want war; we want peace. My own opinion is that there is not any obstacle to such an aim. If the Greek Army supposes it will make us give up our legitimate rights it is mistaken.

Mr. Lloyd George on Aug. 16, in the British House of Commons, indicated intervention in favor of the winner of the war. It is Turkey who has now won, and I am hopeful that Mr. Lloyd George will not go back on his word. It is altogether natural that we are defending our country's existence by arms against attempts to wipe out our nationhood. There can, indeed, be no more reasonable nor justifiable attitude than this. Gentlemen, I assure you that we will continue our offensive pressure on the Greek Army till not a single enemy soldier is left in our country.

Since the publication of Papoulas's report

which told of the victory of the Sakaria, but not of the retreat from the field, the Greek Government has allowed fragments of the story of the retreat to appear. From these the following summary of the retreat has been constructed, and confirmed by military bulletins issued tardily, first from the General Headquarters at Sivri-Hissar, and then from Eski-Shehr, forty-three and one-half miles further west.

According to the bulletin, the retreat was divided into three stages, during none of which were the Turks able to attempt more than a scouting pursuit. Their maximum effort seems to have been made on Sept. 15, when a Kemalist column, estimated at about one division of infantry and about 3,000 or 4,000 cavalry, approached from the south and attacked the Greek Army; but after an engagement that does not seem to have lasted many hours, the Greeks put them to flight and captured some prisoners. There were other attacks similar in strategy but lighter in tactics, all which were reported at Angora as Turkish "victories." Thus retreating, the Greek Army reached its prepared lines on Sept. 25. Then came the Turkish concentration and attack on its right wing five days later.

The specific event which brought about the retreat was this: After crossing the Sakaria the Greek right wing was found to be too far extended, and here the Turks, taking advantage of the situation, pushed home an attack and managed to throw back two Greek divisions in complete disorder.

These two divisions suffered heavily and lost most of their artillery. This took place immediately after the crossing of the Sakaria. The final stages of the battle were when the Greeks came up against the Turkish second line, on which they were completely held, and on which they could make no impression (Aug. 23).

Then came the Turkish counter-offensive, with evidently considerable reserves, and quite unexpected by the Greeks. This offensive was launched at a time when the Greek troops were fatigued, and succeeded in throwing back the Greek left and centre, creating considerable confusion. Thereupon the Greek General Staff, after a hurried council of war, decided to retreat behind the Sakaria; then on a line northwest from Yappan Hamman; then on Sivri-Hissar; then on Eski-Shehr and Afium-Karahissar.

In spite of the still doubtful military situation, M. Stergiades, the Greek High Commissioner in Smyrna, on Sept. 25, made public a program for the civil administration of the entire Smyrna zone, given conditionally to the Greeks as mandatory under the Sèvres Treaty. On the same day M. Theotokis, Minister for War, announced at Brusa that the Government proposed to proclaim the annexation of the territory occupied by the Greek troops. Such a declaration, it is believed in Athens and the City of Smyrna, will go far toward assuring an early peace, with the sympathy of the Allies and with their good offices exercised at Angora.

PORTUGAL'S NEW MINISTRY

LITTLE news emanates from Portugal through the regular channels in these days, not on account of any censorship of the press, but because the deplorable financial conditions of the country make routine events there of little interest to chancelleries or commercial organizations abroad. Thus the downfall of the Government of Senhor Barros Queiroz, toward the last of August, was not even reported through the regular channels. It was only by Senhor Antonio Granjo's rise to power that the event became known in that way.

The July election had given Queiroz sixty-five seats, while his financial reforms

were supported by fifty-seven Democrats, thus apparently leaving an opposition of only twelve—Monarchists, Catholics and other groups. But his own party, the Liberal, was the first to revolt. The prospect of his successor is said to be no brighter.

The Liberals remain divided, and the new Granjo coalition is looked upon as only a tool until the Democrats can unite upon a common policy which shall be supported by the more conservative among the Liberals. Queiroz fell merely as a victim of idealism, whose idea of working with another party for the good of the nation was resented by his own.

ITALY'S CONTINUED CONCORD

Having settled her fishery question with Jugoslavia, she mediates between that country and Fiume, confirms a modus vivendi with the Vatican, and shows good feeling toward the United States

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

ON Oct. 14, at Brioni, near Pola, Italian and Jugoslav Commissioners signed away another cause of friction between their countries. This was an agreement in regard to the Italian fishing rights on the Dalmatian coast. The basis of the agreement was the Italo-Austrian settlement of 1906, under which Italian fishermen enjoyed full rights, provided their catches were taken to Italian markets.

There remains the Porto Baros problem, which the new Fiume Government would adjust directly with Jugoslavia. To solve this and other problems, which have to do chiefly with Fiume in the light of Italian and Jugoslav interests, the Italian Government invited to Rome, for Oct. 21, President Zanella of Fiume and the Jugoslav Premier, Dr. Pashitch.

On Oct. 10 Signor Rolando Ricci, the Italian Ambassador at Washington, then in Italy, in a statement to the Roman press, said that the United States would not cancel the debts owed by the Allies to the Washington Government. From this extraordinary undertaking of an Ambassador to expound the policy of the country to which he is accredited, it is inferred that Italy will support President Harding's program at the coming "disarmament" conference at Washington, where she hopes to recover some of the prestige she believes she lost through President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference.

Confirmation of the era of good feeling between Italy and the United States is to be found in the results of a journey which the American Ambassador at Rome, Richard Washburn Child, has been making through the provinces. He has made many speeches and has been constantly interviewed. In spite of his inability to speak Italian, the genius of his interpreter has measurably rendered his mission most sat-

isfactory to both the Italian and American Governments—to the former particularly in commercial, industrial and labor circles.

The assassination of the Socialist Deputy, Giuseppe di Vagno, at Mola di Bari, on Sept. 26, strained, but did not break, the truce established between the Socialists and the Fascisti.

Nearly every political party is holding a congress—that of the Socialists is going on at Milan, and the Catholic or Popularists will meet at Venice Oct. 20-23. The results are expected to have a restraining influence on politics and society for the coming Winter.

On Sept. 30 the *Osservatore Romano*, the organ of the Vatican, issued a long pronouncement on the rumors of a definite settlement of the "Roman Question." It declared that the Vatican could not take the initiative and that the Quirinal had not done so. Thereupon the Government press pointed out that the Quirinal was quite satisfied with the de facto reconciliation brought about during Signor Nitti's Premiership between Cardinal Gasparri and Signor Tittoni, then Minister of Foreign Affairs.

This *modus vivendi*, which, in the foreign domain, led to a tacit co-operation between the two powers in the Orient, and at home to the constitution of the Popular or Catholic Party, was deemed adequate to meet all the requirements of the moment. Since then several of Italy's claims in the Near East have been supported by the Vatican. The late Cardinal Giustini even visited the Holy Land under Italian military auspices, going in an Italian warship.

So the "Roman Question" seems again to be shelved, at least for the time, with the Vatican's claim to temporal dominion of the Popes still unrecognized.

THE IRISH PEACE CONFERENCE

A rapid summary of the telegraphic correspondence that finally led up to a new peace conference in London—How Mr. Lloyd George evolved the lacking formula on which the two sides could come together

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

C ONTINUATION of the Irish peace negotiations by correspondence took the form of a rapid exchange of telegrams between Eamon de Valera and Premier Lloyd George, in which both parties strove to avoid a break while retaining their relative positions for and against recognition of an independent sovereignty for Ireland. That was the question upon which success or failure of the negotiations mainly hung, with a brighter prospect for peace or a return to an even worse condition of civil strife in the balance. To discover, therefore, some common ground on which both parties could meet, some formula of a preliminary agreement which would not jeopardize the claim to Irish national independence on the one side or admit it on the other, became the earnest purpose of the Irish and British leaders.

Thus in the letter from Mr. de Valera delivered to the British Premier by Harry Boland, and published on Sept. 15, the Irish leader wrote: That while his people were willing to "enter a conference to ascertain how association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations," nevertheless he deemed it a duty to reaffirm the position defined throughout this correspondence that "our nation has formally declared its independence and recognizes itself as a sovereign State."

In his telegraphed reply of the 15th Mr. Lloyd George said he must make it absolutely clear that "if we accepted a conference with your delegates on the formal statement of the claim which you have reaffirmed it would constitute an official recognition by his Majesty's Government of the severance of Ireland from the empire and of its existence as an independent republic. It would, moreover, entitle you to declare, as of right acknowledged by

us, that in preference to association with the British Empire you would pursue closer association with some other foreign power. There is only one answer to such a claim at that." But the British Premier, while announcing cancellation of arrangements for the proposed Inverness conference, left the door open to further negotiations by promising to communicate the result of the summoning of another Cabinet Council in the Scotch Highlands, to discuss the new situation, in a few days.

On Sept. 17 messages were again exchanged. That from Lloyd George contended that "it would be idle to say a conference in which we had already met your delegates as representatives of an independent and sovereign State would be a conference 'without prejudice.'" The Premier proceeded to enumerate the rights and consequences of receiving the Irish delegates as the representatives of a sovereign State, and declared: "We cannot consent to any abandonment, however informal, of the principle of allegiance to the King, upon which the whole fabric of the empire and every constitution within it are based. * * * While you insist on claiming that, a conference between us is impossible."

Mr. de Valera's reply stated that the Premier's invitation of Sept. 7 had already been accepted. While he and his followers had not asked for the abandonment of any principle, even informally, surely it must be understood "that we can only recognize ourselves for what we are." He went on in a more conciliatory tone, adding: "Believe me, we have but one object at heart, the setting of the conference on such a basis of truth and reality as would make it possible to secure through it the result which the peoples of these two islands so ardently desire."

This message was promptly answered

by Lloyd George on the 18th. The gist of the answer lay in the words "I must, therefore, repeat that unless the second paragraph of your letter of the 12th is withdrawn, a conference between us is impossible." The Premier, however, was prepared to meet the delegates, as he had met Mr. de Valera in July, as the chosen spokesman of the great majority in Southern Ireland, to discuss the association of Ireland with the British Commonwealth.

Mr. de Valera replied on Sept. 19, protesting against the Premier's attitude and throwing out the following suggestion:

A treaty or accommodation and association, properly concluded between the people of these two islands and between Ireland and the group of States in the British Commonwealth would, we believe, end the dispute forever and enable the two nations to settle down in peace, each pursuing its own individual development and contributing its own quota to civilization, but working together in free and friendly co-operation in affairs of agreed common concern.

To negotiate such a treaty the respective representatives of the two nations must meet, but if you seek to impose preliminary conditions which we must regard as involving the surrender of our whole position, they cannot meet. * * *

We request you, therefore, to state whether your letter of Sept. 7 is intended to be a demand for surrender on our part or an invitation to a conference free on both sides, and without prejudice should an agreement not be reached.

If the latter, we readily confirm our acceptance of the invitation, and our appointed delegates will meet your Government's representatives at any time in the immediate future that you designate.

Several days of anxious waiting followed, during which Mr. Lloyd George conferred with his Ministers; and the British press indulged in columns of speculation regarding the outcome of this duel by correspondence. Among prominent men who spoke at this time Arthur Griffith, Foreign Minister in the Dail Eireann Cabinet and Chairman of the plenipotentiaries appointed to the proposed Inverness conference, said in concluding a speech in Dublin on Sept. 20: "If the long conflict is to be ended, it must be ended not temporarily or vaguely, but permanently and definitely. There is a real chance today of ending the oldest war in the world and establishing an enduring amity between the combatants. There will be no chance to-

morrow if the British Government tries to play false." About this time another promising note was sounded by Sir James Craig, Ulster Premier, in an expression of willingness to take part in the parley.

Also at "this fateful hour when the future of Ireland trembles in the balance" and "a world waits with bated breath," a message breathing the spirit of an exalted and earnest good-will was forwarded by the Catholic hierarchy of the United States to Cardinal Logue and his brethren of the Irish hierarchy. To this Cardinal Logue replied: "It will stir to the depths the hearts of the Irish people from their sense of gratitude, coming after the splendid proofs already given."

On Sept. 29 hope on both sides was greatly stimulated by the publication of a note from Premier Lloyd George to Mr. de Valera, ending with a new offer, as follows:

We therefore send you herewith a fresh invitation to a conference in London on Oct. 11, where we can meet your delegates as the spokesmen of the people whom you represent, with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

In what was characterized as a "brief and businesslike message" Mr. de Valera, on Sept. 30, accepted the British Premier's latest invitation. It was noteworthy that the formula of the association of Ireland with the other communities of the British Empire, which had brought together the two opposing sides to the long-drawn-out controversy on terms which it was considered involved surrender by neither, was conceived by Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. de Valera's acceptance read:

We received your letter of invitation to a conference in London, Oct. 11, with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

Our respective positions have been stated and understood, and we agree that conference, not correspondence, is the most practical and hopeful way to an understanding.

We accept the invitation. Our delegates will meet you in London on the date mentioned and explore every possibility of a settlement by personal discussion.

The personnel of the English delegates

to the conference was officially announced on Oct. 7 as follows: Premier Lloyd George, Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor; Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Austen Chamberlain, Government Leader in the House of Commons; Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Secretary of War, and Winston Spencer Churchill, Colonial Secretary. Attorney General Hewart was designated a member of the conference for constitutional questions.

On Oct. 8 a large crowd gathered at the Westland Row Station, Dublin, to bestow a hearty send-off to the Irish delegates proceeding to London. Except for Michael Collins, temporarily detained on private business, the Sinn Fein party consisted of Arthur Griffith, Minister of Foreign Affairs; R. C. Barton, Minister of Economics; Gavan Duffy, Sinn Fein representative at Rome, and Commandant E. J. Duggan, together with fifteen secretaries, press representatives and typists. The delegation reached London the same evening, where it was welcomed by Irish leaders in England and an enthusiastic crowd. It proceeded at once to 22 Hans Place, in the heart of Belgravia, provided as a headquarters residence.

On the morning of the first meeting of the conference, Oct. 11, a small but good-natured crowd of English and Irish people gathered in Whitehall. A few minutes before the appointed hour the British representatives strolled up to 10 Downing Street. Promptly on the stroke of 11 two handsome motor cars brought the Irish delegates. A cheer greeted their arrival, but otherwise there was little demonstration. The conference took place in the famous Cabinet room where so much history and so many decisions regarding Ireland had been made.

Premier Lloyd George opened the proceedings with a short speech, and the discussion gradually became general. At first it was clear that the Sinn Feiners were suspicious of their surroundings, as if afraid they might give away points without knowing it, but they gained confidence as the morning advanced and expressed their views more freely. Thus the initial exchange of opinions went forward amicably, both sides being anxious not to raise awkward questions at this period of the

negotiations. Actual subjects of the debate were not given out. One point, however, that did come up for discussion was the extent to which the truce was being kept. After both sides had recognized the fact that subordinates had failed to carry out agreements made by their superiors, it was decided that British and Irish officials meet on the following day and try to draft regulations to fit existing conditions. At the conclusion of the meeting at 6 P. M. it was hoped by the British that the difficulty of creating an atmosphere of good faith had been overcome.

According to the agreement arrived at in conference a small joint committee met at the Cabinet offices in Whitehall Gardens on the 12th. This committee consisted of Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, General Macready, Michael Collins, R. C. Barton and E. J. Duggan. A harmonious conversation was entered into regarding a better preservation of the truce. On the 13th the conference met at noon in Downing Street, and the subcommittee later in the day. Michael Collins, with two of his colleagues, also had a long discussion with Winston Spencer Churchill at the Colonial Office. On Oct. 14 an adjournment of the conference was taken until the following Monday but, it was understood, this had no political significance.

Meantime Mr. Harold Spender made an extensive journey through Southern Ireland and described conditions as he found them. "Great paralysis and desolation lie over the centre of Ireland," he wrote. "It is a paralysis of spirit. Agriculture is busy enough, but the people give one the impression of being underfed and deeply depressed by these long strikes. The old cheerful heartiness of the Irish peasant has quite deserted him. Suspicion broods over the land like a great thundercloud. One sees frightened faces in every doorway as one passes. The truce is well kept, but one hears complaints."

Regarding the attitude of the population toward the conflict Mr. Spender wrote: "I have investigated the conditions in many villages and it is my sober judgment that today there is no party in the south of Ireland that counts at all ex-

cept the Republican Party. The whole of the South of Ireland is out for independence from British rule, some by peaceful means, some by violent. They all desire peace, yes, but always on their own terms. The two sides stand absolutely apart. On one side are the soldiers and police, now

with absolutely nothing to do and already tired of the idleness of the truce. On the other side are the Irish people. There is a gulf of blood fixed between them, and it will flow again and flow far more freely and terribly unless civilian statesmen can find a way out."

ENGLAND'S UNEMPLOYED MILLIONS

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THREE vital themes engrossed British minds during the month in review, namely, Ireland, the Disarmament Conference and the nation's unemployed. Of these, the last-named was the most insistent and threatening. In accepting the freedom of the City of Dingwall on Sept. 22, Premier Lloyd George said that he doubted whether any of the great on Dingwall's roll of honor, such as Fox, Grey, Gladstone, Rosebery and Chamberlain, had had "as hard and insistently strenuous a task as the one Providence has intrusted to my feeble hands." He had tried to find rest in Wales, in England, on the Continent, and now he had fled to the Scotch Highlands, but his task had pursued him even into those remote glens. However, he must go through with it, and if God gave him the strength he would go through with it.

It will take a great deal of getting through [he continued], but sometimes when things seem worse they are really much better. I know from the touch of things and from the sight of things, comparing them today with a year ago and the year before, that they are gradually getting better. All the same, we are not quite through and we must pull together. If we pull together, it will greatly help the world, for if Britain goes down I do not know what help there is for Europe.

Lloyd George's task had indeed literally followed him into the remote glens of the Highlands, for the unemployment problem had become so desperate that twelve Laborite Mayors of London boroughs had traveled thither third-class at their own expense to obtain his advice and active assistance. He met them at Gairlock and promised earnest consideration of the problem, but rejected the Mayors' plan that the Government carry the burden singly. The Government had already expended over

£105,000,000 in relief of unemployment through the insurance scheme. As Mr. Churchill had said in his Dundee speech on Sept. 24, if the Government had not been repeatedly stabbed at by strikes, the distress would have been less and the means of coping with it would have been much greater. Lloyd George stated the Government's attitude in the softest possible words in a speech at Inverness on Oct. 4 when he said:

National honor demands that those willing but unable to get work must be saved from starvation, but the measure of relief depends upon the national resources. * * * No one in this country will be allowed to starve so long as there is a crumb in the national cupboard; but there must be co-operation between all classes, otherwise things will proceed from a crisis to disaster.

Serious riots had broken out in London and some of the provincial centres. On Sept. 22 the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress had issued a manifesto declaring that unemployment should not be made a local burden—that the Government should provide work. Meetings of Cabinet Ministers and Parliament members discussed various plans of procedure without finding any practicable way out. James Henry Thomas, the General Secretary of the National Union of Railway Men, told the workers on Oct. 2: "At no time during the war did the situation look so black and dangerous as now. The next few months will be the most difficult period for the leaders."

According to figures supplied the State Department in Washington by A. P. Dennis, Commercial Attaché in London, the peak of British unemployment was reached in June, with 2,177,899 men out of work. By Sept. 16 this figure had declined to 1,469,700, rep-

resenting a drop of 28,500 in the last week reported. Mr. Dennis illuminated the critical situation as follows:

Measures are contemplated which should have far-reaching results in alleviating the conditions; otherwise, unless trade revives, at least 1,000,000 idle men must be maintained indefinitely at an average cost of £2 each week, or £100,000,000 annually. The measures contemplated would mean a heavy demand on the Treasury, but at the same time the expenditures would be made for constructive work rather than to non-producers. The Government will assist traders and industrial concerns to expand business.

Under the present dole system the tax-paying ability of certain industrial districts is breaking down. In one East Side London borough, with a population of 167,000, 18,000 are receiving relief.

To provide employment the Admiralty announced on Oct. 8 that it was prepared to sell a number of obsolete warships at moderate prices for breaking up by firms which agreed to commence work upon completion of sale. In various parts of the country demonstrations were held on Oct. 9, "Unemployment Sunday." At one of these a letter was read from the Bishop of Winchester suggesting that the nation ration itself. An action expected to relieve the tension in London's East End was the release from prison of the twenty-nine Popular Councilors who had been arrested on a matter of local taxation. On the 13th demonstrations of a more ominous character took place in London, Manchester, Sheffield and Dundee. In London 20,000 men participated in a parade, the "biggest of

its kind ever seen in London," and among the banners carried one bore the inscription, "Bread or Revolution!" A committee which sought to interview the Premier saw two of his secretaries, and received a letter from Lloyd George which stated that the Government was well aware of the gravity of the situation and was exerting every possible endeavor to grapple with it.

C. W. McCurdy, Joint Chief Coalition Whip, speaking at Northampton on Sept. 21, said he had made a comprehensive survey of the question of relief of ex-service men and was staggered by the immensity of the task the Government had to face. The State was now paying £111,000,000 in pensions. British war casualties numbered 2,250,000, and 3,333,000 men, women and children were receiving pensions and allowances each week. These were:

Disabled officers and men.....	1,150,000
Widows	172,000
Motherless children (wards of Pensions Ministry)	17,000
Dependents	308,000
Children of widows	359,000
Wives and children of disabled men.	1,280,000

On Sept. 23 Mrs. Wintringham was elected as the second English woman member of the House of Commons. Mrs. Wintringham was returned for the Louth Division of Lincolnshire, being the widow of a former member. As a Liberal with a good many democratic tendencies it was expected that she would sit beside Lady Astor on the Labor bench.

BUSINESS DEPRESSION IN SWITZERLAND

JOSEPH C. GREW of Massachusetts, our Minister to Denmark, was transferred to Switzerland Sept. 21. At the same time John D. Prince of New Jersey was appointed Minister to Denmark. The prolonged depression in the Swiss watchmaking industry, and especially the decrease of American purchasers, has created such depression that the Watchmakers' Association appealed to the Government for a subsidy to tide it over the next eighteen months. It is stated that 32,000 watchmakers are at present wholly or partially unemployed. The total number of Swiss unemployed

in September was estimated at 135,000. The Swiss Parliament met Oct. 6 in extraordinary session. A bill was introduced proposing that Federal councilors be elected by the people instead of by Parliament. The result of the eight-hour working day has so greatly dislocated Swiss railroads and factories that it is proposed to add a new article to the Swiss Constitution, under which factory owners and railroad companies can ask employes to work fifty-four hours weekly. Another proposal soon to be submitted to the Swiss voters is the abolition of the Federal war profits tax.

STABILIZING THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

Cabinet is menaced by dissatisfaction over Silesia, but the decision to make social reform wait upon democracy seems a bulwark against monarchism

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 18, 1921]

WHEN the German Reichstag reassembled on Sept. 27 after its Summer vacation, the political atmosphere was filled with rumors of the impending fall of the Cabinet headed by Dr. Wirth, but on Oct. 18 the Chancellor was still at his post. That his position was precarious, however, was evidenced by his statement to correspondents of American newspapers on Oct. 13 regarding the crisis caused by the reported decision by the Council of the League of Nations dividing Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany. The Chancellor said:

On the day the Geneva decision is approved the present German Government is subject to the verdict of the Reichstag. There has been talk that I would fall. I shall not run away—it is not in my nature or character. But the policy I have pursued hitherto can be continued only if backed by the majority of the German people. The loss of Upper Silesia and loss of confidence mean a change of policy.

According to advance reports concerning the official decision on the Upper Silesia question, neither Poland nor Germany receives the entire plebiscite district, but it is to be divided between them. Germany will get about two-thirds of the territory, but in the third going to Poland are the three predominantly German industrial cities of Beuthen, Koenigshuette and Kattowitz. The entire Pless district and the greater part of Rybnik are assigned to Poland. The industrial triangle is divided, with Germany due to get the Gleiwitz and Zabrze districts. Tarnowitz and Lublinitz are split, the eastern parts of the districts going to Poland and the western to Germany. The districts in the north and centre—Rosenberg, Kreuzberg, Oppeln, Gross Strelitz, Tost, Kosel, Oberglogau, Loebusch and Ratibor are to go to Germany. Two-thirds of the undeveloped mineral resources of Upper Silesia are said to lie in the territory assigned to Poland. Equal industrial and cultural rights for Poles and Germans in the divided territory are to be assured by a commission to be

subject to the control of the League of Nations. The publication of these advance reports on the Council's decision raised a great storm in Germany and afforded another opportunity for the Junker and reactionary business interests to attack the Wirth Government. They declared that this "outrageous" decision showed that the Chancellor's conciliatory policy toward the Allies and his efforts to meet the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had only resulted in additional insults and impositions by the Entente. On the other hand, the Majority Socialists, the Centrists and the Democrats, as well as the "neutral" Independent Socialists, insisted that, although the blow to Germany was a hard one, it was not the Chancellor's fault and, consequently, there was no reason for him to leave his post.

During the month preceding the storm brought about by the Upper Silesian decision the position of the Wirth Government had been materially strengthened by the following circumstances:

The Government's fight against the reactionary Junkers and their allies among certain big business elements, precipitated by the murder of Matthias Erzberger on Aug. 26, had been carried on quite successfully, with the approval of the great mass of the people. In Bavaria the resignation of Dr. von Kahr, the reactionary Premier, was followed by that of his right-hand man, Herr Poehner, Chief of Police. On Sept. 22 the Bavarian Diet elected Count Hugo Lerchenfeld, a rather liberal-minded aristocrat, to von Kahr's post. In a few days an agreement was reached between Munich and the Central Government, providing for raising the prolonged state of siege in Bavaria that had facilitated the persecution of alleged Bolsheviki and other labor leaders, and providing for the control of the press by the State instead of the national authorities. Extensive Junker plots for the restoration of the monarchy were widely rumored, but nothing materialized. Arnold Ruge, alleged chief of the reaction-

ary spy bureau in Silesia, was arrested, and on Oct. 6 the Public Prosecutor in Berlin issued warrants for the arrest on charges of high treason of Dr. Kapp, Colonel Bauer, Major Pabst, General von Lüttwitz, Captain Ehrhardt, Ignatius Tribitsch Lincoln and two other leaders of the monarchist "putsch" of March, 1920. A reward of 50,000 marks was offered for information leading to the arrest of any one of these men; but, as most of them were believed to be in foreign lands, the Government's move was regarded rather as an evidence of good intentions than as a serious effort to get hold of the monarchist chiefs.

The Social Democratic Party (the Majority Socialists) modified its program at its national convention held in Goerlitz, Sept. 18-25, and the leaders of the People's Party (representing big business) in session at Heidelberg at about the same time, decided to enter the Government if allowed to have a rather large voice in the financial and business management of the country. Thus the foundation was laid for the formation of a Cabinet containing representatives of the Social Democrats, the Centrists, the Democrats and the business interests. Such a combination would be able to defy the opposition of the handful of communists on the one hand, and the small group of extreme reactionaries organized in the Nationalist Party on the other. The Independent Socialists might be expected to preserve an attitude of benevolent neutrality.

Practically all the developments of the reparation situation during the period were favorable to Germany. Under the protocol of the Franco-German agreement on the furnishing of materials, signed by Dr. Walter Rathenau, the German Minister of Reconstruction, and Louis Loucheur, the French Minister of the Devastated Regions, in Wiesbaden on Oct. 6 [the details of which are given in the article on France], German industry will be kept busy for several years, with a consequent good effect upon the general situation. The agreement is almost sure to be approved by the Reparation Commission, the Reichstag and the French Chamber of Deputies.

On Sept. 29 the Interallied Rhineland Commission announced that, as Germany had agreed to the establishment of an interallied commission to collaborate with the German officials in granting export and

import licenses in the occupied territory, the economic penalties imposed last March were to be abolished the next day at midnight. This leaves only the military penalties in operation. On Oct. 1 the Interallied Committee of Guarantees announced in Berlin that the amount of the next reparation payment—estimated at about 350,000,000 gold marks, i. e., 26 per cent. of the value of Germany's exports during the three months ended July 31—had already been covered by deliveries of material. On the same day the village of Loscheim, near Malmedy, was restored to Germany by the Frontier Commission. Germany will be credited with about 745,000,000 gold marks on the indemnity account for the 2,153,407 tons of shipping handed over to the Allies up to May 1, 1921, according to an announcement made by the Reparation Commission in Paris on Sept. 22.

Roland Boyden, the American representative on the Reparation Commission invited by the Allies to decide at what rate of exchange Germany must pay to the Allies the loans they had advanced to Belgium during the war, ruled on Sept. 30 that the debt must be calculated in gold marks at the rate of exchange prevailing on Nov. 11, 1918.

Further progress was reported in the work of disarmament by the Interallied Military Control Commission. The commission protested to the German Government on Sept. 25 against the continued military formation of the Security Police. Data on the destruction of arms and munitions up to Sept. 15 showed that there had been destroyed 32,000 cannon, 34,000,000 tons of loaded shells, 110,350 trench mortars, 83,566 machine guns, 4,160,000 rifles and 355,000,000 small arms and cartridges for them; leaving 102 cannon, 1,000,000 tons of shells, 186 mortars, 2,852 machine guns, 163,000 rifles and 90,000,000 small arms and cartridges to be destroyed.

All these events enabled the German Government to point out that it was doing its best to fulfill the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, while at the same time it hoped for a material modification of those terms as time went on.

Although the exchange value of the mark reached new low ground on Oct. 17, when 100 marks could be bought in New York for 52¼ cents, a fact which caused much ex-

citement on the Berlin Boerse, German industry continued to improve. On Sept. 30 it was estimated in official circles that there were only some 250,000 persons drawing unemployment benefits in all Germany. The export trade continued to rise, and German shipyards kept on turning out new vessels and doing a great deal of repair work for foreign shipping companies. On Oct. 4 it was announced that German steamship companies had bought back from England fifty of the ships surrendered under the Treaty of Versailles—a total tonnage of 150,000.

The peace treaty between the United States and Germany was ratified by the Reichstag on Sept. 30, with only the few Communist Deputies voting No. Some of the extreme Nationalists, including Dr. Karl Helfferich, Count von Westarp and General von Gallwitz, left the Chamber before the vote was taken. The next day the Reichstag adjourned for three weeks to give the Cabinet time to whip into shape the numerous tax bills by which Dr. Wirth hopes to raise enough money to run his Government and meet the demands of the Peace Treaty. On Oct. 6 the Reichsrat (National Council) officially announced its assent to the treaty. The United States Senate ratified the treaty on Oct. 18 by a vote of 66 to 20.

German publicists and statesmen attach great importance to the decision reached by the Social Democratic Party's convention in Goerlitz calling for democracy first and social reform afterward. It is emphasized that the Social Democracy, with 1,221,000 dues-paying members and 112 Deputies in the Reichstag, having formally resolved to co-operate with any parties that will stand by the republic, is in a position, through its influence over the some 9,000,000 members of the so-called Socialist trade unions, to nip in the bud any serious attempts by the Junkers to re-establish the monarchy. Because of the convention's decision to co-operate with all Republican bourgeois parties, if necessary, the prospects of a union between the Social Democrats and the Independent Socialists have been weakened, but it has been evident for some time that the latter party has been losing ground steadily as an actual force in German politics. Its moderate members are going back to the Social Democrats, while its ex-

tremists are either dropping all political activities or joining the communists.

In the search for the murderers of Matthias Erzberger, developments were limited to the arrest in Munich of eleven persons, seven of whom were former members of the notorious Ehrhardt Marine Brigade which captured Berlin for the Kapp reactionaries in March, 1920, and to the publication of charges by the President of Baden declaring that the murderers were members of a secret political group pledged to destroy the republic. These charges were repeated by Herr Weissmann, Prussian Commissioner of Public Safety. Schultz and Tillessen, the alleged slayers, are supposed to have escaped to Austria or Hungary.

The special municipal election held in Berlin on Oct. 16 resulted in a defeat for the Red parties, the votes cast for the Socialists and Communists being about 800,000 against 842,000 for their bourgeois opponents. The new Board of Aldermen will be made up of approximately 116 non-Socialists and 106 Socialists and Communists. The old board was composed of 125 Socialists and Communists and 100 bourgeois members. The Nationalists, Social Democrats and Democrats gained in the election of Oct. 16 at the expense of the Independent Socialists, Communists and the People's Party.

The greatest explosion in Germany's industrial history occurred at 7:30 A. M., Sept. 21, when the synthetic nitrate plant of the Badische Anilin Company at Oppau blew up, killing about 800 persons and doing property damage estimated at 1,000,000,000 paper marks. The little town was practically wiped out, and the force of the explosion was so great that store fronts collapsed in Worms, twelve miles distant, and the shock was felt fifty miles away. The injured numbered some 2,000, about 400 of them being seriously wounded. Paul Tirard, the French High Commissioner on the Rhine, took charge of the first relief work, and French occupying troops distinguished themselves in rescue work. The members of the French detachment stationed in the plant were all killed, and several other French soldiers perished in the barracks at Eisenheim, which was wrecked by the force of the explosion. The cause of the disaster remained unknown.

Figures on the German crops made pub-

lic in Berlin on Oct. 5 showed an estimated production of Winter wheat of 2,370,000 metric tons, against 1,895,000 tons last year, and 6,500,000 tons of rye, against 4,800,000 in 1920. Summer wheat and rye, as well as potatoes, were slightly below last year's crop. Sugar beets were below the average. Oats were the same as last year, while hay was short.

On Sept. 24 the formal separation of Church and State in Prussia took place when, at its first meeting, an assembly of 192 delegates took over the authority over

Protestant Church affairs from the head of the State.

Among the prominent Germans who died during the period were Professor Englebert Humperdinck, the opera composer, and William II., former King of Württemberg. The ex-King was buried in Ludwigsburg on Oct. 7 with great pomp and much display of militarism, while the composer was honored by music lovers and artists the world over. Ex-King Ludwig of Bavaria went to his estates near Steinamanger, West Hungary, where he died on Oct. 18.

HUNGARY'S FILIBUSTERING EPISODE

Rival bands of Legitimists and Horthyists terrorize Burgenland, crossing the Austrian border and threatening the peace of Europe—Agreement terms

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE incidents growing out of the transfer of Burgenland to Austria developed into an international crisis involving the peace of all Central Europe. On Aug. 29 the Austrian officials sent to take possession of that province under the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon were attacked and repulsed by Magyar "irregulars" and "insurgents" and a guerrilla warfare* began which the Hungarians soon carried over to Austrian territory. It became increasingly clear that the episode was planned by the Magyar militarist leaders as a duplication of d'Annunzio's Fiume escapade and the adventure of the Polish General Zeligowski at Vilna.

The Burgenland situation, however, was complicated by the additional difficulty that there was a rivalry between the two factions of the Magyar bands. One, led by the former Premier Friedrich; Count Sigray, Governor of the Burgenland district; General Lehar and Major Ostenburg, backed the claim of ex-King Charles to restoration; the other, including Lieut. Col. Pronay and Lieutenant Hejjas, leader of the Awakening Hungarians, the dreaded anti-Semitic Mafia, supported Regent Horthy's aspirations. It was revealed that early in August, at a conference held at Steinamanger, the Legitimist leaders had agreed on a plan to launch a coup d'état in connection with the

evacuation of Burgenland, culminating in an attempt to bring back the ex-King Charles, to seize Vienna and to proclaim the restoration at Budapest. Regent Horthy, however, learned of the plan, and on Aug. 28-29, when the Legitimist chiefs carried out the first item of their program, repulsing the Austrians and establishing their dictatorship at Oedenburg, Horthyist leaders were on the scene, too, to share the laurels of their rivals. Despite the bitter enmity between the two groups, some sort of accord was reached in their offensive against the Austrians. The Horthyists operated chiefly in the northern, the Legitimists in the southern section of the province. In several instances Austrian territory was invaded.

The Austrian Government in the meantime appealed to the Entente for authorization to send regular troops against the Magyars. This was refused, whereupon the Austrian Government withdrew its gendarmerie from the contested area, putting it up to the Entente to deal with the situation. An exchange of several notes followed, the Czechoslovak Government joining in with communications upholding the Austrian side. A Magyar note, delivered to the Entente representatives on Sept. 11, denied any official responsibility for the Burgenland events, explaining the situation as

the outcome of individual action on the part of Deputy Friedrich. On Sept. 12 the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, addressed a very strongly worded note to the Council of Ambassadors at Paris, protesting against Magyar violence and pointing out the danger to the peace of Europe arising from the Burgenland situation. On Sept. 23 the Council of Ambassadors addressed an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government, demanding evacuation.

In the meantime the reign of terror instituted by the Magyar "insurgents" and disguised regular troops continued, and the fighting was carried to the gates of Wiener-Neustadt, an important industrial suburb of the Austrian capital. An offer of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Governments to restore order by military intervention was rejected by the allied representatives, owing to the protest of Italy, which saw its interests menaced by the junction of the two Slav powers. However, the Italian Government undertook mediation between the Hungarians and Austrians. At first this attempt remained unsuccessful, and on Sept. 23 another attempt to restore peace was made by the Czech Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, who, this time, was asked to intervene by the Magyar Government. On Oct. 4 the Magyar Government agreed to sign a protocol at Oedenburg, guaranteeing the withdrawal of the rebel leaders. This protocol, however, was fulfilled no more than were previous pledges, and the terrorism of the Magyar bands continued. According to one report the Magyar operations in Burgenland were directed by the Prussian Colonel Bauer, Ludendorff's aid, and thus the movement was linked with royalist activities in Tyrol and Bavaria.

On Oct. 13 it was reported that an agreement was reached at Venice between the Magyar Foreign Minister, Banffy, and the Austrian Chancellor Schober, with the Marquis della Torretta, the Italian Foreign Minister, acting as mediator. The terms of this agreement were as follows:

1. Hungary binds herself to clear Burgenland by military means, if necessary, and guarantees this undertaking to the Italian Government. The military measures proposed by Hungary were discussed and accepted by the conference.

2. Austria accepts the plan of a plebiscite for Oegenburg, Roboncz and five or six small neighboring districts.

3. Should this plebiscite favor Hungary, Austria will renounce almost entirely her financial claims against Hungary. Should any counterclaim be raised by Austria, the two parties agree to put the question into the hands of an arbitrator.

A plebiscite was to be held at Oedenburg within ten days.

Great excitement was caused at Budapest by the discovery, about the middle of September, of a gigantic governmental graft, involving several billion kronen. The Minister, Stephen Szabo of Nagyatad, a leader of the Farmers' Party, was gravely compromised. On Sept. 25 a former First Lieutenant in the army, George Ibrahim Kover, fired several shots in the National Assembly at Stephen Rakovszky, former Speaker of the House. None of the shots took effect. The would-be assassin, when examined after his arrest, declared he wanted to kill Rakovszky and also Count Julius Andrássy, because they were responsible for dragging Hungary into the World War, and also for the Burgenland calamity.

AUSTRIA—The financial situation in Austria became demoralized during the first weeks of October, so that the Austrian crown became practically worthless. Offers of 3,400 crowns for \$1 were made in Vienna during October, the normal value of the crown being less than five to the dollar. This situation brought about chaotic business conditions. The country was flooded with an influx of foreigners who, taking advantage of the prices before readjustment of values, had been buying everything of intrinsic value on the basis of the greatly depreciated crown. For days all trading on the Boerse was stopped. Dr. Ferdinand Grimm, the Minister of Finance, resigned his post Sept. 26; he was succeeded by a Social Democrat, thus making the Government a coalition one. It was announced Oct. 14 that the controversy between Austria and Hungary over Burgenland had been settled to the satisfaction of both countries. This news served to allay the popular disquiet which was manifesting itself in riots and other serious disturbances.

FRANCE'S SENSE OF ISOLATION

Premier Briand, on the eve of the Washington conference, explains his country's views on disarmament—Prior security essential—Nation pleased by the economic agreement with Germany signed at Wiesbaden

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

IF any one doubts that France feels herself isolated politically, he need only follow the articles abounding in the French press, which either state this sentiment specifically or allow it to be read between the lines. Painful to France is the consciousness that in carrying out the policy toward Germany dictated by her fears of a third attack upon her national existence she has been compelled to witness an ever-widening chasm between herself and England. Such French statesmen as Poincaré, former President of the republic, have seen the peril of this rift, regretted it, and discussed the possibilities of a new rapprochement. On the eve of the Washington Conference on Disarmament this need has been repeatedly and emphatically expressed. On Oct. 9, ten days before the reopening of the French Parliament, Premier Briand, following the usual custom of his predecessors in office, made a public exposition of his Government's policy. At St. Nazaire he declared in the strongest terms that France could never disarm unless she received bed-rock guarantees of protection for the future. France, he declared, had earned the right to have her security assured. His mission in Washington, he said, would be to prove to the nations there represented that France really wanted peace and disarmament, but only on the condition of protection which to her is indispensable.

The almost universally favorable comment of the French press on M. Briand's exposition of his Government's policy showed that he was truly speaking for the whole nation and (excluding the irreconcilable communists) for all political parties. This favorable reception of the Premier's statements made it clear that his Cabinet would not be overthrown when Parliament reopened on Oct. 18, and that he would be able to carry out his plan of participating personally in the discussions at Washington. The great benefit to France of a reduction of armament was pointed out variously. It

was officially shown that France is spending on her army and navy annually a total of 4,500,000,000 francs, and this at a time when the budget shows a deficit of over 2,000,000,000.

The official visit of General Pershing to France, combined with the coming conference at Washington, turned the attention of the whole nation, and particularly of the Government leaders, toward the possibilities of a change in the attitude of the American Government toward France. Pershing was received with continuous honors from the time he landed at Havre on Sept. 23 to the day of his departure for Coblenz on Sept. 26. Ambassadorial honors were accorded him on his reception by President Millerand at the Elysées. On Oct. 2, with moving solemnity and amid imposing military display, General Pershing, in the name of the American Government and the American people, laid the Congressional Medal of Honor, which he had borne with him from Washington, on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier of France at the Arc de Triomphe. Standing in a brilliant group of French military leaders and statesmen, he listened to an opening address by the American Ambassador, Mr. Herrick. The Ambassador explained that the American Government had sent this medal by its most distinguished soldier to do honor to the heroic soldiers of France who had died in defense of their fatherland. But the sword, he said, had done its work, and the unfinished work of the dead heroes must be completed. As France, the symbol of civilization, stood or fell, the battle for the future of humanity would be lost or won.

General Pershing then stepped forward and made an eloquent and affecting apostrophe to the Unknown Soldier whose last remains reposed in the shadow of the great Arch. He concluded thus:

In the name of the President and people of the United States of America, as a gage of eternal faith in the justice of our cause,

for which you died, and in witness of respect and admiration for you and your comrades, I lay on your tomb this Medal of Honor of the American Congress.

The General then pinned on an embroidered cushion the medal which he had brought from America and, dropping on one knee, laid the tribute at the head of the tomb. The acceptance and thanks of France were voiced by M. Barthou, the French Minister of War. Replying directly to Ambassador Herrick, M. Barthou said:

I thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for having said here, especially here, that the security of France is the basis for the peace of the world.

The big problem for France is still that of German reparations. With the economic guarantees on the Rhine abolished (Sept. 29) and the decision of the Intëralled Commission on Guarantees, announced in Berlin on Oct. 1, that the 26 per cent. on German exports—an estimated total of 350,000,000 gold marks—due from Germany for the three months ended July 31 had been covered by deliveries of materials, the prospect seemed none too encouraging. One source of satisfaction was the decision of Roland W. Boyden, American representative on the Reparation Commission, who had been asked by the allied Governments to arbitrate on how Germany should repay the considerable sums loaned Belgium following the German invasion. Mr. Boyden ruled that the debt must be calculated in gold marks at the exchange rate prevailing on Nov. 11, 1918, the day of the armistice. This decision was highly pleasing to France. Under the Versailles Treaty (Article 232), Germany promised to repay these loans at 5 per cent. interest. The amounts involved are as follows: France, 2,500,000,000 francs; England, £60,000,000; the United States, \$250,000,000. Each country, however, had loaned these respective sums in its own currency, and France protested strongly at the Financial Conference held in Paris in August against the heavy loss which she would incur if the present exchange rate were accepted. It was, indeed, to satisfy the French leaders that Mr. Boyden was invited to arbitrate. His decision will enable France to recover the full value of the sum loaned by her. The approximate new valuations must be fixed by

the Commission on Reparations and paid by Germany before May 1, 1926.

The greatest satisfaction of all, however, so far as France alone was concerned, came from the economic pact between France and Germany at Wiesbaden on Oct. 6. The main feature of this agreement is that Germany is to deliver building material to France for the reconstruction of the devastated area up to a value of 7,000,000,000 gold marks, these deliveries to be completed by May 1, 1926. Two similar organizations are to be created in each country, the German company to look after the assembling of the material ordered by the French company at the main shipping points. Payment to the German manufacturers is to be made by the German Government out of Government bonds to be issued specially for this purpose. Transportation and delivery by the German company at suitable terminals and on suitable dates were also incorporated in the agreement. Any dispute over prices, transportation, &c., will be referred to a committee of three, to be made up of one French, one German and one neutral delegate. The price list will be fixed every three months, and this list will correspond to normal prices in the interior of France, less customs duties and transportation charges. The credits to be made on the books of the Reparation Commission are subject to three limitations, viz.: (1) Only 35 per cent. of the value of the merchandise if the deliveries reach 1,000,000,000 gold marks, or 45 per cent. if the total amount of presentations do not reach that total, will be credited; (2) Germany will never be credited with more than 1,000,000,000 gold marks up to May, 1926; (3) Germany will never be credited with a sum higher than France's share in the yearly reparations. There was every indication that this agreement would pass both the French Chamber and the Reichstag some time in October. It was officially announced on Sept. 26 that the devastated area would receive special aid, meanwhile, from French sources. A loan of 3,000,000,000 francs was to be floated by the Credit National for this purpose, beginning Oct. 24.

Of predominant interest to the whole nation was the coming discussion of the country's foreign policy in Parliament. Premier Briand, it was learned Oct. 16, had asked

that the new session open with this discussion, in order that it might be completed before Oct. 29, the date set for his departure to the United States, thus enabling

him to arrange his program on behalf of France at Washington on a definite and authoritative basis. A large number of interpellations had been filed.

BULGARIA AND THE BALKANS

Premier Stambolisky's exposure of the hostile propaganda spread abroad by neighboring States—The month's events in Rumania and Jugoslavia

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

A FEW days before he departed for the League Assembly Conference at Geneva, M. Stambolisky, the Bulgarian Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, made, before the Sobranje, a long speech, in which he analyzed one after another the various phases of Bulgaphobic propaganda intended to malign his country at the Chancelleries of the Allies. In repudiating the charge that his Government was sympathetically inclined toward Bolshevism, he made the following statement in regard to finance:

They say that we persecute the capitalists. This is not the truth. Bulgaria has been ruined by wars. Who will pay? We do fight speculation and we would like to have capital employed in industry and not in speculation. We would also encourage foreign capital to aid our industries. But we do fight speculation. That is why we encourage co-operation. With equitable co-operation and distribution there can be no speculation.

On the following day he called the representatives of the press together and spoke more pointedly about Bolshevism. He said:

Moscow evidently intends to accomplish a revolution in the Balkan States with the assistance of the Extreme Left Communist Parties in these States. The Bolsheviks' immediate goal is a revolution in Jugoslavia, and their operations will later be extended to Rumania, Austria and Bulgaria. Bolshevik forces are now gathering on the Northeastern Rumanian frontier along the Dniester. I believe they intend to break through the front into Rumania. Meanwhile they are actively mining the Black Sea with both floating and moored mines.

The political horizon in the Balkan States is dark. It behooves Bulgaria to be on the watch. Negotiations are now going on for a Balkan States Conference, at which the question of disarmament in face of the Bolshevik activities will be discussed. We in the Balkans must present a solid front to-

ward Bolshevism. The entry of Poland and Austria into the Little Entente, a closer agreement between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria and Bulgaria's eventual entrance into the Jugoslav State might prove an effective means of combating Bolshevik plans.

At Belgrade the suggestion in the foregoing remarkable statement about Bulgaria becoming a part of Jugoslavia was received with incredulous smiles. The press there pointed out that M. Stambolisky had been persistently worrying Belgrade for a reconciliation and agreement between the "Slav sisters," and at the same time working for a federation of agrarian States in Danubian and Central Europe under the aegis of the "Green (or Peasants') International." Hence, Stambolisky's new suggestion was merely an evolution of the old.

On Oct. 11 the authorities at Sofia arrested a Soviet delegation from the Ukraine, which was alleged to have in its possession jewels belonging to the Russian Imperial Treasury. Moscow was communicated with, and guarantees demanded that Soviet delegates should be prohibited from circulating Bolshevik propaganda while in Bulgaria.

The speeches exchanged between Dr. Stephan Panaretoff, the reinstated Bulgarian Minister at Washington, and President Harding, when the latter received him after his lectures at the Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Mass., reached Sofia on Sept. 25, and were published in the papers of the following day with enthusiastic comment. President Harding's cordial reception of a Minister who had been found persona non grata by his predecessor's Administration was emphasized and lauded.

On Sept. 22 Bulgaria's great national poet and novelist, Ivan Vazoff, died at the age of 71. In the funeral almost royal

honors were accorded him; a military escort accompanied the remains, minute-guns were fired and eulogies were pronounced by members of the Government. At least two of his books, the novels "Pod Igoto" ("Under the Yoke") and "Virgin Soil," have been translated into English.

RUMANIA—When the published texts of the various treaties of the Little Entente reached Moscow, and the provisions for a united defense against Bolshevism were noted, no complaint was made by the Soviet Government. The news, therefore, published in Riga on Sept. 12 that Soviet Russia had declared a state of war in Bessarabia came as a surprise. The Little Entente treaties, however, had provided for subsequent military conventions, which, when concluded, were not made public. One of these—that concluded between Rumania and Poland—is said to have been revealed to the Soviet Government, which then declared the state of war in Bessarabia.

The Moscow Government has never recognized the decree of the Supreme Council ratified by the Council of the League of Nations giving Bessarabia to Rumania. The territory has a population of about 2,000,000, and covers an area of 18,000 square miles. Half the people claim to be of pure Rumanian stock; the other half are made up of Russians, Tartars, Slavs of various sects, gypsies, Greeks, Armenians and about 170,000 Jews. For two years there has been a Rumanian civil administration in Bessarabia.

JUGOSLAVIA—King Alexander of Yugoslavia still tarries in Paris, while the throne left vacant at Belgrade by the death of his father still remains vacant. Two months had passed, when, on Oct. 12, the Yugoslav Legation at Paris reaffirmed the status of Alexander as King of Yugoslavia and made formal denial of the reports that he had abdicated or would renounce the

throne—"the King does not think of abdicating in favor of his brother George." This statement is said to have been made at the command of M. Pashitch, the Yugoslav Premier, who arrived in Paris on Oct. 8.

When King Peter died it was reported that Alexander, who had been known as the Prince Regent, was seriously ill at the Hotel Continental, Paris. In August he removed to a villa at Versailles. The day after M. Pashitch arrived, the new King made with him a formal visit to the Elysée Palace and was received by President Millerand.

Meanwhile, there is much gossip about the King, and many theories are advanced to explain his reluctance to return to Belgrade, from the fascinations of life in Paris to fear of political dangers at home.

FIUME—On Oct. 6 the Constituent Assembly of the Independent State of Fiume elected Professor Riccardo Zanella President of the Provisional National Government by a vote of 57 to 11. Professor Zanella is the leader of the autonomists, or the People's Party. Signor Blasich, the leader of the minority party, declared that the minority would fight for the annexation of Fiume to Italy. The first two acts of the new President were to consign the defense of the Porto Baros to the Italian carabinieri and to inform Belgrade that the Government of Fiume was ready to negotiate the disposition of the port without intervention on the part of Italy.

It was the Constituent Assembly, not President Zanella, which selected the first Cabinet in the nation's history. It was made up as follows:

President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zanella; Interior, Blasich; Finance and the Treasury, Moholic; Public Works, Poteeni; Justice, Fechel; Education, Sablich; Social Defense, Lasciach.

POLAND UNDER A NEW CABINET

Installation of an "extra-Parliamentary" Government under M. Ponikowski—A new war averted—Polish joy over the decision on Silesia

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

POLAND, beset with difficulties since its erection into an independent nation, is striving to cope with new troubles as they arise. Premier Witos, after several stormy months of struggle, resigned Sept. 9; the Government leaders, finding a Parliamentary Cabinet could not be agreed upon, adopted the unprecedented experiment of forming an "extra-Parliamentary" Cabinet, under the leadership of M. Ponikowski, who was striving at the end of September to find strong men to work with him for Poland's regeneration. The fall of the peasant Government of M. Witos, who had held office ever since the Summer of 1920, stirred Polish public opinion greatly, and the Polish Parliamentary leaders made strenuous efforts to form a Cabinet under M. Glombinsky, former Austrian Minister of Railways. This meant the predominance of the Nationalist Democratic Party in the new Government. Meanwhile M. Korfanty, the stormy petrel of Silesian fame, who represents a Posnanian constituency in the Polish Diet, worked vainly for other combinations.

When it became apparent that Glombinsky could not obtain a majority, the selection of M. Ponikowski, Director of the Warsaw Polytechnical College, was decided on by the Centre parties at the suggestion of the Marshal of the Diet, M. Trampeczynski. The acceptance of M. Ponikowski, a former "Activist" (that is, one of those Poles who believed they could serve Poland best during the German occupation by collaborating with the enemies of Russia), as the leader of the Government, shows how far the Poles have gone toward political moderation. The new Premier stated that he would retain M. Skirmunt as Foreign Minister, and General Sosnkowski as Minister of War. He also appointed M. Sikorski, formerly a Prussian Railway official, as Minister of Railways, but the important posts of Minister of Finance and Minister of Trade still remained vacant. The new Premier's great problem was to find men

of expert knowledge and experience free from all contagion of party politics. His efforts to complete his Cabinet were successful; the full list of the new Ministers, as later announced, was as follows:

Premier, Antoni Ponikowski; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Konstanty Skirmunt; Minister of Finance, George Michalski; Minister of Transportation, Boleslaw Sikorski; Minister of Public Works, Gabryel Narutowicz; Minister of War, Casimir Sosnkowski; Minister of Commerce and Industry, Henryk Strasburger; Minister of Agriculture, Joseph Raczynski; Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Wladislaw Steslowicz; Minister of Health, Witold Chodzko; Minister of Justice, Bronislaw Sobolewski; Minister of Provisions, Hieronim Wyczolkowski; Minister of the former German Poland, Dr. Julius Trzcinski; Minister of Public Welfare, Ludwik Darowski; Minister of Internal Affairs, Stanislas Domanowicz.

Shortly after the new Premier assumed office he was fired upon by a would-be assassin, a Ukrainian named Fedak; he escaped injury, but Count Grobowski, who was with him at the time, was shot in the leg; Fedak tried to commit suicide, but was foiled.

The months of August and September were full of misgiving in Poland over the imminent peril of a new war with Russia, because Russia had failed to turn over certain property provided for by the Riga treaty and also had failed to pay thirty million gold rubles as agreed upon. After a heated exchange of notes and the sending by Poland of what purported to be an ultimatum, M. Karakhan, the Soviet envoy to Warsaw, acting under instructions from his Government, got into contact with M. Dombksi, the Polish Foreign Minister. Discussions lasting for a number of days led to a new agreement on Oct. 8. Under it Poland agreed to expel anti-Soviet plotters and Russia promised to pay the sum already pledged within two weeks, and to return Polish property in Russia. Thus the tense situation was relieved, a new war was averted, and the two Slavic nations pre-

pared for at least a few months more of peace.

The status of the dispute of Poland with Lithuania over Vilna was not appreciably improved by the discussions in the Assembly of the League of Nations (see the League article elsewhere in this issue), which showed that the already announced agreement was fallacious. The Lithuanians refused to accept the second solution offered by M. Paul Hymans, the League intermediary, until the Polish Government should compel General Zeligowski, the Polish *d'Annunzio*, to evacuate Vilna, which he has held illegally for many months. The way was paved, however, to new negotiations, and hostilities were again averted. Nor could it be denied that in this respect, at least, the League had fulfilled its main function—to preserve peace among the nations. Before the League undertook to mediate, the Poles and the Lithuanians were periodically flying at one another's throats on the Vilna border. The continual delay in settlement was vexatious to the Poles, but it was better than the former condition of actual warfare, with all the unsettling of conditions on one of its main frontiers that this implied.

On the other hand, the Poles were delighted with the decision of the League of Nations commission, reached by Oct. 10, in respect to the disposition of Upper Silesia. It will be recalled that the Supreme Allied Council, unable to agree on how to unwind the tangled skein of German and Polish votes under the plebiscite held last March, referred the problem to the Council of the League of Nations for solution. The council began its sittings on this question on Aug. 29, and, after a few days' preliminary discussions, intrusted the investigation of

the case to a committee composed of four non-permanent members of the League Council, viz., M. Paul Hymans (Belgium), Señor Quinones de León (Spain), Senhor da Cunha (Brazil), and Dr. Wellington Koo (China). These four heard evidence of both Germans and Poles, employers and employed, from Upper Silesia, and also sent to the plebiscite area a neutral commission for first-hand investigation. After collating all the information gathered, the committee reported its findings to the council.

Although the decision was not officially published, it was semi-officially divulged, and aroused great excitement in Germany and Poland, to say nothing of Upper Silesia itself. France rejoiced, for under this decision the Silesian triangle in which a number of rich mining districts are included will be bisected in such a way as to give Poland, France's protégé, at least three important towns, namely, Beuthen, Königshuette and Kattowitz, and also many of the coal pockets. A frontier boundary commission will be created, and an intricate system devised to maintain the results of the plebiscite vote, even where badly tangled, by downright allocation to one or the other element, with a balancing of the minority elements given to one power by observing a similar ratio in another sector. Germany, who hoped to get the whole or the best of the Silesian booty, stormed, the Stock Exchange was affected, the Wirth Cabinet endangered, and talk of a formal protest to Great Britain was rife. The decision must yet be ratified by the Supreme Council. If it stands, Poland will get 43 out of the 57 coal mines of the area, while German coal resources will be reduced, roughly, by 20,000,000 tons.

ANTI-MILITARISM IN HOLLAND

DR. J. C. A. EVERWIJN, the new Dutch Minister at Washington, who arrived Sept. 17, is 48 years of age, and a Doctor of Laws from the university at Leyden.

The Dutch Parliament reassembled Sept. 20, and the Queen's speech was interrupted by anti-militarist shouts for the purpose of securing the release of a man imprisoned

for refusing to perform military service. The Queen's address advocated strengthening the fleet for the defense of the Dutch East Indies. A bill calling for the construction of a new East Indian fleet has passed the Indian Council. A clause in the Queen's speech endorsed a proposed law giving exemption to conscientious objectors.

SCANDINAVIAN DEALINGS WITH MOSCOW

Norway recognizes the Soviet in a commercial treaty as Russia's de facto government — Sweden remains non-committal to Moscow's overtures

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

AFTER a month's debate, amid much press criticism, the Norwegian Storting ratified the commercial treaty with Soviet Russia the last of September, by a vote of 69 members of the Left and Socialist parties against 47 of the Conservatives. This treaty had been signed the first of the month by the Norwegian Minister of Commerce, Ludovig Mowinkel, and the Soviet representative, M. Kerzhentsev, who came to Christiania from Stockholm for the purpose. The remarkable thing about the treaty is that, though it follows the Soviet trade treaty with Britain in all essentials, binding each country not to interfere in the political affairs of the other, it recognizes the Soviet as the de facto government of Russia. The main press criticism had been that the treaty did not bind Russia to repay the Norwegian loans and confiscated properties, amounting to 250,000,000 kroner, but in the course of the final debate, Foreign Minister Arnold Raestad said that Russia would repay the Norwegian loan of 4,000,000 kroner. The President of the Storting, Gunnar Knudsen, declared that Russia appeared to be "better pay" than the other countries, as Norway's expenses in connection with the German and British war prisoners had not yet been paid.

Ever since the middle of September, M. Kerzhentsev, who is the Soviet representative in Stockholm, has been vainly importuning the Swedish Government to accept the conditions of the Norwegian trade treaty, threatening a breaking off of commercial relations in case of refusal. He declared that in recognizing the Soviet as the de facto Russian régime, the Norwegian treaty follows more closely the Russo-German than the Anglo-Russian treaty. Danish and English interests have recently declared that trade with Russia had been found to be impossible, as the Soviet had nothing to export except gold. According to Sweden's leading financial

journal, Svenska Handels-Tidningen, the serious position of the Soviet compelled it to increase again the export of gold as the only commodity it could offer in exchange for necessities. Considerable quantities of the metal had lately been landed in Sweden and melted down in the Stockholm mint.

The Swedish Government and the Red Cross claimed for the Russian relief expedition they organized, after their representative returned in September from a conference in Geneva with Dr. Nansen, the same rights as were allowed to Dr. Nansen. Supplies were to be stopped should the Soviet fail in any way to carry out its guarantees. The Swedish relief expedition, divided into social, sanitary, and consulting sections, made its headquarters at Samara. The Swedish railways granted a reduction of fares for the transportation of 1,000 Russian children through Sweden to be conveyed to England.

Denmark, as Foreign Minister Harald de Scavenius announced Sept. 30, suspended the Russian aid it had organized in the middle of the month, because the Soviet refused to admit more than five of the fifteen Danish representatives into Russia, and even these were permitted to act only in the Volga districts. Under such restrictions, M. Scavenius said, it would be impossible to make sure of getting the food and clothes distributed to the destitute children, and not until such a guarantee should be given could the committee be entitled to use the Danish Government's grants. The Government had granted a million crowns to feed the children, especially in the Petrograd area, and to combat the diseases prevalent there. For the latter purpose it had ordered large supplies of serum from the Danish Serum Institute.

SWEDEN—The two remarkable developments of the Swedish month were the recall of Hjalmar Branting as Prime Minister, and the great plurality polled by his Social-

Democratic Party in the Riksdag elections. The whole political tendency in Sweden thus swung far to the Left, after the menace of Red internationalism had been dispelled. The personnel of the Branting Cabinet following the resignation early in October of that headed by Oscar von Sydow, according to the latest advices was constituted as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—Hjalmar Branting.
 Minister of Justice—A. Aekerman.
 Minister of Defense—Per Albin Hansson.
 Minister of Finance—Fredrik Thorsson.
 Minister of the Interior—Herman Lindquist.
 Minister of Commerce—A. Orne.
 Minister of Public Works—C. E. Svensson.
 Minister of Culture—Olof Slosson.
 Minister of Agriculture—S. Linders.

In the former Branting Cabinet, MM. Hansson, Thorsson and Svensson, respectively, held the portfolios of Justice, Finance and the Interior. M. Lindquist used to be Speaker of the Second Chamber (lower house) of the Riksdag, and in 1919 was the Swedish delegate to the International Labor Congress at Washington.

The prospect of a Socialist régime has had a depressing influence on business. Owing to the depression in the shipping industry, Swedish shipowners have transferred to German vessels aggregating 55,000 tons, while licenses for the transfer of 30,000 tons more of shipping have been applied for. German management is expected to reduce the operating expense of these vessels by four-fifths.

Sweden extended recognition, Sept. 29, to the *de jure* Government of Lithuania.

NORWAY—The bill authorizing the importation of liquors or wines containing not more than 14 per cent. of alcohol, which was passed by the lower house of the Storting near the end of the last period, was subsequently endorsed by the Senate, thus establishing the status of limited prohibition in Norway. As supplementary to this act, on Sept. 24, the Storting rejected, by a vote of 38 to 31, a proposal for medicinal rationing of alcoholic liquors, and passed a new law giving access to prescription alcohol for either man or beast, in cases of disease attack.

Thus the law of Norway with regard to alcohol will stand, unless the Parliamentary elections set for Oct. 24 return a Conservative majority, in which case it is expected

that even limited prohibition will be abolished.

The Administration has ordered the immediate application of the maximum tariff to all goods coming from Portugal and the Portuguese colonies in retaliation for Portugal's similar action with regard to Norwegian stockfish, after Norway's adoption of limited prohibition.

Owing to the activity of liquor smugglers, mostly in German vessels, which have been keeping just outside the three-mile limit, the lower house has passed a Government bill extending the limit of Norway's territorial waters, for customs purposes, to a ten-mile limit.

The eagerly awaited opening of the newly completed trunk-line railroad, Dovrebanen, from Christiania to Trondhjem, was marred by the wrecking of the train carrying most of the guests of the festive occasion. Six persons were killed and many injured, among the dead being M. Heftye, the Director of Telegraphs and a former member of the International Slesvig Commission; and Colonel Sejerstad, head of the Norwegian Ordnance Survey. On the morning of the opening, Sept. 17, King Haakon and Crown Prince Olav, attended by a number of authorities, were joined by the Trondhjem authorities at the highest point of the road, at Hjerkin. The royal train proceeded amid scenes of great enthusiasm to Trondhjem, where, in the evening, an official reception was given, including a torchlight procession. The King and Crown Prince, deciding to remain overnight there, were not on the train, which was wrecked at midnight on the return trip.

This new trunk line is the longest and most important in Norway. The new part extends from Trondhjem to Dombass, over some of the most difficult of the marvelous scenic passes of the lofty Dovre Mountains; there it connects with the earlier completed part from Dombass to Christiania, via the Gudbrandsdalen. Thus industrial and scenic parts of the country hitherto hardly accessible were opened to urgent traffic and increased tourist travel. The completion of this road, begun as early as 1908, gives to Norway over 2,000 miles of track, the Christiania-Bergen Railroad being second in importance.

Foreign Minister Arnold Raestad, in a re-

cent message on his country's behalf to *The World's Markets*, New York, wrote:

During recent years Norway has become an excellent market for American products. In 1917 no less than one-third of Norway's imports came from the United States. On the other hand, a market for Norwegian canned goods and other fish products, paper, electro-chemical products, &c., has been developed in America, and the demand for these commodities is constantly improving. Thus the exchange of goods between the two nations has grown to be of considerable volume and will continue to increase.

President Harding, on Oct. 6, nominated as Minister to Norway Mr. Laurits S. Swenson, a Minnesota banker and real estate man, who served as minister to several European countries before 1913.

DENMARK—Mr. H. A. Bernhoft, the Danish Minister to France, was elected President of the Conference for the Neutralization of the Aaland Islands, called at Geneva, Oct. 10, in accordance with a decision of the Council of the League of Nations. Among the representatives present were those of Sweden, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Poland.

President Harding's choice for the new United States Minister to Denmark is Professor John Duneley Prince, head of the Department of Slavonic Languages at Columbia University, for many years Professor of Semitic Languages in the same institution and in New York University, and prominent in New Jersey State politics. From 1917 he has been President of the New Jersey State Civil Commission, and has served as Speaker of the New Jersey State Assembly and President of the State Senate. He studied Scandinavian languages and literatures while an undergraduate at Columbia under the late Professor Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, and has since become fluent enough to make political speeches in them to his State constituents of Scandinavian extraction.

King Christian X. was decorated by King Gustaf of Sweden with a medal in commemoration of the Danish monarch's rescue work in connection with the wreck of the *Bele* in the course of his recent visit to Greenland. King Gustaf's visit to Copenhagen at the time, Sept. 17-20, in company with his Foreign Minister, was said to be without political motive. At about the same time King Christian received at the palace Admiral Niblack of the United States Navy,

and Brig. Gen. Allen, commanding the American troops on the Rhine. Later the King returned the visit on the United States battleship *Utah*, and also entertained Admiral Niblack on the royal yacht *Dannebrog*.

The Arctic expedition of the Danish explorer, Knud Rasmussen, whom the King met on two occasions during his Greenland visit, has kept heroically on in spite of hardships and of losses in both personnel and material. The clothing sent out from Denmark for the expedition on board the *Bele* was lost in the wreck, but has since been partly replaced, and the party has become well equipped. The personnel, however, has suffered from the epidemic of influenza that has ravaged Greenland. Rasmussen's power-schooner *Sea King* went to Thule, Northwest Greenland, and took back to Godthaab, on the southwest coast of Greenland, the Eskimo members of the expedition—four men and three women, besides seventy-two dogs, sledges and valuable furs. It is reported that one of these women, Navarana, the wife of the Danish explorer Peter Freuchen, Rasmussen's right-hand man, who took the *Sea King* to Greenland, and two of the Eskimo men died of influenza on this return journey. The expedition left Godthaab again on Sept. 7, to go first to the coast of Labrador for scientific investigations, and thence to Lyon Inlet, in the Melville Peninsula. After that Captain Pedersen was to take the *Sea King* to St. John's, Newfoundland, and send home the next report. M. Knud Rasmussen's object is to map the archipelago between Greenland and the American continent, also to investigate Eskimo history.

That the Germans still covet North Slesvig was indicated at a propaganda festival held in September at the University of Kiel. The Protector of the university stated that the institution would hold a memorial every year for the loss of North Slesvig, and that "its work aimed at regaining what had been lost." Early in the Summer the university had sent an invitation to Norwegian and Swedish students to attend an "Autumn week of art and science" at Kiel in September. The Swedish students of the University of Lund refused to attend unless Danish students were invited. The Danish students declined the belated invitation they received, fearing the meeting would be used for anti-Danish agitation.

RUSSIA TRANSFORMED BY FAMINE

How the Soviet Government is co-operating with the American Relief organization—Communist principles temporarily laid aside for a return to private ownership and free trade—England and France displeased by Soviet propaganda

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE famine threatening the death of millions is having consequences scarcely foreseen when the Moscow cry for aid first went out to the world. One result has been the drawing closer together of Russia and the United States, following the Soviet acceptance of Herbert Hoover's terms of relief, in contrast with an even greater alienation of France, which saw in the whole movement of aid for Russia only another device of the Bolshevik Government to bolster up a régime believed already to be tottering. Another result has undoubtedly been to give the communist leaders a new feeling of confidence, combined with the firm resolution not to permit the acceptance of outside help to be turned into a fulcrum by Russia's capitalistic enemies to upset the Soviet rule. This last-mentioned attitude explains Lenin's refusal to accept the food supplies pledged by the allied relief bodies through Dr. Fridtjof Nansen except on condition that their distribution be made under Soviet direction. It also explains the refusal to permit the International Relief Commission, backed by the allied nations, to send a committee of investigation prior to initiating measures of relief. To the Soviet the allied proposal to send such a committee, and to include in its personnel M. Joseph Noulens, charged with pro-ally propaganda while occupying a high diplomatic post for France in Russia, seemed apparently little less than derisive, and Litvinov so stated in the bluntest language.

The greatest effect of the famine disaster seems to have worked inward. It has done much to speed up the carrying through of Lenin's scheme of decentralization and his reform measures of free trade and the payment in kind. Moreover, the Soviet leaders seem to be developing a national Russian feeling, as opposed to a merely communist viewpoint, and are modifying the communist policy so that it is becoming almost unrecognizable. The Government has

worked feverishly, both in co-operation with the American relief officials and on its own initiative, to get food to the starving millions on the Volga; it has scrupulously kept its promise not to interfere with the American shipments and has done all in its power to expedite them. Furthermore, it has, after incredible exertions, succeeded in gathering corn enough to seed for the coming harvest. Imbued with the idea that the Government was straining every nerve to help the nation, all classes and factions have given their unreserved co-operation. Meanwhile all the main industries have been or are being decentralized, free trade is flourishing, many shops have reopened, thousands of idle Russians have found work, concessions to foreigners are offered, and the Soviet Government continues, with new energy, to work for the opening of commerce with the outside world. All this is interesting, and to those who accept the statements of some of the Soviet officials at their face value, portentous of a transformation of the communist régime, the opening wedge for which was the national disaster which at first seemed to the Kremlin rulers the beginning of the end of Soviet power.

Both Professor Vernon Kellogg and Colonel Haskell, leaders of the American organization, realize that the famine still offers colossal difficulties. The Hoover agents, by the end of September, had got 5,000 tons of food to Russia, and further supplies were being systematically forwarded. In the main the whole movement has narrowed down to a fight with time against the coming of Winter. It was stated on Sept. 9 that 900,000 children were foodless in the Tartar republic, and hundreds of men and women were facing starvation there. The first supplies went to Kazan, instead of to Saratov or Samara, for the situation at the first-named place was most deplorable. Prime Minister Mukh-

tarov and President Nobirov were giving their fullest co-operation. Eyewitnesses at Kazan, Samara and Saratov confirmed the grievous conditions prevailing at these main points. The sufferings of the population as reported to Europe were little less than heartrending. One of the relief officials stated that he had knowledge that 35,000,000 adults were starving in the famine district. Dr. Nansen stated in Paris early in October that \$25,000,000 must be raised before Christmas to save millions from dying during the coming Winter. [For the failure of Dr. Nansen's appeal to the League of Nations, see the article on the League Assembly meeting.] A ceaseless tide of wanderers about the country, destitute of all necessities of life, made the problem even more difficult. Russia, even in the times of the Czar, was a land of *brodiagi* (migrants), but the number of those now afoot has risen to an unprecedented degree. Every train is crowded with them; riding on the steps of the cars and on the couplings, and even the roofs of the cars. The Government, despite its altered attitude, faces almost insurmountable difficulties. M. Kalinin, President of the Russian General Committee for Famine Relief, made a tour by special train to the famine-stricken districts late in September. In all his speeches to the peasants and officials he repeated the same thing: "The Government has a burden almost greater than it can bear. You must help yourselves, and depend on Moscow as little as possible. Decentralize. Do it yourself!" This advice the Volga communities are following as far as possible. The large German population has worked on a self-help basis from the beginning. Meanwhile, outside the famine area free trade has increased and flourished, and there is no doubt that the people are pleased with the reform legislation.

Both Tchitcherin and Leonid Krassin explained the transformation of the Soviet economic policy on the ground of expediency. Tchitcherin said in August: "Our fundamental ideas are the same. But we cannot act the same way during a period of universal bloodshed as in the present period of slow evolution and eventual disintegration, as we believe, of capitalistic economy. Rome remained the same when its armies were commanded by Scipio and

when commanded by Fabius Cunctator. * * *

Now we must appeal to the interest of the peasant; that is the basis of our new internal system. Taxes in kind will take what the Soviet Government needs and the remainder can be marketed by the farmers. The basis of my foreign policy is co-operation with the capitalistic States." * * * Krassin, who attained prominence as the Soviet trade envoy to Great Britain, developed this idea of co-operation with the Western nations still further in September. Factories, he explained, could now be opened under private management, but the undertakers would all be treated on the same basis, whether Russians or foreigners. Ownership would remain vested in the Soviet Government. Import and export would similarly remain in the hands of the Government, but foreign concessionaires would be allowed to import machinery, &c., and to export produce or manufactured goods. Goods from abroad could be imported by foreigners if paid for by foreign credits, and not by money taken out of Russia. The guiding principle would be an increase in production. Foreign debts remained subject to repudiation, but with France the Government would negotiate on a "consolidation basis."

Leo Kamenev, head of the Moscow Soviet, on Sept. 23 declared that all Russian industries would be returned to private ownership except four—railways, and metallurgical, textile and fuel resources. It was Kamenev who declared that Russia was on the eve of a complete transformation of her national and industrial life, which would include the revival of a large part of the capitalist machinery abolished in the revolutions of 1917. "All restrictions upon private, commercial and industrial activity," said Kamenev, "will be removed forthwith. We realize now that it has proved impossible to refashion society at one stroke. We never would have gone to such extremes if it had not been that war conditions, both civil and foreign, compelled iron measures to preserve the Soviet's existence. * * * For the first time since 1917 we now are able to pursue a policy of gradual evolution, infusing Socialist features as society adjusts itself to them."

Russia and Poland, after serious threats which imperiled peace between the two

countries, reached an agreement Oct. 8 by which the Soviet leaders made new pledges to carry out the terms of the Riga treaty. Poland on her part agreed to expel the "White Guard representatives" in Poland—the Ukrainian leader, Petlura and Boris Savinkov, who had been active in their hostility to the Soviet Government.

A flare-up with England occurred when the Soviet Government was accused of stirring up trouble in Persia and Afghanistan, but the Soviet Government answered the charges by asserting that the British Government had been deceived by anti-Soviet forgeries.

Canada announced in October that trade relations would be resumed with Russia. Norway signed a trade agreement Sept. 2.

Up to Oct. 15 Italy had failed to ratify its trade agreement. Germany and Japan opened negotiations in October for the resumption of trade relations.

There were no indications that the United States Government had abandoned its refusal to recognize the Soviet régime or to open trade relations with it. A note of the Washington Government, sent on Sept. 19 in reply to a request by the Far Eastern republic at Chita to be represented at the Washington Conference on Disarmament, made this clear. The principle of "moral trusteeship" enunciated and followed by the American Government, however, said the American note, would insure decisions acceptable to the people of Siberia and of Russia generally.

CHINA REFUSES DISCUSSION WITH JAPAN

Last hour proposals for a settlement of the Shantung controversy rejected flatly by the Peking Government—Both preparing for a struggle at Washington

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

ON the eve of the Washington conference for a reduction of armament Japan has offered, and China has again refused, a settlement of the long-pending controversy over the return of Shantung. Japan had long sought to lure the Chinese into negotiating, but the Chinese Government, since its instructed delegates at the Peace Conference declined to sign the Versailles Treaty because it gave Shantung to the Japanese, has never wavered in its attitude that negotiations were superfluous, and that it was China's right to receive back Shantung without conditions. The difficulty between the two nations has been precisely that Japan was willing to return Shantung, but only on conditions which China obstinately refuses to consider.

In a clearing house process envisaging the establishment of a fait accompli before the Washington conference opened, Japan made one last effort to reach a settlement with China over the long-dragging, and,

from the Japanese viewpoint, vexatious dispute. The terms which it offered were transmitted through diplomatic procedure to the Peking Government, and the Tokio leaders awaited with some anxiety the Chinese reply.

This reply came early in October. It was handed by Dr. Yen, the Chinese Foreign Minister, to the Japanese Ambassador in Peking on Oct. 6, and was made public in the Chinese capital on the following day. Its perusal brought chagrin to the Tokio Government, for, in diplomatic but inflexible language, it took up in detail the whole Japanese proposal, and rejected every part of it in toto. Japan had offered nothing "fundamentally acceptable" to China, and there was much in the new proposals "incompatible with the Chinese Government's repeated declarations, the Chinese people's hopes and aspirations and the principles laid down in Chinese treaties with foreign powers." An almost direct charge of "insincerity" did nothing to sweeten the medi-

cine which Japan found herself compelled to swallow.

TEXT OF CHINESE REPLY

After an introductory statement, the Chinese note takes up the Japanese proposals section by section. It does not, however, even deign to notice Section 4, which promised that Japan would relinquish preferential rights acquired by treaty in Kiao-Chau, or Section 8, which outlined the details of unacceptable proposals. The essential portions of the reply follow:

With reference to the important Shantung question which is now pending between China and Japan, China has indeed been most desirous of an early settlement for the restitution of her sovereign rights and territory. The reason why China has not until now been able to commence negotiations with Japan is because of the fact that the basis upon which Japan claims to negotiate are all of a nature either highly objectionable to the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, or such to which they have never given their recognition. Furthermore, in regard to the Shantung question, although Japan has made many vague declarations, she has in fact had no plan which is fundamentally acceptable. Therefore the case has been pending for many years, much to the unexpectation of China. On Sept. 7 Japan submitted certain proposals for the readjustment of the Shantung question in the form of a memorandum, together with a verbal statement by the Japanese Minister to the effect that in view of the great principle of Sino-Japanese friendship, Japan has decided upon this fair and just plan as her final concession, &c. After careful consideration the Chinese Government feels that much in Japan's new proposals is still incompatible with the repeated declarations of the Chinese Government, with the hopes and expectations of the entire Chinese people, and with the principles laid down in treaties between China and the foreign powers. If these proposals are to be considered the final concession on the part of Japan, they surely fall short to prove the sincerity of Japan's desire to settle the question. For instance:

PROPOSAL 1—The lease of Kiao-Chau expired immediately on China's declaration of war against Germany. Now that Japan is only in military occupation of the leased territory, the latter should be wholly returned to China without conditions. There can be no question of any leasehold.

PROPOSAL 2—As to the opening of Kiao-Chau Bay as a commercial port for the convenience of trade and residence of the nationals of all friendly powers, China has already on previous occasions communicated her intentions to do so to the powers, and there can be no necessity for the establishment of any purely foreign settlement again. Agricultural pursuits concern the fundamental means

of existence of the people of a country; and according to the usual practice of all countries, no foreigners are permitted to engage in them. The vested rights of foreigners obtained through lawful processes under the German régime shall, of course, be respected, but those obtained by force and compulsion during the period of Japanese military occupation and against law and treaties can in no wise be recognized. And again, although this same article in advocating the opening of cities and towns of Shantung as commercial ports agrees with China's intention and desire of developing commerce, the opening of such places should nevertheless be left to China's own judgment and selection in accordance with circumstances. As to the regulations governing the opening of such places, China will undoubtedly bear in mind the object of affording facilities to international trade and formulate them according to established precedents of self-opened ports and seers, therefore, no necessity in this matter for any previous negotiations.

PROPOSAL 3—The joint operation of the Shantung Railway, that is, the Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Line, by China and Japan is objected to by the entire Chinese people. It is because in all countries there ought to be a unified system of railways, and joint operation destroys unity of railway management and impairs the rights of sovereignty; and, in view of the evils of the previous cases of joint operation and the impossibility of correcting them, China can now no longer recognize it as a matter of principle. The whole line of the Shantung Railway, together with the right of control and management thereof, should be completely handed over to China; and after a just valuation of its capital and properties, one-half of the whole value of the line not returned shall be purchased back by China within a fixed period. As to the mines appurtenant to the Shantung Railway which were already operated by the Germans, their plan of operation shall be fixed in accordance with the Chinese mining laws.

PROPOSAL 5—With reference to the construction of the extension of the Shantung Railway, that is, the Tsinan-Shunch and Kiao-Chau-Hsuechow lines, China will, as a matter of course, negotiate with international financial bodies. As to the Chefoo-Weihsien Railway, it is entirely a different case, and cannot be discussed in the same category.

PROPOSAL 6—The Custom House at Tsingtao was formerly situated in leased territory, and the system of administration differed slightly from others. When the leased territory is restored, the Custom House thereat should be placed under the complete control and management of the Chinese Government and should not be different from the other Custom Houses in its system of administration.

PROPOSAL 7—The extent of public properties is too wide to be limited only to that portion used for administrative purposes. The meaning of the statement in the Japanese memorandum that such property will in principle be transferred to China, &c., rather lacks clearness. If it is the sincere wish of Japan to return all the

public properties to China, she ought to hand over completely the various kinds of official, semi-official, municipal and other public properties and enterprises to China to be distributed, according to their nature and kind, to the administrations of the central and local authorities, to the municipal council and to the Chinese Customs, &c., as the case may be. Regarding this there is no necessity for any special arrangement.

PROPOSAL 9—The question of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Province of Shantung bears no connection with the restoration of the Kiao-Chau Leased Territory and the Chinese Government has repeatedly urged for its actual execution. It is only proper that the entire Japanese Army of Occupation should now be immediately evacuated. As to the policing of the Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Railway, China will immediately send a suitable force of Chinese Railway Police to take over the duties.

This statement gives only the main points which are unsatisfactory and concerning which the Chinese Government feels it absolutely necessary to make a clear declaration. Further, in view of the marked difference of opinion between the two countries, and apprehending that the case might long remain unsettled, China reserves to herself the freedom of seeking a solution of the question whenever a suitable occasion presents itself.

The language of this refusal was unmistakable. There was not even a basis of agreement, for China, from start to finish, insisted on her own absolute sovereignty and declined to accept as a gift with a string to it that to which she considered herself entitled of right. The final sentence also was ominous. The Japanese diplomats understood clearly enough that China would lay the Shantung controversy before the Washington conference. The Government leaders girded up their loins for this ultimate issue. The Shantung settlement was a part of the Versailles Treaty. If this or any other part of it were abrogated, they held, the whole treaty would be laid open to being riddled like a sieve. Toward the middle of October it was stated that Japan was preparing a counter-analysis of the entire dispute for presentation at Washington and that she believed she would find support by all the nations signatory to the Versailles compact. Meanwhile, the Japanese Government refused to take the Chinese "No" for an answer, and on Oct. 17, through Yukichi Obata, the Japanese Minister, asked the Peking Government to reconsider its rejection.

No answer had been received up to the time when these pages went to press. There

was little hope in Tokio of a favorable reply.

That the most solid and conservative elements of China were backing the Government in its attitude on Shantung was shown by a manifesto issued by the Chinese Bankers' Association, the strongest banking group in China, "for the guidance of the Chinese policy at the Washington conference," shortly prior to Oct. 9. This document was little less than a syllabus of Japan's various aggressions on China.

While the Chinese Government was thus taking strength for a coming struggle with Japan at Washington, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President of the new Canton Republic, persisted in his hostility to the Peking Government and all its doings. In a vitriolic manifesto issued on Sept. 5, he charged that the Chinese President Hsu Shih-chang and his Government were dominated by Japanese influence, declared that Japan's twenty-one demands and the secret agreements between Peking and Tokio would block all settlement of Far Eastern questions at Washington, and served notice that if the Canton Government were not represented at the conference, all decisions taken in regard to China would be, so far as he was concerned, null and void. Not content with this, Dr. Sun, whose ardent patriotism is as uncontested as his hatred for the Central Government, decided to abandon words for deeds. Mr. Ma Soo, representative of Dr. Sun's Government at Washington, stated on Oct. 12 that the Canton President had declared war on the Peking militarists and was leading personally his southern Chinese troops on a drive through the Kwangsi province north, with Peking as his objective. Though specific information was meagre, the belief lies near at hand that the recent armed aggression of the northern General Wu Pei-fu on the southern provinces was one of the determining influences on Dr. Sun's campaign.

The Chinese Department of Communications on Sept. 19 signed a supplementary bond issue for completing the Federal Company's wireless contract signed last January. This meant that the American company would be able to proceed with the construction of a high-powered plant at Shanghai and at smaller stations despite the protest of Great Britain and Japan.

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

TUESDAY, Dec. 6, has been officially designated as the date for the Canadian general elections, with nominations on Nov. 22. The new Parliament will meet on Jan. 17. All parties are picking their candidates rapidly, and the battle promises to be intense and full of excitement. Before proceeding with their selection the Liberals of one of the Ottawa ridings offered to nominate Lady Laurier, widow of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a former Premier. She declined the honor.

Premier Meighen faces the country with a reorganized Cabinet. The Ministers who retired to make way for new blood were Sir George Foster, Hon. Messrs. P. E. Blondin, J. D. Reid, J. A. Calder, R. W. Wigmore and C. J. Doherty. The latter, it is understood, will be made a Judge. He is the Canadian Minister who, at the Peace Conference and in the recent Assembly of the League of Nations, strongly opposed the famous Article X. of the League of Nations Covenant. He has always contended that it is a barrier to the formation of a workable League and contains the germ of future troubles.

Of the retiring Ministers, Sir George Foster, who was head of the Department of Trade and Commerce, is the best known. He is now in his seventy-fourth year and has been continuously active in Canadian politics since 1882. For the greater part of that time he has been a member of the House of Commons, and when Conservative Governments were in power he usually was included in their membership. He has been made a member of the Senate, an appointive position in Canada, within the gift of the Government of the day. At present he is taking an active part in the campaign on behalf of Premier Meighen and his party, his great gifts as an orator with a caustic tongue making him much sought for as a platform attraction. During his long public career Sir George has been a strong supporter of all temperance movements.

Sir Robert Borden, the former Premier, who is to represent Canada at the Arms Limitation Conference, has been delivering a number of addresses in the University of Toronto on the status of Canada as a na-

tion. These culminated in a great mass meeting on the night of Oct. 8, which marked the first public gathering of the recently formed League of Nations Society in Canada. Sir Robert, who headed the Canadian delegation at the Imperial Conference and at the Peace Conference, presided. He is a great supporter and advocate of the League. In the course of his address he said:

We feel in this country, perhaps more than any other; that a very great loss has been sustained in the refusal of the great neighboring nation, the United States, to join in the covenant, and to consecrate its national purpose according to the methods which the League has devised; but I believe that there is no nation in the world whose people are more devoted to the ideals of peace.

An office for the League of Nations Society in Canada has been opened in Toronto and many people are joining from all parts of the country.

The Province of Ontario has now completed its machinery for the operation of what is popularly known as the rural credits scheme. Legally it is operating under a measure with a ponderous name relative to farm associations. There are a number of local boards working in conjunction with a central board, which, in turn, is directly responsible to the Minister of Agriculture. Short-term loans not exceeding \$1,000 are provided for, as well as long-term mortgages on the amortization plan, with maximum advances of \$12,000. The scheme has been well received. The Government has under consideration a proposal to expand it by going into the banking business. By the payment of interest at a somewhat higher rate than is now given by the chartered banks, it is argued that money enough could be obtained and loaned on a paying business, not only to meet the rural credits scheme, but to make loans to municipalities on approved debenture issues.

On Oct. 10 the Province of New Brunswick took a plebiscite on the continuance or otherwise of the importation of liquor for personal use. While only about one-third of the voters went to the polls, there was a large majority against importation. Only two counties and a very few of the

smaller towns voted "wet." The cities voted "dry." As a result of the vote, the law will be amended within the next three months so that the only legal sale of alcoholic liquor will be by prescription.

AUSTRALIA—Great interest is being aroused in Australia by the comprehensive plan of Sir Joseph Carruthers, former Premier of New South Wales, for settlements on millions of acres of the Crown lands in various parts of the country. It is proposed within twenty or twenty-five years to place 1,000,000 farmers on 1,000,000 farms, most of the settlers to be drawn from Great Britain. Sir Joseph plans to build railways, roads and waterworks wherever necessary, so that land shall be available for agriculturists as soon as they arrive. He has been touring Australia to raise a fund of £30,000,000 to start the work. Only 8 per cent. of the land has been sold. There are 1,740,000,000 acres of Crown lands, as against 163,000,000 in private hands. If only half of the idle lands can be developed, Sir Joseph says, it will give an area equal to the productive area of the United States.

Lord Northcliffe, before leaving Sydney for the Philippines on Oct. 1, issued an urgent appeal to Australians to encourage immigration by a broad and constructive policy, declaring that otherwise they were likely to be swamped by Asiatics.

Australia's magnitude and riches and the weakness of its garrison [he said] are known to all overcrowded and ambitious nations in the Near North. Moral right to territory is in itself no right at all. Within a fortnight's steam of your Commonwealth there are thousands of millions of people, all of whom are crowded and restless and some of them ambitious and powerful. Yet you continue your work and play as though the history of the world had not been the story of the overthrow of the weak by the strong. The world will not tolerate an empty, idle Australia. You cannot hold up a human flood by a restriction clause in an act of Parliament.

Premier Hughes, in addressing the Commonwealth House of Representatives on Sept. 29, said:

Frankly, I see no hope for success of the proposed disarmament conference at Washington until the Pacific problem is settled. Such a settlement is only possible through a *modus vivendi* satisfactory to Japan, Australia and the United States.

William Smith, Minister of the Navy, on Oct. 13 introduced the Commonwealth's

naval estimate, carrying only £3,180,000. He announced that Australia's seagoing fleet had been reduced to two light cruisers, one training cruiser, two sloops, four destroyers, and three submarines.

A great national public work, the third largest of its kind ever attempted in the world, is the Murray Waters irrigation scheme now being carried out in Australia. The Murray River rises in the Australian Alps in New South Wales and runs for 800 miles westward before entering South Australia, forming the boundary between New South Wales and Victoria. It was soon proved that irrigation interests in the river were far more important than those of navigation. The three States concerned have joined in a project to build an immense dam and reservoir large enough to hold 1,000,000 acre-feet of water at the junction of the Mitta Mitta River with the Murray a few miles out of Albury. Another storage reservoir of 500,000 acre-feet is planned at Lake Victoria, near the border of South Australia. The river drains an area of about 240,000 square miles, and the irrigation project is only inferior to similar undertakings on the Nile and the Mississippi. The cost will be about \$30,000,000, of which the Commonwealth has agreed to pay \$5,000,000, the three States sharing the rest of the payment equally.

Dispatches from New South Wales say the pearling industry is dead because of unsettled conditions throughout the world, according to James Clark of Brisbane, the Australian pearl king. All pearling boats at Thursday Island are laid up at Broome, Western Australia. Only about 100 out of 400 boats in the trade are working. Failure of Germany and Russia to purchase pearl shell is one cause, and another is that the Japanese are making buttons out of trochus shell and the Americans making them from fresh-water mussels in the Mississippi.

KENYA COLONY, BRITISH NORTH-EAST AFRICA—Contracts have been awarded by the British Government for the construction of a railroad from Nakuru to the Nasingisu plateau, north of Victoria Nyanza. This line will reach a higher point than any other railroad in the British Empire, the peak being more than 9,000 feet above sea level. The cost will be \$10,000,000.

RESTORING MEXICO'S CREDIT

Business relations reviving between American and Mexican interests, in spite of the attitude of Washington—President Obregon's efforts for recognition

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

MEXICO is desirous of re-establishing her foreign credit by payment of the defaulted interest on her external bonds, regardless of the question of recognition. International bankers have finally brought the matter to the point of discussion. Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. arrived in Mexico City on Oct. 5 for the purpose of considering how the proposed payments should be made. He is Acting Chairman of the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico, which was formed two years ago to act in behalf of investors who hold the Mexican Government's external bonds. British, French, Swiss, Dutch and Belgian bankers are on the committee, and asked Mr. Lamont to represent them. Before his leaving for Mexico City, the State Department was notified of the purpose of the visit and immediately made it clear that Mr. Lamont was acting in an entirely private capacity.

Mexico defaulted on the interest on her external bonds in 1914 and has paid nothing on them since. They total approximately \$190,000,000, and the interest in default is about \$50,000,000. French investors hold many of the bonds, and many are reported to be in Germany. An invitation was extended to James Speyer of Speyer & Co., as well as to Mr. Lamont, to visit Mexico. Mr. Speyer's firm has received deposits of securities representing some of the external obligations, while Mr. Lamont holds proxies for the International Committee.

Mr. Lamont held his first conference with Secretary de la Huerta on Oct. 6. One of the points under discussion was whether Mexico would assume the Victoriano Huerta debt. The Governments of Madero and Carranza refused to accept the loan made to Huerta on the ground that his Government was illegal. The bonds are chiefly held in France. There is also a loan made to Huerta by an American packing house in spite of the fact that the United States consistently refused to recognize Huerta on account of the method by which he became

President after the murder of Madero. Taken in connection with the settlement of the Mexican oil question (noted in CURRENT HISTORY for October, Page 170), Mr. Lamont's visit shows that Mexico is anxious to establish friendly relations, and that American business men are glad to cooperate. Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, and several other prominent American business men have recently visited Mexico. Samuel Vaucain, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Company, went there and demonstrated that it was not necessary to get the approval of Washington politicians to do business with Mexico; he returned with orders for sixty-five engines, four of which have now been delivered and are in service.

Recognition of Mexico is still barred in Washington by imposing conditions that few States would subscribe to. Under Secretary Fletcher insists on a treaty prior to recognition, in which Mexico must state in black and white that she will not rob American citizens by confiscation of their properties or by discriminatory taxes. The Under Secretary declared furthermore that the plea of State rights—that the Federal Government has no authority over the different Mexican States—must be abrogated, at least as far as the United States is concerned. It has authority over States and "must control the action of the States relative to American rights," he was quoted as saying to Representative Hudspeth of Texas on Oct. 1. In this attitude Mr. Fletcher has a precedent in the attitude of Italy when the United States disclaimed responsibility for damages by the New Orleans riots and also by the attitude of Japan in connection with legislation in California.

Profit-sharing, which has been introduced voluntarily by many large corporations in the United States for the benefit of their employes, has just been adopted in Mexico officially by the State of Vera Cruz and made compulsory. The share of profits

allotted to employes according to the law must not be less than 10 per cent. The law was made retroactive, applying to the period between Feb. 5, 1917, and Dec. 31, 1920. This feature aroused criticism, and a temporary injunction was granted by the Federal Supreme Court, so that the law is only partly in effect. It applies to oil workers and companies in the petroleum district of Northern Vera Cruz. A law identical in form is under consideration by the Legislature of the State of Puebla. The Federal Government will not intervene in an effort to have the law modified or annulled, according to Señor Calles, Secretary of the Interior, who declared that in such matters the States are sovereign. President Obregon is strongly in favor of the law.

The present Administration of Mexico is determined to prevent exploitation of the people, whether by Mexicans or foreigners. By standing pat with regard to its foreign policy it throws the burden of disturbance on other shoulders. Thus, the oil companies, despite the support of Washington, found it prudent to compromise on the question of taxes. The American Association of Mexico states that the following are the points of agreement:

The decree of June 7, imposing a tax of 38 cents a barrel, is suspended until December. The *ad valorem* tax under the decree of May 24, which amounts to approximately 12 cents a barrel, is allowed to stand, but becomes a production tax instead of an export tax, and is therefore paid on all oil in storage and sold in Mexico. The companies are paying this tax. In addition an export tax of 8 cents per barrel has been agreed upon. This lasts until Dec. 25, at which time taxes are to be adjusted.

The final text of the Supreme Court de-

cision that Article 27 of the Constitution is not retroactive was approved on Sept. 24.

France in September sent M. Jules Blondell to Mexico as *Chargé d'Affaires*. In an interview in the *Universal* on Sept. 25, he said:

The reason France does not recognize Mexico absolutely is because she is waiting for the other Allies, who may do so at any moment. France has lost no time in showing that she is desirous of recognizing Mexico and has always championed Mexico in the allied councils. Last January, France designated M. C. Pinchant as plenipotentiary and envoy to this republic. An Ambassador will come here from France as soon as possible. Meanwhile diplomatic relations need not be considered as broken.

The presence of a number of Latin-American diplomatists at the Mexican centennial festivities revived rumors of a formal federation of Mexico, Central and South America, but no definite action was taken. A union of Central America with Mexico was suggested on Sept. 29 by the new Costa Rican Consul in Mexico City, Rafael Cardona Jimenez, but it elicited only humorous comment. The Consul stated his opinion that the Central American Union might seek annexation to Mexico on account of the refusal of Nicaragua and Costa Rica to enter the new State.

Illiteracy in Mexico is decreasing slowly, with the aid of more than 1,500 voluntary teachers, who serve without pay. A good-roads convention was held in Mexico City in September and an organization effected to urge on the Federal Congress the improvement of the highways of the country. Immigration of Americans is increasing, partly owing to the centennial celebration. A definite improvement in the economic situation has apparently set in.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION IN ACTION

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE Union of Central America was formally constituted on Oct. 10, when the separate Governments of Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador ceased to function and a provisional Federal Council took charge at Tegucigalpa, the capital of the new federation. The Constitution had been signed on Sept. 10 by representatives of the three States. The Constituent Assembly se-

lected as the flag and coat of arms of Central America those of the old federation. The flag has three broad horizontal stripes, one white between two blue ones, and the coat of arms is a triangle bearing the motto "God, Union and Liberty." Elections for the Federal Council were set for Oct. 15.

Central America thus constituted has an area of nearly 100,000 square miles, about

twice the size of New York State, with a population less than two-fifths, or about 3,900,000. Its three component States are contiguous and it is bounded on the northeast by Mexico and the southwest by Nicaragua. Spanish is the common language; education is free and compulsory. The States are autonomous. The Federal Constitution is modeled in part on that of the United States. The executive power partly follows the Swiss system, consisting of a Federal Council of three, but it is popularly elected. Each State chooses one Councilman and one Alternate for a five-year term. The Alternates may deliberate, but have no vote. From among their number the three Councilmen elect one President and one Vice President to hold office for one year. They cannot immediately succeed themselves. The Australian ballot is adopted in all elections by the people.

NICARAGUA.—After the revolutionary movement on the Honduran frontier noted in *CURRENT HISTORY* for October, the Nicaraguan troops were rapidly demobilized, but a small force was again sent to the border in the eastern corner of the State, on the Pacific Coast, under General Masis, Minister of Public Works in 1909. He captured a number of rebels led by General Tobos, who began negotiations for surrender.

PANAMA — Panama's status was definitely settled on Oct. 13, when the treaty between the United States and Colombia was ratified by the Senate at Bogota. It had been already ratified at Washington on April 20 by a vote of 69 to 19. The treaty was practically the same as that presented to the Senate by President Wilson in 1914, except that an article was omitted expressing regret that anything should have occurred to mar the cordial relations of the two countries. It calls for the payment of \$25,000,000, of which \$5,000,000 is to be paid in six months and the rest in four annual instalments of a like amount. Colombian citizens, their products and mails are exempt from any duties or taxes in the Zone other than those paid by American citizens, and Colombia recognizes for the first time the complete independence of Panama. The full text of the treaty was published in *CURRENT HISTORY* for June, Pp. 542-543.

CANAL ZONE — The Zone Commission appointed by Secretary Weeks, headed by General William D. Connor, recently went to Panama to investigate labor conditions and administrative machinery in the Canal Zone, and returned with a report recommending thorough reorganization of administration and radical changes in policies affecting employment of labor, operation of the canal and railroad, pay of employes and other subjects. This report was made public in Washington on Oct. 6. It recommends that the Governor of the Zone deal with labor, not through the unions, but through committees of employes; favors the adoption of the open shop principle; the use of tropical native labor; discontinuance of free housing, light, heat and other perquisites, and separation of the operation of the canal, railway and steamship lines. The commission says it failed to find anything to justify continued expenditure of canal funds to maintain a naval base at the canal.

The report drew fire from Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who described the labor recommendations as "nothing less than preposterous and affronting to the entire country." He especially objected to use of native labor.

Another dispute connected with the Panama Canal Zone was that regarding the exemption of American coastwise vessels from tolls, demanded by the Republican Party platform. Senator Borah introduced a bill to accord this exemption and President Harding is said to favor such action, but wants it delayed until after the disarmament conference. In spite of the President's desire for delay, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 47 to 37 on Oct. 10, thirty-five Republicans voting for it to seventeen against, while twenty Democrats voted against the bill and twelve in favor of it.

While these disputes concerning the canal were in progress, the report of operations during the fiscal year ending June 30 was made public, showing a new high record for American tonnage passing through. Of the 2,892 ships traversing the waterway, 1,212 were American, exclusive of Government owned and chartered vessels, and they carried 5,179,000 tons. Great Britain was second with 970 ships and 3,722,000 tons.

SOUTH AMERICA'S UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

Growing unanimity manifested in Racial Day celebrations and in Pan-American parcel-post—Exaggerated reports of rejected American merchandise

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE celebration in all the capitals of South America of Racial Day, on Oct. 12, commemorating the anniversary of the discovery of the New World, stands as the culminant event of the month, by reason of its own significance as well as the unanimity inspiring the observance of this holiday. In Buenos Aires, in Santiago, in Lima, in Bogota and Quito, in every Latin American city of any importance, both the natives and foreign residents and the official representatives of Spain celebrated Columbus Day in the spirit of brotherhood befitting the descendants of the same race who continue to speak the same language and uphold similar traditions.

Until a short time ago Columbus Day was a minor local celebration throughout Latin America; but since 1910, when the more important countries celebrated the centennial of their independence, Oct. 12 has taken on a new significance, due mainly to the initiative of some intellectuals from the mother country and to the Spanish Government itself. Special embassies, such as those of the Infanta Isabella, an aunt of King Alfonso, and a more recent one presided over by the Infante Ferdinand of Bavaria, a cousin of the King of Spain, have visited South America with remarkable success.

The promised visit of King Alfonso himself to Uruguay, Argentina and Chile will go a long way in this movement toward cooperation of all the Spanish-speaking countries. This movement, begun as a mere rhetorical program, is daily taking a more substantial form through such conventions and agreements as those put forward by the Casa de America of Barcelona, the Postal Congress of Seville and the plans for celebration of a great international exposition in the latter city next year.

ARGENTINA—Shipments of merchandise packages weighing up to twenty-two pounds will be permitted under a parcel

post convention adopted by the Pan-American Postal Congress, gathered at Buenos Aires early this month. One of the provisions of the agreement is that there should be freedom of transit for parcel post through contracting countries. The parcel post agreement provides for the formation of a Pan-American Parcel Union embracing the United States and all the countries of Central and South America, including Mexico and the Caribbean republics. * * * President Irigoyen has signed and put into effect the new law designed to curb rent profiteering. Under the new law it is forbidden to raise rents over the average charged before Jan. 1, 1920. * * * The new works at Comodoro Rivadavia increased the production of oil during the last month to 20,324 cubic meters, making a total for the last seven months of 171,257 cubic meters. * * * A loan for \$50,000,000, bearing interest at 7 per cent. and maturing in two years, has been subscribed by the American financiers represented by the Chase National Bank. * * * A Spanish company, represented by the army engineer, Captain Herrera, is negotiating with the Argentinian Government for a subsidy to start an aerial navigation line from Cadiz to Buenos Aires. The airships would be of the Zeppelin type. * * * The Department of Statistics has published the data referring to Argentinian exports to the United States during the first six months of the year. According to those figures, the exports to North America have averaged 75 per cent. higher in volume than the figures given for the corresponding period during the five years previous to the war.

BOLIVIA—The firm of William and Spruille Braden has purchased a tract of 5,320,000 acres in the Department of Santa Cruz, in the southeastern part of the republic. Tests in the oil fields show that the oil is of paraffin base running as high as 45.8 Baume, and that it is perhaps one

of the highest grades of oil ever found, according to the purchasers. There has been keen competition for control of the field by European interests, particularly an English concern. * * * Bolivia has made tremendous gains as a tin producer during the past decade. In 1903 it was credited with less than 10,000 tons a year, while today it is the second largest tin-producing country of the world, and unofficial estimates give its output as 25 per cent. of the total. * * * A contract was signed with an American concern to construct a railway 128 miles long between Villazon and Atocha, which would unite the railroad systems of Bolivia and Argentina, making it possible to travel between Arica, on the Pacific, and Buenos Aires in two days less time than at present. The Bolivian Government is to issue bonds to cover the cost to the amount of \$7,000,000. * * * Jesse S. Cottrell of Tennessee has been nominated by President Harding as Minister to Bolivia. Mr. Cottrell is a newspaper man and a graduate of the University of his native State as well as of the Georgetown University School of Law.

BRAZIL—The North American Chamber of Commerce of Rio Janeiro makes public a resolution adopted declaring that reports which have been circulated in the United States and in Brazil regarding enormous amounts of rejected American merchandise in the Custom Houses of Rio and other Brazilian ports were "badly exaggerated." These reports, the resolution declares, constitute "a veritable propaganda against North American and Brazilian business interests, which is causing a profound impression upon the buying market, directly and indirectly affecting orders, shipments, acceptances and payments, and troubling exchange rates to a considerable extent." The resolution adds that abnormal stocks of goods do not exist in Brazil and there is "not the least probability of the dumping of cheap goods on the market either through so-called selling syndicates or Custom House auctions." * * * Imports in Brazil during the first half of 1921 amounted to £38,485,000, as against £72,763,000 in the last six months of 1920. * * * There has been an Emergency bill passed, intended to cope with the present crisis and the exchange depression. Up to

Oct. 31 all imported merchandise was freed of storage charges at the Custom Houses. The Government is exerting its influence with the railway companies to obtain a reduction in freight rates; also it is establishing warrants for the coffee left over from last year. The same law heavily punishes the selling of products manufactured in Brazil as imported goods. * * * With the Amazonian tour started by Dr. Nilo Pecanha in quest of popular support for his candidacy for the Presidency of the republic, the political campaign is in full swing. Dr. Pecanha, who was President of the country before the last two incumbents, has been holding political gatherings at Manaus, Belem, Bahia and Spiritu Sancto, at which places he had been preceded by Dr. J. J. Seabra, his running mate.

COLOMBIA—The proposals presented in the name of a North American syndicate by ex-Senator Lorimer of Illinois embrace the building of a railway between Bogota, Barranquilla and Bahia Honda; the establishment of a line of steamers with the United States; agricultural colonization, and oil, coal and timber development. * * * The Tropical Company, operating 400 miles inland on the Magdalena River, has announced that gasoline for local consumption will shortly be sold to the public. This will be the first concern to put Colombian oil on the market. * * * Pedro Nel Ospina is the candidate of the major branch of the Conservative Party for President of the republic for the four-year period beginning August, 1922.

CHILE—A contract to supply the equipment to electrify the central section of the Chilean State Railway has been closed between the Chilean Government and the Westinghouse Company of Pittsburgh. The line about to be electrified is the most important in the country by reason of its linking the capital, Santiago, and the main port of Valparaiso with a branch to Los Andes, where it connects with the Trans-Andean Railway. The contract has a total value of \$7,000,000. Owing to the abundance of water power and the high value of fuel in Chile, all Chilean railways will eventually be electrified. * * * Negotiations are in progress toward the selling of a considerable quantity of nitrates to Germany through the pool established in London with

the co-operation of the Chilean Government. German interests are eager in the purchase of the Chilean fertilizer, mainly due to the unsatisfactory results obtained with the synthetic nitrate during the war, but serious difficulties are encountered, especially in the matter of the value of the mark. A splendid impression is reported to have been made in Government circles and also in public opinion by the personality and the utterances of the new American Ambassador, Mr. Collier, at his official reception by President Alessandri. Ambassador Collier dwelt on the mutual advantages of industrial and business investment and strongly declared himself in favor of continuing and furthering the interchange of professors and students already established between the United States and Chile.

ECUADOR—The Andes Corporation, recently formed with a capital of £2,000,000, has taken over the prospective oil properties of the Leonard Exploration Company, which include about 6,500,000 acres in Ecuador and other great tracts of oil land in Colombia and Venezuela.

PERU—A bill to create a Peruvian national bank was introduced in Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury, Rodriguez Dulanto. It provides that half the capital of £10,000,000 shall be subscribed by the Government and half by private capital. It authorizes the issuance of bank notes, half of which shall be secured by gold and Government bank notes on deposit, and half by commercial paper. Prompt passage of the bill is predicted. * * * Minister Wil-

liam E. Gonzales left Lima to board the steamer that would carry him to the United States at the end of October. His departure was marked by manifestations of friendliness on the part of the official element and of his colleagues of the diplomatic corps. * * * A group of American educators has arrived under contract with the Government to take charge of various official institution of public education, where North American methods will be established.

URUGUAY—The national budget anticipates expenses of 43,253,497 pesos as against an income of 36,535,475, therefore forestalling an expected deficit of more than six millions. * * * The loan of \$7,500,000 contracted for in the United States has been the subject of a debate in Parliament. There the representative of the Government declared, in answering the question raised by Dr. Bachini as to the correctness of the procedure, that the advantageous conditions under which the operation was presented to Uruguay by the American bankers is the best excuse for the summary discussion that resulted in acceptance by the Executive.

VENEZUELA—Besides the four radiographic stations of La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, Maracay and Maracaibo, two new stations are under construction at San Cristobal and Caracas. It is rumored that in a short time there will begin the construction of a station of sufficient power to establish direct communication with the United States and Europe.

EVENTS IN THE WEST INDIES

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

CONDITIONS in Cuba are gradually improving under the administration of President Zayas and the excellent advice of General Crowder, who was sent to the island by President Wilson to prevent civil war from growing out of last year's disputed election, and who has been continued in service there by President Harding. He was appointed a member of a Cuban commission to review the revenue situation, reduce ex-

penses, raise more Government funds and rewrite the Cuban tariff law. He has succeeded in reducing the Government budget from \$134,000,000 in the last year of Menocal's Administration to \$64,000,000 for next year. On his advice an internal loan of \$40,000,000 has been discarded, and one for \$50,000,000 is being sought from New York bankers. Representatives of six American banking houses went to Cuba early in Octo-

ber to compete for the privilege of handling the latter loan. There will be more or less supervision of the expenditure of the money by American interests. This loan, it was believed, would be sufficient to finance the new sugar crop, which is expected to be much smaller than this year's, owing to the omission of the customary 20 per cent. of replanting last Autumn and Spring and lack of cultivation of cane fields during the Summer. It is stated that of the 215 sugar mills on the island not more than 160 will operate. The amount of sugar in Cuba is about a million tons greater than in 1919 or 1920. This year's crop is estimated at about 3,000,000 tons. Germany's beet sugar crop has been reduced nearly one-tenth. Aside from Czechoslovakia, no European country is likely to have any appreciable quantity of sugar for export, and Europe will have to import from Cuba. The last of the 1919 crop of Cuban raw sugar was sold for 2½ cents, cost and freight, to New York early in October. One result of the surplus of sugar is that Havana taxicab drivers have reduced their rates 50 per cent. They have cut their automobile fuel costs by substituting commercial alcohol made from sugar cane for gasoline.

The Cuban Telephone Company has obtained a loan of \$4,000,000, secured by an issue of 7½ per cent. bonds due in 1941 and not redeemable before 1931. The Cuban corporation controls the telephone system of Cuba, and through an agreement with the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, by means of the three submarine cables recently put in operation between Havana and Key West, now has direct connection with all cities in the United States and Canada.

Aerial passenger service between New York and Havana was inaugurated in October, a flying boat leaving the Hudson River off Eighty-second Street with six passengers. There were two stops made, and the time was about forty hours. * * * Six hundred volunteers recruited in Cuba for service with the Spanish forces in Morocco left Havana for Spain on Sept. 20 on the Alfonso XII. * * * Señor Dominguez, former Cuban Minister to France, on Oct. 5 presented to Mayor Robin of Verdun a fund of 65,000 francs for the creation of an infant school in that city. The fund

was collected in Cuba by the newspapers of Havana.

HAITI—The Senate committee investigating conditions in Haiti learned from Rear Admiral Caperton that the revolutionary movement of Guillaume in 1915 to obtain the Presidency was in part financed by Germans residing in Port au Prince. The Admiral read a telegram from the Navy Department stating that the United States looked with favor upon the election of Dartiguenave because it was thought to "assure political integrity."

PORTO RICO—Governor Reily's Secretary in a letter to The New York Times explains the Governor's attitude on the language question in Porto Rico, denying that he wanted Spanish eliminated from the public schools. His recommendation merely was that English should be taught equally with Spanish in the schools, and that all other languages should be secondary. He has appointed Juan B. Huyke to be Commissioner of Education. Señor Huyke, who is the first Porto Rican to be appointed to the office, took the oath on Oct. 3. * * * The insular Chamber of Commerce has endorsed the efforts of Governor Reily to obtain another line of steamers to Spain. He has taken up with the Shipping Board the question of having some of its vessels now operated by the Ward Line out of New York stop in Porto Rico on the way to Spain in order to provide more frequent means of making coffee shipments.

BRITISH WEST INDIES — Bermuda, Barbados and a number of other islands in the British West Indies were visited by a terrific hurricane on Sept. 15. Three hotels in Bermuda were unroofed, and great damage was done to property. Storm loss at Grenada is put at \$500,000. Nutmeg and cocoa plantations were ruined. * * * Grenada, which asked for a larger measure of self-government, has been allowed to elect four of the fourteen members of the Legislative Council. St. Lucia sent to London T. G. Westall, a West Indian merchant, to petition for a similar measure of representative government, and was told that it had been decided to postpone consideration of the matter pending a visit which Mr. Wood, Under Secretary for the Colonies, hoped to make soon.

SPAIN'S VICTORIES IN MOROCCO

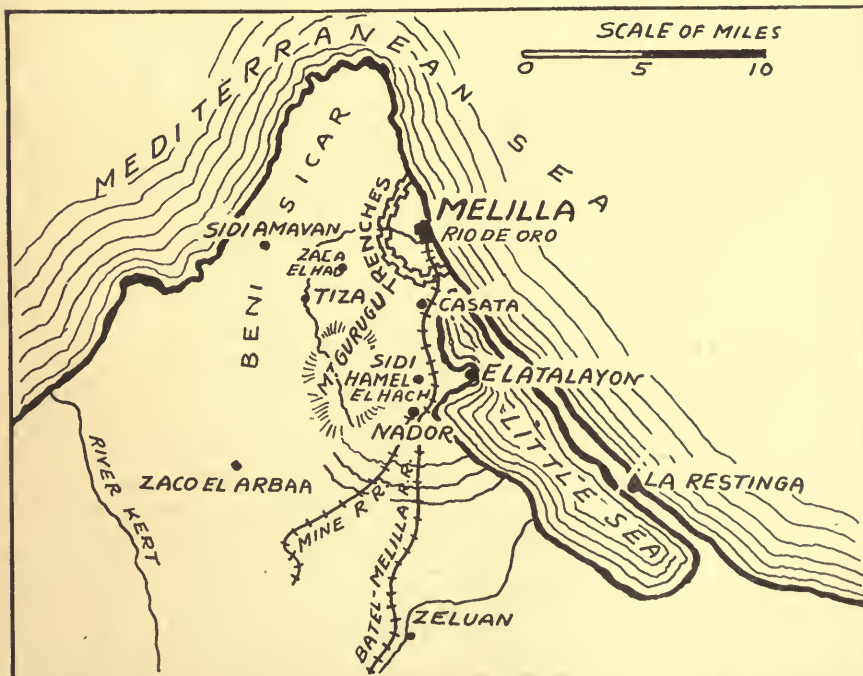
[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1921]

THE Spanish offensive with 60,000 active troops under the personal direction of General Berenguer, the High Commissioner, which began on Sept. 10, had achieved all its immediate objectives by Oct. 10. Then the King's troops captured in a succession of brilliant charges and rushes from hill to hill the enemy's positions on Mount Gurugu (in the dispatches "Gourougou," according to French spelling). Until then Gurugu had been bombarding the southern suburbs of Melilla and had obstructed all operations along the Mar Chica, or Little Sea, and the attempts to recover the Batel Railway running south from Melilla.

Meanwhile, the series of Spanish successes, added to the encouraging reports of Señor La Cierva, the Minister of War, who had been visiting Melilla, has caused the campaign to be viewed almost with enthusiasm in Spain. According to him, the losses suffered by General Silvestre's forces dur-

ing the first period of the revolt amounted to only 5,000 and not 25,000. The troops arriving at Melilla are said to be eager for combat, including 300 volunteers from the United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico under the soldier of fortune, Captain Donald McGregor, who sailed from New York Sept. 13. There is also reassuring news from the west, where for a time the Riff chiefs had induced certain disbanded tribesmen of El Raisuli to attack Spanish outposts. But El Raisuli is himself a fugitive in French territory and many of his chiefs have sent in messengers announcing their loyalty to Spain.

But these chiefs are not loyal to the Sultan of Morocco, under whose authority, taken in connection with the Franco-Spanish Treaty, Spain is supposed to hold her mandate over the zone. The terms for peace offered by Abd-el-Krin, the leader of the insurgent Riff and Berber tribes, became known to the Spanish Government as



MAP SHOWING IN DETAIL SPAIN'S MILITARY OPERATIONS IN MOROCCO AROUND MELILLA WITH THE MORISH STRONGHOLD, MOUNT GURUGU

early as Sept. 20. To accept these terms, however, would cause Spain to be not only disloyal to the Sultan but also unfriendly to France, which has thoroughly pacified its own zone and re-established the authority of the Sultan. France could not remain neutral much less join Spain in an enterprise against the traditional, although now nominal, Government of the country.

So Don Antonio Maura, the Spanish Premier, has a difficult problem to solve. Many believe that it can be solved only by subduing the resourceful Abd-el-Krin by force of arms. This man's conditions of peace are on their face advantageous to Spain, were it not for the French contingency. He stipulates that Spain exercise a real protectorate over the Spanish zone without the authority of the Sultan, instead of merely controlling the zone by its influence. At the same time he proposes that the Riff territory shall receive autonomy under a separate Spanish protectorate, also of a direct nature without intervention of the Sultan's authority.

In return for these concessions Abd-el-Krin offers to hand over native chieftains responsible for cruelties toward Spanish prisoners. These, he declares, he discounted from the beginning, endeavoring to induce the various chieftains to hand over all the prisoners to his charge. It is not unlikely, in these circumstances, that a joint Franco-Spanish conference may take place.

Aside from the Spanish offensive, the situation in and around Melilla has been as follows: The city is entirely surrounded on the land side by some ten kilometers of protecting trenches. Outside this line the Spanish hold, by means of forts and block-houses, a line extending from Sidi Amaran and Zoco el Had in the Reni Sicar country to Sidi Hamet el Hach and Atalayon on the Mar Chica, an inland sea which communicates with the Mediterranean by an artificial outlet. All these forts are connected with Melilla by good roads. The railway follows the road to Nador, passing between the Spanish positions of Sidi Hamet and Atalayon. Near Nador a line branches off to the Riff mines, while the main line proceeds through a broad plain to Zeluan, some thirty kilometers from Melilla, and on to Batel, the terminus, twenty kilometers further south. The whole country between

Nador and Zoco el Had is occupied by the formidable Gurugu range, with its innumerable gullies, such as the Barranco del Lobo of 1909 fame.

It was not until Sept. 19 that details of the first stage of the offensive became publicly known in Madrid. Nador and its suburb Arboc on Sept. 17 were taken and held by a brigade under General Sanjurjo, but in order to achieve this the Spanish high command ran the risk of being flanked from the Gurugu range, which was full of hostile Moors with well placed artillery captured from the Spaniards. A strong column, under the command of General Berenguer, brother of the High Commissioner, was blocking the heads of the gorges leading down from Gurugu, while light batteries on Mar Chica and the guns of the Spanish fleet in the sea beyond shelled the sides of the mountain. Meanwhile, the cavalry of General Cabanellas was in a position at the further end of the Mar Chica to sweep the plains of Bu El Areg, and so Zeluan, with Mount Gurugu either covered or captured, could be approached from two sides. The Spanish engineers restored the railway to Nador four hours after the occupation of the town.

After Sept. 19 the vicinity of Nador was rapidly cleared. Two Spanish soldiers were found alive in a dry well where they had hidden themselves last July. On Sept. 24, while rumors had reached Paris through the Portsay correspondent of the *Intransigeant* that the offensive was a failure, fresh columns were debouching from Zoco and Nador and troops operating on the shore of the Mar Chica had occupied Mount Tauima and Pozos de Aograz, about five miles south of Nador.

On Oct. 2 the Spanish columns concentrated and captured in succession three strong posts in the vicinity of Segangan—Sebt, Ul-Ad-Daud and Danars—and early in the morning of Oct. 10 the highest peaks of the Gurugu range were taken. The Gurugu was that night converted into a great bonfire by burning the shelters and cantonnments in which the Moors had been quartered. On Oct. 14 the capture of Zeluan was announced in Madrid. On the same day the Spaniards captured the position of Buguenzain and began to consolidate their positions.

BUSINESS THE CREATURE OF EVENTS

Analysis of the present situation, showing that the trouble is not overproduction but maladjustment of production—Only a nation or a statesman capable of taking a world view of it can hasten the solution—Diagnosis by a New York financier

WITH the United States, at this writing, facing what may prove to be the greatest railroad strike in history, with the German Cabinet on the point of disruption, England absorbed by the Irish question, France perplexed by the seeming hopelessness of balancing a budget which is carrying her daily more deeply into debt, it is not to be wondered at that the very men under whose leadership the world must some time be brought back to normal are temporarily unable calmly to fashion plans which require, as a foundation, a dispassionate survey of international scope. Their nearness magnifies the importance of domestic problems, already vast enough, and the task of bringing orderly prosperity back into the world is approached from many angles and in many ways, instead of from a single viewpoint big enough to include all the nations.

The world will ultimately shake itself into some sort of working organization, of course. Time alone is a cure for anything. But, if the orderly rearrangement of the world's activities is to be hastened, it seems clear that the working plans must be all-embracing and directed for the benefit of all the world, rather than any of its national divisions, great as any one may be.

The phrase "supply and demand" falls glibly from the lips of most of us. We attribute price changes and goods shortages to that so-called law. We are so familiar with the phenomenon of some commodity falling in price because the market is momentarily glutted, or of another rising in cost because of a shortage, that we lose sight of the essential fact that, taken in the aggregate, supply and demand must

always be equal, because they are, in fact, identical.

Dr. B. M. Anderson Jr., Economist of the Chase National Bank of New York, developed the point clearly when, in a recent speech before the American Manufacturers' Export Association, he remarked:

Wheat comes into the market as supply of wheat, but it also comes into the market as demand for sugar, for steel, for automobiles. Clothing comes into the market as supply of clothing, but it also constitutes demand for wheat, for meat, for moving-picture tickets, and for other things, since the motive lying behind the production of clothing on the part of its producers is to obtain the means with which to buy the other things they need. And so with every other commodity; it is supply of its own kind, but it is demand for other things.

So the welfare of the wheat grower depends on more than the size of his crop and of the motor-car manufacturer on more than the success of his factory processes. If the farmer's crop is not a success he has not the surplus with which to buy an automobile, and if he does not buy it, the maker of motor cars has less with which to buy the products of the farmer's labor. Every commodity enters into this relationship until the circle is completed in which every producer is also a consumer, and the success of the whole depends on the success of each component part.

Just so with the world today. Each nation, no matter how small, affects each other nation, and order and prosperity can return only when all the nations fall again into harmonious economic relations with one another. No nation is big enough to go it alone, and the troubles of the least of the newly formed political entities are as truly ours as theirs, and differently af-

RATIO OF FOREIGN TO DOMESTIC TRADE

Calendar Years.	Income of the American People.	Domestic Trade of United States Income Minus Imports at Retail Prices.	Foreign Trade of United States. Exports at Retail Prices.	Ratio of Foreign to Domestic Trade. P. C.
1910.....	\$30,500,000,000	\$28,200,000,000	\$2,800,000,000	9.9
1911.....	29,600,000,000	27,300,000,000	3,100,000,000	11.4
1912.....	33,800,000,000	31,100,000,000	3,600,000,000	11.6
1913.....	34,800,000,000	32,100,000,000	3,700,000,000	11.5
1914.....	32,600,000,000	29,900,000,000	3,200,000,000	10.7
1915.....	35,400,000,000	32,700,000,000	5,300,000,000	16.4
1919.....	67,700,000,000	61,800,000,000	11,900,000,000	19.3

fect us only in degree. A universally thorough comprehension of this would help, it would seem, to hasten the return of the world to so-called normal more than any other one idea. Failure to grasp the truth involved lies back of the often-expressed fears of German competition in world trade, of the embargoes which some countries have set upon the movement of gold, and here, in the United States, of the tariff problem.

What is the importance of foreign trade to the United States? In his speech Dr. Anderson quoted estimates of the ratio of foreign to domestic trade computed by him according to a method explained in his book, "The Value of Money," and explained again and tabulated in the last annual number of *The New York Times Annalist*. These estimates are given in the accompanying table.

In other words, foreign trade increased between 1909 and 1920 from one-eleventh of all the nation's business to one-sixth, truly a substantial growth, and one which fixes a high absolute value upon the worth of foreign trade. And yet its relative value, that is, the part it played in harmonizing the relations of the United States with the rest of the world, was probably of greater worth to the nation.

FOREIGN TRADE AND PROSPERITY

Export trade is the selling abroad of surplus products which domestic consumption does not demand, but there is no indication in the rising ratios of export trade that there has been overproduction in the United States. Rather, as Dr. Anderson took pains to point out, the trouble is one of maladjustment of production. The world is producing much less than it did before the war, and the reduction of produc-

tion has been, of course, in Europe, whose manufacturers can no longer use the world's raw materials in normal amount. The result is a glut of raw materials and reduced raw material prices, which react on the manufacturer, since producers of raw materials can no longer buy manufactured goods in normal quantities. The effect is world-wide and, as Dr. Anderson pointed out, while the depression of agricultural interests, copper interests and other raw material interests continues, the home market for manufactures will be a dwindling market. The situation in the foreign markets is clearly revealed by the records of September's trade for the United States and Great Britain shown in the accompanying tabulations. The relation of foreign trade to the prosperity of the United States was expounded by Dr. Anderson in words which are worth reproducing here. Said he:

There have been two opposing views emphasized in recent discussions of foreign trade, both of which, I think, are extreme. The one view is that our productive capacity has greatly outrun our ability to consume; that consequently a surplus, estimated sometimes as high as 25 per cent., is created, which we must dispose of abroad if we are to keep our business activity going. Adherents of this view regard export trade and an export surplus or "favorable trade balance" as absolutely essential to American prosperity. The rival view is that foreign trade is of minor importance; that the United States can be self-contained and work out its own salvation without much reference to the outside world. Adherents of this view have been disposed to minimize the magnitude of foreign trade as compared with domestic trade, and have at times offered figures designed to show that foreign trade is but a small percentage of domestic trade.

The first of these views involves a fundamental fallacy. It is impossible for a people to produce more than they can consume so long as they produce things that they want and produce them in right proportions.

Production and consumption grow together. It is out of production that the income of the country comes, and the income of the country is spent for goods and services. A people ought to produce more than it consumes in the sense of immediate consumption, since otherwise there could be no growth of capital. A people ought to devote part of its energies to the production of bridges, railroads, houses, highways, canals, machinery, and other things that will last a long time, and it ought to accumulate reserves of one or another kind to enable it to meet such emergencies as crop failures or other interruptions of production. If we substitute the word "utilize" for the word "consume," the proposition is strictly true that if the productive resources of a community are apportioned rightly and devoted to the right things, it is impossible to produce more than we can utilize, even though our current consumption may not take up the whole of our current production. The increase of capital in the form of durable, long-time goods is obviously a means of utilizing productive energies. If things are produced in right proportion, supply can never exceed demand. * * *

There can, however, be oversupply of particular things, gluts in particular markets, with deficiencies in other markets. And gluts in particular markets may so demoralize the whole industrial system as to lead to stagnation throughout. It is certainly true that there are particular commodities, notably copper and cotton, which we produce far in excess of our ability to consume in America alone. If we cannot have a foreign outlet for these commodities, a glut, with general disorganization, undoubtedly is created. We could, of course, given time enough, curtail our production of cotton and copper to an amount which the domestic market could absorb and release the labor and other resources employed in their production to other industries. On the other hand, if we did without foreign trade and had no imports, we should for a time have no coffee at all, a very inadequate supply of sugar, and great scarcities in many special manufacturing lines in which Europe excels. We could, however, in time, build up a coffee industry, using hothouses, if necessary, to produce the coffee, and with greater or less inconvenience produce most of the things which we normally import. The process of readjustment would be a slow and a painful one. We should have prolonged hard times in the process, but, ultimately, we could accomplish it.

I should deny, therefore, the extreme view that we must have a foreign market to dispose of a general surplus. I should insist upon our ability to utilize in the aggregate an amount equal to all that we can produce at home. I should deny that our prosperity depends upon what would virtually amount to the giving away of 25 per cent. of our

annual production. I say a virtual "giving away" because, if this doctrine is correct, we could never expect to be paid for this excess of exports. The only way in which we can, in the long run, receive pay for our exports is by admitting an excess of imports, and this view maintains that we must perpetually send out an excess of exports. If this view were correct, the more rational procedure would be to reduce hours of labor from eight to six per day and to enjoy more leisure. I do not know many people in the business world who are prepared to welcome this logical corollary of the view that we are overproducing!

CAUSE OF DISLOCATION

Dr. Anderson called attention to the fact that foreign and domestic trade are intimately interrelated, and that our industrial development had grown up adjusted to a larger world economy from which we were not now shut off. He added that, before the war, taking the world as a whole, goods were, by and large, produced in right proportions. Supply and demand were in a state of general equilibrium. There was an ebb and flow of production and consumption; here and there minor maladjustments occurred, but, on the whole, there was a fairly stable balance. If a temporary excess of some kind of commodity appeared, its price went down; that checked its production and increased its consumption. Labor was released from producing it to go into other industries where prices were higher and where scarcities were greater and the maladjustment quickly disappeared. The large general classes of goods, finished manufactures, foods, raw materials, and such services as transportation, were fairly well balanced and fairly well proportioned.

The war, said Dr. Anderson, broke this equilibrium. Europe used to be the world's great centre for manufacturing and the world's great market for foods and raw materials. During the war, and during our post-war boom, Europe, no longer producing in large quantity, continued to consume in great quantity, drawing in foods and finished manufactures on a great scale, though ceasing to draw in anything like the normal amount of raw materials. With the growing inability of the outside world, and particularly the United States, to supply Europe with goods on credit in view of the gigantic debt already piled up, a great disorder came.

The situation was immensely complicated

by the inability of the raw material countries, the United States, India, South America, and other parts of the non-European world, to dispose of their raw materials. Unable to find an outlet in Europe, the raw materials of the world were concentrated upon the United States. We produced them here, and the outside world poured them in upon us in unprecedented volume. Our manufacturing capacity, expanded though it had been by the war, was wholly inadequate to take care of so great a mass of raw materials, and there came a great collapse in raw material prices.

European revival since the war has been more manifest in agriculture than in manufacturing, and, in 1920, we exported far less of foods to Europe than we had been exporting in the years immediately preceding. The throwing back on our domestic markets of a great volume of food products broke the prices of foods also very violently. In due time the buying power of the producers of foods and raw materials was so greatly curtailed that they could not buy at prevailing prices anything like the volume of manufactured goods which even the reduced manufacturing capacity of the world was turning out, and there came a crisis for the manufacturer also.

The trouble was not, however, overproduction, insisted Dr. Anderson. The world was producing far less than it produced before the war in the aggregate, he

RECENT TRADE OF UNITED STATES

	Sept. 1921.	Aug. 1921.	Sept., 1920.
Exports ..	\$325,000,000	\$371,935,299	\$605,291,257
Imports ..	180,000,000	194,767,564	363,666,710
Ex. expts.	\$145,000,000	\$177,167,735	\$241,624,547

The September results compare thus with preceding months of 1921 and 1920, showing the extent of the decrease since last year:

	Exports.	Imports.	Excess Exports.
Sept., '21..	\$325,000,000	\$180,000,000	\$145,000,000
Aug., '21..	371,935,299	194,767,564	177,167,735
July, '21..	320,768,574	178,636,711	142,071,863
June, '21..	336,958,412	185,679,893	151,278,519
May, '21..	329,746,379	204,910,865	124,835,514
April, '21..	339,914,987	254,571,024	85,343,963
Mar., '21..	386,811,138	251,988,741	134,822,397
Feb., '21..	489,297,067	214,525,137	274,771,930
Jan., '21..	654,740,158	208,814,382	445,925,770
Dec., '20..	720,552,515	266,112,810	454,739,690
Nov., '20..	676,706,011	321,181,080	355,524,931
Oct., '20..	751,728,570	334,263,803	417,464,767

Export and import trade in merchandise for the nine months ended Sept. 30, 1921, compared with the same period in a series of years (000 omitted):

	Exports.	Imports.	Excess Exports.
1921.....	\$3,552,087	\$1,873,469	\$1,678,617
1920.....	6,080,990	4,358,405	1,722,585
1919.....	5,867,377	2,696,999	3,170,378
1918.....	4,539,104	2,322,533	2,236,551
1917.....	4,607,377	2,282,794	2,324,582
1916.....	3,950,426	1,831,174	2,119,251
1915.....	2,531,542	1,302,094	1,229,447
1914.....	1,467,686	1,410,450	57,236
1913.....	1,733,422	1,327,885	406,037

pointed out, and the trouble was maladjustment due to Europe's withdrawal from her position as the world's great producer of manufactures and as the world's great market for foods and raw materials. A really fundamental solution of the present

business problems, therefore, according to him, must involve aiding Europe to get back upon her feet and to resume her place as the great manufacturing centre. Dr. Anderson said he did not mean that 1914 conditions must be restored, and that it was probable we should continue to devote a greater proportion of our energies than before the war to manufacturing, and should absorb from the non-European world a greater proportion of raw materials than before the war. But we cannot, he added, begin to work up all the raw materials that the world is now producing. The raw material countries, with the exception of Russia, have been

RECENT TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN

	1921.	1920.	1919.
Exports, British.....	£55,240,000	£117,455,913	£66,500,628
Re-exports, foreign.....	8,590,000	13,350,608	15,748,678

Total exports.....	£63,830,000	£130,806,521	£82,249,306
Imports	87,110,000	152,692,339	148,588,572

Excess of imports....	£23,280,000	£21,885,813	£66,339,266
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For the nine completed months of 1921 the changes from the same period of the previous year are as follows:

Exports, British products.....	decreased	£488,624,303
Re-exports, foreign goods.....	decreased	102,823,458
Total exports	decreased	591,447,761
Imports	decreased	673,198,991
Excess of imports.....	decreased	81,751,230

The trade for the nine months ended Sept. 30, 1921, compares as follows with the same period of 1920 and 1919:

	1921.	1920.	1919.
Exports, British....	£518,653,733	£1,007,278,036	£541,346,048
Re-exports, foreign.	77,635,024	180,458,482	98,251,012

Total exports...	£596,288,757	£1,187,736,518	£639,597,060
Imports	827,991,573	1,501,190,564	1,166,459,071

Excess imp'ts....	£231,702,816	£313,454,046	£526,862,011
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STATISTICS OF CENTRAL BANKS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

(Unit: \$1,000,000; Currencies Converted at Approximately Par Rates)

Central Bank	Date.	Bank Notes in Circulation.	Deposits.	Bank Notes Plus Deposits.	Gold Coin and Bullion.	Silver.	Total Metallic Reserves.	Pctg. of Column (6) to Col. (3).
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Germany—								
May 30, 1914.....		490	205	695	320	78.36	398	57.3
Nov. 7, 1918.....		4,127	2,269	6,396	621	6.91	628	9.8
Nov. 7, 1919.....		7,564	2,362	9,926	266	4.93	271	2.7
Jan. 31, 1921.....		15,869	3,772	19,641	260	2	262	1.3
Feb. 28, 1921.....		16,061	4,134	20,196	260	2	262	1.3
Mar. 31, 1921.....		15,336	7,879	23,215	260	2	262	1.1
April 30, 1921.....		16,874	4,968	21,842	260	1	261	1.2
May 31, 1921.....		17,112	3,357	20,469	260	2	262	1.3
June 30, 1921.....		17,942	4,858	22,799	260	3	263	1.3
July 31, 1921.....		18,434	3,769	22,204	260	3	263	1.2
Italy (3 banks (a) aggregate)—								
July 20, 1914.....		421	61.8	483	266	21.8	288	59.6
Oct. 31, 1918.....		2,180	346.3	2,526	202	22.6	225	8.9
Sept. 30, 1919.....		2,699	438.8	3,138	200	22.2	229	7.1
Jan. 31, 1921.....		2,880	393	3,273	b	b	263	8.0
Feb. 28, 1921.....		2,827	349	3,177	b	b	256	8.1
Mar. 31, 1921.....		2,795	372	3,167	b	b	258	8.2
April 30, 1921.....		2,707	333	3,040	b	b	260	8.9
May 31, 1921.....		2,656	325	2,981	b	b	276	9.2
June 30, 1921.....		2,688	355	3,043	b	b	273	9.0
France—								
May 28, 1914.....		1,131	200	1,331	726	123.1	849	63.8
Nov. 7, 1918.....		6,000	588	6,588	1,060	62.3	1,122	17.0
Nov. 6, 1919.....		7,286	613	7,899	1,085	55.8	1,141	14.4
Dec. 25, 1919.....		7,269	644	7,913	1,088	52.3	1,140	14.4
Jan. 29, 1920.....		7,329	620	7,949	1,088	49.7	1,138	14.3
Feb. 24, 1921.....		7,295	635	7,930	1,062	50	1,112	14.0
Mar. 31, 1921.....		7,416	599	8,015	1,062	52	1,114	13.9
April 27, 1921.....		7,373	582	7,955	1,064	52	1,116	14.0
May 26, 1921.....		7,379	587	7,966	1,065	52	1,117	14.0
June 30, 1921.....		7,221	552	7,773	1,066	53	1,119	14.4
July 28, 1921.....		7,130	627	7,757	1,066	53	1,119	14.4
Aug. 27, 1921.....		7,099	531	7,630	1,066	53	1,119	14.7
Great Britain—								
May 27, 1914.....		141	293	434	c	c	175	40.3
Nov. 6, 1918.....		315	794	1,109	c	c	360	32.5
Nov. 5, 1919.....		418	627	1,045	c	c	428	41.0
Dec. 31, 1919.....		445	972	1,417	c	c	444	31.3
Jan. 28, 1920.....		430	756	1,186	c	c	486	41.0
Jan. 26, 1921.....		625	626	1,251	b	b	624	49.9
Feb. 26, 1921.....		621	619	1,241	b	b	625	50.3
Mar. 30, 1921.....		632	670	1,302	b	b	625	48.0
April 27, 1921.....		625	687	1,313	b	b	625	47.6
May 25, 1921.....		622	625	1,247	b	b	625	50.1
June 29, 1921.....		628	716	1,344	b	b	625	46.5
July 28, 1921.....		624	593	1,217	b	b	625	51.3
Aug. 27, 1921.....		618	666	1,284	b	b	625	49.4
Belgium—								
May 28, 1914.....		182	21.8	204	c	c	64.8	31.8
July 3, 1919.....		914	482.0	1,396	c	c	62.1	4.4
Nov. 6, 1919.....		914	471.1	1,385	c	c	67.0	4.8
Dec. 30, 1919.....		928	473.5	1,402	c	c	68.0	4.9
Jan. 27, 1921.....		1,201	213	1,414	b	b	60	4.3
Feb. 24, 1921.....		1,152	278	1,430	b	b	63	4.4
Mar. 31, 1921.....		1,178	229	1,407	b	b	64	4.5
April 28, 1921.....		1,178	219	1,398	b	b	64	4.6
May 26, 1921.....		1,185	215	1,400	b	b	65	4.6
June 29, 1921.....		1,179	211	1,390	b	b	63	4.6
July 28, 1921.....		1,185	193	1,378	b	b	63	4.6
Federal Reserve Banks—								
May 31, 1914—System not organized.								
Nov. 8, 1918d.....		2,558	1,662	4,220	2,047	54.2	e2,101	49.8
Nov. 7, 1919d.....		2,807	1,871	4,678	2,120	67.8	e2,188	46.8
Dec. 26, 1919d.....		3,058	1,704	4,762	2,078	57.1	e2,136	44.9
Jan. 30, 1920d.....		2,851	1,803	4,657	2,013	61.3	e2,074	44.5
Jan. 28, 1921.....		3,091	1,643	4,734	...	...	2,320	49.0
Feb. 25, 1921.....		3,052	1,672	4,724	...	...	2,357	49.9
Mar. 25, 1921.....		2,931	1,841f	4,772	...	...	2,422	50.8
April 27, 1921.....		2,830	1,726	4,556	...	...	2,505	55.0
May 26, 1921.....		2,735	1,706	4,441	...	...	2,558	57.6
June 29, 1921.....		2,634	1,686	4,320	...	...	2,625	60.8
July 27, 1921.....		2,538	1,695	4,233	...	...	2,685	63.4
Aug. 31, 1921.....		2,481	1,691	4,172	...	...	2,788	66.8

a Bank of Italy. Bank of Sicily and Bank of Naples combined.

b No adequate data reported.

c Not reported separately, but largely gold.

d Excluding Federal Reserve Bank notes.

e Cash reserves, including legal tender notes.

f Previous to March 18, 1921, the Federal Reserve Board used "net deposits" in computing the reserve ratio; on and after that date it used "total deposits." Consequently, the items in column 5 after March 18 are for "total deposits."

little injured by the war; many of them have been stimulated. The great damage of the war has been done in manufacturing centres, and the equilibrium is to be restored by bringing about a revival of those manufacturing centres. Dr. Anderson did not discuss measures that America could take to aid in the industrial rehabilitation of Europe, but he sounded this caution:

The domestic market for manufactures under existing conditions is a stationary, even a dwindling, market. With farmer and producers of raw materials unable to sell on profitable terms, they are also unable to buy in normal quantity. To surround this dwindling market by a high tariff wall so that American manufacturers may exclusively possess it is of no use to American manufacturers. If, however, a vigorous revival in Europe could be induced, with a resultant revival on the part of our farmers and producers of raw materials, our domestic market for finished manufactures would rapidly become an expanding market, and American manufacturers, sharing an expanding market with European competitors, would sell more goods and make more profits than they would if they had a stagnant market exclusively to themselves.

How to promote the revival of European industry, which logic seems to indicate as the proper course for the welfare of the United States, is a problem more easily stated than answered, however. Efforts have been made by many experts in international exchange to devise ways to finance such a revival. Among these the Ter Meulen plan is probably best known. As yet little progress has been made in this direction, however, and largely because of fear of Europe's solvency possessed by those who have funds to invest. This is not strange when it is realized that Europe owes the United States some \$16,000,000,000 already, and, so far as the United States will permit, is increasing instead of reducing this tremendous debt.

The table on page 373, derived from statistics gathered by the Statistical Service of the Harvard University Committee on Economic Research, shows the condition of the central banks in the chief countries of Europe, together with similar data for our own Federal Reserve system. The column showing the percentage of total metallic reserves to bank notes and deposits is of the most interest, since it shows the metal cover, chiefly gold, held against circula-

tion and quick liabilities. Germany, Italy and France make the worst showing among the former chief belligerents, as was, of course, to be expected. Great Britain has actually attained a higher percentage than in 1914, but, in connection with all the nations which engaged in the great war, with the exception of the United States, it is to be recalled that much of the gold now held by the central banks does not represent the acquisition of additional resources, but is gold which formerly was held in the purses of the people and which has now been gathered into the vaults of the banks. In the United States, on the contrary, the increased gold represents a real acquisition of the yellow metal, though whether this will ultimately be an advantage or a disadvantage remains to be seen.

BRITISH EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Exports of British products during the last twelve months compare as follows:

	1921.	1920.	1919.
September	£55,240,000	£117,455,913	£66,500,628
August	51,346,307	114,903,335	74,773,597
July	43,170,000	137,451,904	65,315,691
June	38,152,238	116,352,350	64,562,465
May	43,088,418	119,319,422	64,344,632
April	59,867,585	106,251,692	58,482,413
March	66,808,961	103,699,381	53,108,521
February	68,221,731	85,964,130	46,914,921
January	92,756,094	105,879,909	47,343,281
	1920.	1919.	1918.
December	£90,630,523	£90,858,233	£38,282,035
November	119,364,994	87,110,531	43,218,879
October	112,295,474	66,500,628	40,152,143

Imports during the same periods compare as follows:

	1921.	1920.	1919.
Septem'r	£87,110,000	£152,692,339	£148,588,572
August	88,581,040	153,254,578	148,749,259
July	80,760,000	163,342,351	153,065,760
June	88,182,481	170,265,687	122,874,390
May	86,308,308	166,414,032	135,612,488
April	89,995,504	167,129,955	112,065,823
March	93,741,654	176,647,515	105,752,979
February	96,973,711	170,434,526	106,680,341
January	117,050,783	183,342,988	134,546,436
	1920.	1919.	1918.
Decem'r	£142,785,245	£169,602,637	£116,243,378
November	144,260,183	143,545,201	116,770,580
October	149,889,227	153,500,587	117,629,803

For the twelve last months the monthly excess of imports, after allowing for imported merchandise re-exported, compares as follows:

	1921.	1920.	1919.
September	£23,280,000	£21,885,818	£66,339,266
August	27,236,954	25,071,628	58,664,737
July	28,230,000	8,041,968	75,992,955
June	42,947,479	33,789,409	46,347,975
May	35,988,054	26,834,532	59,772,504
April	21,604,257	40,470,844	40,236,953
March	18,044,688	56,916,777	43,695,209
February	20,747,677	61,866,607	54,655,263
January	14,339,568	51,998,602	82,643,136
	1920.	1919.	1918.
December	£33,453,666	£52,584,473	£74,848,636
November	11,780,330	36,168,261	70,634,051
October	21,460,193	54,797,840	72,690,437



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The four women members of the American Advisory Commission of twenty-one, selected by President Harding to co-operate with the Disarmament Conference. Left to right: Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan and Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson

It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan and the United States. In view of the extraordinary conditions, due to the World War, affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, it is not thought to be necessary to discuss at this stage of the proceedings the tonnage allowance of these nations, but the United States proposes that this matter be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

In making the present proposal the United States is most solicitous to deal with the question upon an entirely reasonable and practicable basis to the end that the just interests of all shall be adequately guarded, and the national security and defense shall be maintained. Four general principles have been applied:

1. That all capital shipbuilding programs, either actual or projected, should be abandoned.
2. That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.
3. That in general regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the powers concerned.
4. That the capital ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies, and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS

The principal features of the proposed agreement are as follows:

United States

The United States is now completing its program of 1916 calling for ten new battleships and six battle cruisers. One battle-

ship has been completed. The others are in various stages of construction; in some cases from 60 to 80 per cent. of the construction has been done. On these fifteen capital ships now being built over \$330,000,000 have been spent. Still the United States is willing, in the interest of an immediate limitation of naval armament, to scrap all these ships.

The United States proposes if this plan is accepted:

1. To scrap all capital ships now under construction. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and in the course of building, and two battleships launched.

The total number of new capital ships thus to be scrapped is fifteen. The total tonnage of the new capital ships when completed would be 618,000 tons.

2. To scrap all of the older battleships up to but not including the Delaware and North Dakota. The number of these old battleships to be scrapped is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

Thus the number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is thirty, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons.

Great Britain

The plan contemplates that Great Britain and Japan shall take action which is fairly commensurate with this action on the part of the United States.

It is proposed that Great Britain:

1. Shall stop further construction of the four new Hoods, the new capital ships not laid down, but upon which money has been spent. The four ships, if completed, would

have a tonnage displacement of 172,000 tons.

2. Shall, in addition, scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second line battleships and first line battleships up to but not including the King George V. class.

These, with certain pre-dreadnoughts which it is understood have already been scrapped, would amount to nineteen capital ships and a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons.

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great Britain (including the tonnage of the four Hoods, if completed) would be 583,375 tons.

Japan

It is proposed that Japan:

1. Shall abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, viz., the K-11, Owari, No. 7 and No. 8, battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, battle cruisers.

It should be observed that this does not involve the stopping of construction, as the construction of none of these ships has been begun.

2. Shall scrap three capital ships (the Mutsu, launched; the Tosa, the Kago, in course of building), and four battle cruisers (the Amagi and Akagi, in course of building, and the Atoga and Takao, not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled).

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped under this paragraph is seven. The total tonnage of these new capital ships when completed would be 289,130 tons.

3. Shall scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and battleships of the second line. This would include the scrapping of all ships up to but not including the Settsu; that is, the scrapping of ten old ships, with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons.

The total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down or for which material has been assembled (taking the tonnage of the new ships when completed) would be 448,928 tons.

Thus, under this plan, there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three powers, sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043 tons.

Limit for Three Navies

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement, shall consist of certain ships, designated in the proposal, and number for the United States 18, for Great Britain 22, for Japan 10.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States 500,650, of Great Britain 604,450, of Japan 299,700. In reaching this result the age factor in the

case of the respective navies has received appropriate consideration.

Replacement

With respect to replacement, the United States proposes:

(1) That it be agreed that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement.

(2) That replacements be limited by an agreed maximum of capital ship tonnage as follows:

For the United States, 500,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 500,000 tons.

For Japan, 300,000.

(3) That, subject to the ten-year limitation above fixed and the maximum standards, capital ships may be replaced when they are twenty years old by new capital ship construction.

(4) That no capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

I have sketched the proposal only in outline, leaving the technical details to be supplied by the formal proposition, which is ready for submission to the delegates.

The plan includes provision for the limitation of auxiliary surface combatant craft. This term embraces three classes, that is:

(1) Auxiliary surface combatant craft, such as cruisers (exclusive of battle cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers and various surface types; (2) submarines and (3) airplane carriers.

I shall not attempt to review the proposals for these various classes, as they bear a definite relation to the provisions for capital fighting ships.

With the acceptance of this plan, the burden of meeting the demands of competition in naval armament will be lifted. Enormous sums will be released to aid the progress of civilization. At the same time the proper demands of national defense will be adequately met, and the nations will have ample opportunity during the naval holiday of ten years to consider their future course. Preparation for future naval war shall stop now. I shall not attempt at this time to take up the other topics which have been listed on the tentative agenda proposed in anticipation of the conference.

HOW THE SPEECH WAS RECEIVED

Mr. Louis Seibold, in his account of the proceedings for The New York Herald, wrote thus of the address of Secretary Hughes: When the Secretary really settled down to his job the representatives of foreign Governments shed their air of indifference and became suddenly attentive.



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British delegates at the Disarmament Conference, departing from the first plenary session in cheerful mood. Left to right: Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States; Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary General to the British delegation; Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, Lord President of the Council, and Lord Lee of Fareham.

They looked at each other with something approaching amazement, as the Secretary without the slightest show of emotion, or lifting of voice, said in cold and measured tones: 'We can no longer content ourselves with investigation, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. * * * The world wants a practical program which shall at once be put into execution.' This declaration was greeted with a storm of applause from the members of Congress, which in itself was so unusual a feature of international gatherings that the delegates from both European and Asiatic countries looked with something suggesting alarm at the statesmen above them, who had risen to their feet and were clapping their hands with resounding force.

Mr. Balfour alone appeared to hold to his habitual poise. Premier Briand appeared to find gratification in the statements of the American Foreign Secretary, which he followed in the

French text placed before him. There was no discounting the surprise of Prince Tokugawa, Baron Kato and Ambassador Shidehara, the delegates from Japan. The Italian, Portuguese and Belgian envoys appeared to be greatly pleased, if a trifle startled, at the directness with which Mr. Hughes was stating his case.

ENTHUSIASM OF DELEGATES

From this time the Secretary was interrupted at almost every sentence by applause from the gallery and among the spectators hemming in the delegates and technical advisers. The representatives responded joyously in applauding the Secretary's statement that the naval program now under way can be given up without heavy loss and his further declaration that the evil of armament will continue as long as the competition continues among nations.

Perhaps the statement that provoked the greatest applause and sur-

prise to the foreign delegates was his declaration that delegates of the United States, acting under the instructions of the President, would submit a concrete proposal for an agreement for the limitation of naval arms. He looked directly at Mr. Balfour at his left and Prince Tokugawa, half way down the side table on his right, as he said in even tones: "It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan and the United States."

When the Secretary got down to details and set about revealing the exact terms for limiting armament on the part of the three countries he named, the Japanese delegates and the impressive array of Admirals and other naval representatives of that country manifested the keenest interest. They looked at each other as if wondering where Mr. Hughes had secured such definite information regarding their naval establishments, including facts unknown to most of the people of Japan.

The figures and facts regarding specific units of the British and Japanese Navies permitted no doubt as to the complete accuracy of them. While the Secretary was reading them and enumerating the methods by which they could be dispensed with, one could have heard a pin drop in the vast assembly hall. His knowledge of naval conditions, which had previously been worked out with mathematical exactness, was fully sustained by the nods of the naval experts of not only Great Britain and Japan, but of those representing France and Italy.

That the Secretary had more complete information at hand was revealed by his announcement that the technical details of the formal proposal that the United States would submit would be immediately furnished to the delegates. His final announcement provoked a storm of applause:

Mr. Hughes, as Chairman, then proposed the election of John W. Gar-

rett of Baltimore, former Minister to the Netherlands, as Secretary General of the conference. The proposal was accepted. He then proposed that the heads of delegations of the great powers or alternates selected by them should form a Committee on Armament Limitation, and that the heads of all the delegations should name members to sit on the Far Eastern Committee. These proposals were carried.

REMARKS BY OTHER LEADERS

Mr. Hughes followed with a suggestion that the first session then adjourn until Tuesday, Nov. 15, but there came shouts from the group of United States Senators present:

"Briand, Briand, Briand!"

Mr. Hughes bowed to the French Premier, who rose and spoke in French. His remarks were translated as follows:

If it is possible to obtain the security which she is entitled to expect, if it is only a question of making sacrifices, France is ready to consent. France has defended her liberty, and, I think, at the same time, the liberty of the world, and if the necessary precautions are taken in order to insure her life and safety, France, like you gentlemen, is ready to say "Down arms!"

There were cries then from the Senators for "Japan." Seemingly the Senators hesitated over the name of Prince Tokugawa, who rose and, adjusting his spectacles, said:

The world needs peace. It calls for political and economic stability, and to co-operate with the powers here so worthily represented for the accomplishment of such a lofty end, under the guidance of the distinguished presiding officer, will be for Japan a source of the greatest pleasure.

Successively, then, the Senators called for and heard responses from the representatives of Italy, China, Belgium, Holland and Portugal. Dr. Sze's hands trembled so that the paper in his hands rustled between them as he read. Finally some of the Senators called for a speech from their colleague, Mr. Lodge. The Senator rose, and instead of addressing the assemblage, murmured to Mr. Hughes:

"I move an adjournment."

And the conference then adjourned.

OFFICIAL TEXT OF AMERICAN NAVAL PROPOSALS

The American proposals for limitation of world armaments, as laid before the Conference by Secretary Hughes, called for suspension of all capital ship building programs, present and prospective, and for the scrapping of thousands of tons already built or being constructed. Under this part of the proposals the United States would sacrifice a total of 845,740 tons, Great Britain 583,375 tons, and Japan 448,928 tons. Each nation would pledge itself not to build any new capital warships for a period of ten years. The only exception to this would lie in indispensable replacement building, and limitations were set to this as follows: United States, 500,000 tons; Great Britain, 500,000 tons; Japan, 300,000 tons. The proposals name specifically the warships which each nation would possess after the execution of the whole plan. A special section of the proposals is devoted to auxiliary craft, certain categories of these being made exempt, and a definite limit of less than 500,000 tons being laid down for the United States and Great Britain, Japan following with a limited tonnage of 270,000 tons. The full official text of the American proposals follows:

The proposal of the United States for a limitation of naval armaments.

The United States proposes the following plan for a limitation of the naval armaments of the conferring nations. The United States believes that this plan safely guards the interests of all concerned.

In working out this proposal the United States has been guided by four general principles:

(a) The elimination of all capital shipbuilding programs, either actual or projected.

(b) Further reduction through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.

(c) That regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the conferring powers.

(d) The use of capital ship tonnage as the measurement of strength for navies and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

Proposal for a limitation of naval armaments.

CAPITAL SHIPS—UNITED STATES

1. The United States to scrap all new capital ships now under construction and on their way to completion. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and building and two battleships launched.

(Note—Paragraph 1 involves a reduction of fifteen new capital ships under construction, with a total tonnage when completed of 618,000 tons. Total amount of money already spent on fifteen capital ships, \$332,000,000.)

2. The United States to scrap all battleships up to but not including the Delaware and North Dakota.

(Note—The number of old battleships scrapped under Paragraph 2 is fifteen; their total tonnage is 227,740 tons. The grand total of capital ships to be scrapped is thirty, aggregating 845,740 tons.)

GREAT BRITAIN

3. Great Britain to stop further construction on the four new Hoods.

(Note—Paragraph 3 involves a reduction of four new capital ships not yet laid down, but upon which money has been spent, with a total tonnage when completed of 172,000 tons.)

4. In addition to the four Hoods, Great Britain to scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second line battleships and first line battleships up to but not including the King George V. class.

(Note—Paragraph 4 involves the disposition of nineteen capital ships, certain of which have already been scrapped, with a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons. The grand total tonnage of ships scrapped under this agreement will be 583,375 tons.)

JAPAN

5. Japan to abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, viz.: The Kii Owari, No. 7, No. 8, battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, battle cruisers.

(Note—Paragraph 5 does not involve the stopping of construction on any ship upon which construction has begun.)

6. Japan to scrap three battleships: The Mutsu, launched; the Tosa and Kaga, building, and four battle cruisers, the Amagi and Akagi, building, and the Atago and Takao, not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled.

(Note—Paragraph 6 involves a reduction of seven new capital ships under construction, with a total tonnage when completed of 288,100 tons.)

7. Japan to scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and capital ships of the second line. This to include the scrapping of all ships up to but not including the Settsu.

(Note—Paragraph 7 involves the scrapping of ten older ships with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons. The grand total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down, or for which material has been assembled is 448,928 tons.

FRANCE AND ITALY

8. In view of certain extraordinary conditions due to the World War affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, the United States does not consider necessary the discussion at this stage of the proceedings of the tonnage allowance of these nations, but proposes it be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

OTHER NEW CONSTRUCTION

9. No other new capital ships shall be constructed during the period of this agreement except replacement tonnage as provided herein-after.

10. If the terms of this proposal are agreed to, then the United States, Great Britain and Japan agree that their navies, three months after the making of this agreement, shall consist of the following capital ships:

LIST OF CAPITAL SHIPS

United States

Maryland,	Arizona,	Arkansas,
California,	Pennsylvania,	Wyoming,
Tennessee,	Oklahoma,	Utah,
Idaho,	Nevada,	Florida,
Mississippi,	Texas	North Dakota,
New Mexico,	New York,	Delaware,
Total, 18. Total tonnage, 500,650.		

Great Britain

Royal Sovereign,	Barhan,	King George V.
Royal Oak,	Malaya,	Centurion,
Resolution,	Benbow,	Ajax,
Ramillies,	Emperor of	Hood,
Revenge,	India,	Renown,
Queen Elizabeth	Iron Duke,	Repulse,
Warspite,	Marlborough,	Tiger.
Valiant,	Erlin,	
Total, 22. Total tonnage, 604,450.		

Japan

Nagato,	Fu-So,	Hi-Yei,
Hiuga,	Settsu,	Kongo.
Ise,	Kirishima,	
Yamashiro,	Haruna,	
Total, 10. Total tonnage, 299,700.		

DISPOSITION OF OLD AND NEW CONSTRUCTION

11. Capital ships shall be disposed of in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

REPLACEMENTS

12. (a) The tonnage basis for capital ship replacement under this proposal to be as follows:

United States, 500,000 tons.
Great Britain, 500,000 tons.
Japan, 300,000 tons.

(b) Capital ships twenty years from date of completion may be replaced by new capital ship construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which it is to replace is seventeen years of age from date of completion. Provided, however, that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the signing of this agreement.

(c) The scrapping of capital ships replaced by new construction shall be undertaken not later than the date of completion of the new construction, and shall be completed within three months of the date of completion of new con-

struction, or, if the date of completion of new construction be delayed, then within four years of the laying of the keels of such new construction.

(d) No capital ships shall be laid down during the term of this agreement whose tonnage displacement exceeds 35,000 tons.

(e) The same rules for determining tonnage of capital ships shall apply to the ships of each of the powers party to this agreement.

(f) Each of the powers party to this agreement agrees to inform promptly all the other powers party to this agreement concerning:

(1) The names of the capital ships to be replaced by new construction.

(2) The date of authorization of replacement tonnage.

(3) The dates of laying the keels of replacement tonnage.

(4) The displacement tonnage of each new ship to be laid down.

(5) The actual date of completion of each new ship.

(6) The fact and date of the scrapping of ships replaced.

(g) No fabricated parts of capital ships, including parts of hulls, engines and ordnance, shall be constructed previous to the date of authorization of replacement tonnage. A list of such parts will be furnished all powers party to this agreement.

(h) In case of the loss or accidental destruction of capital ships, they may be replaced by new capital ship construction in conformity with the foregoing rules.

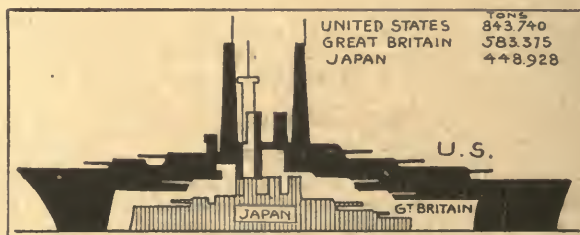
AUXILIARY COMBATANT CRAFT

13. In treating this subject, auxiliary combatant craft have been divided into three classes:

- Auxiliary surface combatant craft.
- Submarines.
- Airplane carriers and aircraft.

14. The term auxiliary surface combatant craft includes cruisers (exclusive of battle cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers, and all other surface types except those specifically exempted in the following paragraph:

15. Existing monitors, unarmored surface craft as specified in Paragraph 16, under 3,000 tons, fuel ships, supply ships, tenders, repair ships, tugs, mine sweepers and vessels readily convertible from merchant vessels are exempt from the terms of this agreement.



Comparison of naval tonnage of United States, Great Britain and Japan, which it is proposed to scrap



United States battleship South Carolina, one of the largest war ships in actual commission to be scrapped according to the Hughes program. The vessel is 452 feet long, 80 wide, and has a displacement of 16,000 tons. Its main battery consists of eight 12-inch guns

16. No new auxiliary combatant craft may be built exempt from this agreement regarding limitation of naval armaments that exceed 3,000 tons displacement and fifteen knots speed, and carry more than four 5-inch guns.

17. It is proposed that the total tonnage of cruisers, flotilla leaders and destroyers allowed each power shall be as follows:

For the United States, 450,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 450,000 tons.

For Japan, 270,000 tons.

Provided, however, that no power party to this agreement whose total tonnage in auxiliary surface combatant craft on Nov. 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total tonnage of auxiliary combatant craft for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

LIMITATION OF NEW CONSTRUCTION

18. (A) All auxiliary surface combatant craft whose keels have been laid down by Nov. 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(B) No new construction in auxiliary surface combatant craft except replacement tonnage as provided hereinafter shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, that such nations as have not reached the auxiliary surface combatant craft tonnage allowances hereinbefore stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

SCRAPPING OF OLD CONSTRUCTION

19. (A) Auxiliary surface combatant craft shall be scrapped in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

(B) Submarines.

20. It is proposed that the total tonnage of submarines allowed each power shall be as follows:

For the United States, 90,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 90,000 tons.

For Japan, 54,000 tons.

Provided, however, that no power party to this agreement whose total tonnage in submarines on Nov. 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total tonnage of submarines for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

LIMITATION OF NEW CONSTRUCTION

21. (A) All submarines whose keels have been laid down by Nov. 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(B) No new submarine tonnage except replacement tonnage as provided hereinafter shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, that such nations as have not reached the submarine tonnage allowance hereinbefore stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

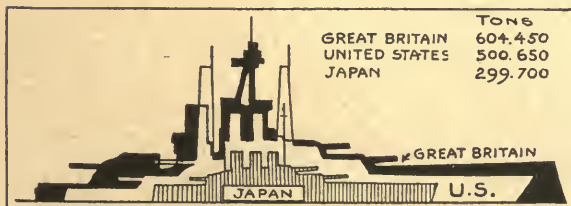
SCRAPPING OF OLD CONSTRUCTION

22. Submarines shall be scrapped in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

(C)—AIRPLANE CARRIERS AND AIRCRAFT

23. It is proposed that the total tonnage of airplane carriers allowed each power shall be as follows: United States, 80,000 tons; Great Britain, 80,000 tons; Japan, 48,000 tons.

Provided, however, that no power party to this agreement whose



Comparative sizes of the three navies if Secretary Hughes's reduction proposal is adopted

total tonnage in airplane carriers on Nov. 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total tonnage of airplane carriers for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

LIMITATION OF NEW CONSTRUCTION, AIRPLANE CARRIERS.

24. (a) All airplane carriers whose keels have been laid down by Nov. 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(b) No new airplane carrier tonnage except replacement tonnage as provided herein shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, that such nations as have not reached the airplane carrier tonnage hereinbefore stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

SCRAPPING OF OLD CONSTRUCTION

25. Airplane carriers shall be scrapped in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

AUXILIARY COMBAT CRAFT, REPLACEMENTS

26. (a) Cruisers seventeen years of age from date of completion may be replaced by new construction. The keels for such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage it is intended to replace is fifteen years of age from date of completion.

(b) Destroyers and flotilla leaders twelve years of age from date of completion may be replaced by new construction. The keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage it is intended to replace is eleven years of age from date of completion.

(c) Submarines twelve years of age from date of completion may be replaced by new submarine construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which the new tonnage is to replace is eleven years of age from date of completion.

(d) Airplane carriers twenty years of age from date of completion may be replaced by new airplane carrier construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which it is to replace is seventeen years of age from date of completion.

(e) No surface vessels carrying guns of calibre greater than eight inches shall be laid down as replacement tonnage for auxiliary combatant surface craft.

(f) The same rules for determining tonnage of auxiliary combatant craft shall apply to the ships of each of the powers party to this agreement.

(g) The scrapping of ships replaced by new construction shall be undertaken not later than the date of completion of the new construction and shall be completed within three months of the date of completion of the new construction, or, if the completion of new tonnage is delayed, then within four years of the laying of the keels of such new construction.

(h) Each of the powers party to this agreement agrees to inform all the other parties to this agreement concerning:

(1) The names or numbers of the ships to be replaced by new construction.

(2) The date of authorization of replacement tonnage.

(3) The dates of laying the keels of replacement tonnage.

(4) The displacement tonnage of each new ship to be laid down.

(5) The actual date of completion of each new ship.

(6) The fact and date of the scrapping of ships replaced.

(1) No fabricated parts of auxiliary combatant craft, including parts of hulls, engines and ordnance, will be constructed previous to the date of authorization of replacement tonnage. A list of such parts will be furnished all powers party to this agreement.

(3) In case of the loss or accidental destruction of ships of this class they may be replaced by new construction in combatant vessels of any class in such a manner that they later may become combatant vessels in another navy. They bind themselves further not to acquire combatant vessels from any foreign source.

29. No capital ship tonnage nor auxiliary combatant craft tonnage for foreign account shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any one of the powers party to this agreement during the term of this agreement.

MERCHANT MARINE.

30. As the importance of the merchant marine is in inverse ratio to the size of naval armaments, regulations must be provided to govern its conversion features for war purposes.

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

Scarcely had the bold and concrete American proposals ceased to echo around the world when approval and acceptance came from the Governments concerned. This was the second dramatic surprise of the conference, and one with perhaps even a deeper thrill in its significance. It marked the end of one era in world history and the beginning of another.

The second plenary session of the conference had met in Continental Hall on Tuesday morning, Nov. 15, and before the assembled delegates stood a white-haired man, his shoulders bowed as if weighed down by the responsibility he bore, and declared in the name of Great Britain the abandonment of her traditional policy of supremacy on the sea and her willingness to accept a status of naval equality with another nation—the United States of America. Supported in his words by a cablegram from Premier Lloyd George, Mr. Bal-

four said of the Hughes naval limitation plan: "We think the limitation is reasonable; we think it should be accepted; we firmly believe that it will be accepted." Then a short, spare man with inky hair stood up and in the name of Japan pledged his Government to reduce its fleet, disavowing all ambitions to rival the navies of America and England, and pledging his country against aggressiveness on the sea. Admiral Baron Kato was speaking by authority of instructions both from the dead Premier Hara and from the new Japanese Premier, Baron Takahashi. France and Italy, though not directly affected by the cutting down of navies, gave hearty endorsement. Thus was the great drama played at Washington by the representatives of many millions of men and women.

Sitting there beneath the spell of mighty events, as a correspondent wrote, the impression swept over one that, after all, it was Great Britain who was giving up the biggest thing—something she might have lost some time, but not just yet—a claim to glory which might have been hers for some time to come. America was called on to give up something within sight, something she might achieve, but something not yet hers. But Great Britain was laying down something which had been hers for a century. The world's encyclopedias for 1916 set down the naval policy of Great Britain as that of having a fleet as great as any other two nations. That is her policy no more. That chapter in the world's history was closed on Nov. 15, 1921. The new chapter which was begun that day is America's chapter in history. Thus has fate left the United States as the great victor in the World War.

Promptly on the hour Secretary Hughes, as Chairman of the conference, called the meeting to order and announced the formation of the two Committees of the Whole, one of five nations on armaments and another of all nine nations at the conference on

Far Eastern questions. He explained that the plan was for these committees to consider in private all matters presented and report to plenary sessions of the conference. The plan was approved by common consent.

MR. BALFOUR'S ADDRESS

Mr. Balfour then took the floor. He was greeted with a round of applause. As is his habit, he had no prepared speech, only a few notes on several crumpled sheets of paper, which he held crushed in his hand and referred to at only rare intervals. Following is the full official text of his historic speech:

Mr. Chairman: You have invited those who desire to continue the discussion which began on Saturday last. I think it would be very unfortunate if we were to allow the events of Saturday to pass without some further observation on the part of those to whom you, Mr. Chairman, addressed your speech, and if, for any reason which I shall venture to explain in a moment, I am the first to take up the challenge, it is because of all the powers here assembled the country which I represent is, as everybody knows, the most intimately interested in naval questions.

Statesmen of all countries are beginning to discover that the labors and difficulties of peace are almost as arduous and require almost as great qualities as those which are demanded for the conduct of a successful war.

These struggles to restore the world to the condition of equilibrium, so violently interfered with by five years of war, is one that taxes and must tax the efforts of everybody. And I congratulate you, if I may, Mr. Chairman, on the fact that you have added the new anniversary which will henceforth be celebrated in connection with this movement toward reconstruction in the same spirit in which we welcomed the anniversary celebrated only a few hours ago, on the day on which hostilities came to an end. If the 11th of November in the minds of the allied and associated powers, in the minds perhaps not less of all the neutrals—if that is a date imprinted on grateful hearts, I think Nov. 12 will also prove to be an anniversary welcomed and thought of in a grateful spirit by those who in the future shall look back upon the arduous struggle now being made by the civilized nations of the world, not merely to restore pre-war conditions, but to see that war conditions shall never again exist.

A GREAT HISTORICAL EVENT

I count myself among the fortunate of the earth in that I was present, and to that

extent had a share in the proceedings of last Saturday. They were memorable, indeed. The secret was admirably kept. I hope that all the secrets, so long as they ought to be secrets, of our discussions will be as well kept. In my less sanguine mood I have doubts. But, however that may be, the secret in this case was most admirably kept, and I listened to a speech which I thought eloquent, appropriate, in every way a fitting prelude to the work of the conference which was about to open, or which, indeed, had been opened by the President, without supposing that anything very dramatic lay behind. And suddenly I became aware, as I suppose all present became aware, that they were assisting not merely at an eloquent and admirable speech, but at a great historical event. It was led up to with such art, the transition seemed so natural, that when the blow fell, when the speaker uttered the memorable words which have now gone round and found echo in every quarter of the civilized world, it came as a shock of profound surprise; it excited the sort of emotions we have when some wholly new event springs into view, and we felt that a new chapter in the history of world reconstruction had been warily opened.

Mr. Chairman, the absolute simplicity of the procedure, the easy transition and the great dramatic climax were the perfection of art, which shows that the highest art and the most perfect simplicity are very often, indeed very commonly, combined.

Now, I said I would explain, if I was allowed, why I venture to rise first today to deal with the subject which is in all our hearts. As I have hinted, it is because the British Empire and Great Britain, these two together, are more profoundly concerned with all that touches matters naval than it is possible for any other nation to be, and this not, believe me, for any reasons of ambition, not for any reasons drawn from history or tradition, but from the hard, brutal necessities of claims and obvious facts.

There never has been in the history of the world a great empire constituted as the British Empire is: It is a fact no doubt familiar to everybody whom I am addressing at the present moment, but has everybody whom I am addressing imaginatively conceived precisely what the situation of the British Empire is in this connection?

Most of my audience are citizens of the United States. The United States stands solid, impregnable, self-sufficient, all its lines of communication protected, doubly protected, completely protected from any conceivable hostile act. It is not merely that you are 110,000,000 of population; it is not that you are the wealthiest country in the world; it is that the whole configuration of your country, the geographical position of your country, is such that you are wholly immune from the particular perils to which, from the nature of the case, the British Empire is subjected.

BRITAIN'S SPECIAL NEEDS

Supposing, for example, that your Western States, for whose safety you are responsible, were suddenly removed 10,000 miles across the sea. Supposing that you found that the very heart of your empire, the very heart of this great State, was a small, a crowded island depending for over-sea trade not merely, not chiefly, for its luxuries, but depending upon overseas communication for the raw material of those manufactures by which its superabundant population lives; depending upon the same over-sea communication for the food upon which they subsist. Supposing it was a familiar thought in your minds that there never was at any moment of the year within the limits of your State more than seven weeks' food for the population, and that that food had to be replenished by over-sea communication. Then, if you will draw that picture, and if you will see all what it implies and all that it carries with it, you will understand why it is that every citizen of the British Empire, whether he comes from the far dominions of the Pacific or whether he lives in the small island in the North Sea, never can forget that it is by sea communication that he lives and that without sea communication he and the empire to which he belongs would perish.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, do not suppose that I am uttering laments over the weakness of my empire. Far from it. We are strong, I hope, in the vigorous life of its constituent parts. We are strong, I hope, in the ardent patriotism which binds us all together. But this strategic weakness is obvious to everybody who reflects; it is present in the minds of our enemies, if we have enemies. Do not let it be forgotten by our friends.

These reflections, with your kindness, I have indulged in in order to explain why it is that I am addressing you at the present time. We have had to consider, and we have considered, the great scheme laid before you by our Chairman. We have considered it with admiration and approval. We agree with it in spirit and in principle. We look to it as being the basis of the greatest reform in the matter of armament and preparation for war that has ever been conceived or carried out by the courage and patriotism of statesmen. I do not pretend, of course—it would be folly to pretend—that this or any other scheme, by whatever genius it may have been contrived, can deal with every subject; can cover the whole ground of international reconstruction. It would be folly to make the attempt and it would be folly to pretend that the attempt has yet been made in any single scheme as was clearly explained by the Secretary of State on Saturday. The scheme deals, and deals only, with three nations which own the largest fleets at present in the world. It therefore, of necessity, omits all consideration for the time being of those Euro-

pean nations who have diminished their fleets, and who at present have no desire, and I hope never will have any desire, to own fleets beyond the necessities that national honor and national defense require.

Again, it does not touch a question which every man coming from Europe must feel to be a question of immense and almost paramount importance. I mean the heavy burden of land armaments. That is left on one side, to be dealt with by other schemes and in other ways.

ENGLAND'S ENDORSEMENT

What it does is surely one of the biggest things that have ever yet been done by constructive statesmanship. It does deal with the three great fleets of the world, and in the broad spirit in which it deals with those fleets, in the proportion of disarmament which it lays down for those fleets, the Government of the country which I represent is in the fullest and the heartiest sympathy with the policy which the United States has brought before us for our consideration. They have, as we think most rightly, taken the battle fleet as the aggressive unit which they have in the main to consider; and in the battle fleet you must include those auxiliary ships without which a modern battle fleet has neither eyes nor ears, has little power of defense against certain forms of attack, and little power of observation; little power of dealing with any equal foe to which it may be opposed.

Taking those two as really belonging to one subject, namely, the battle fleet, taking those two, the battleships themselves and the vessels auxiliary and necessary to a battle fleet, we think that the proportion between these various countries is acceptable, we think the limitation of amounts is reasonable; we think it should be accepted, we firmly believe that it will be accepted.

In my view, the message which has been sent around the world on Saturday is not a message which is going to be received by those most concerned with cool approbation. I believe it is going to be received by them with warm, hearty approval, and with every effort at full, loyal and complete co-operation.

I think it would be ill-fitting on such an occasion as this if I were to attempt to go into any details. There are questions—and I have no doubt that the Secretary of State, our Chairman, would be the first to tell us that there are details which can only be adequately dealt with in committee. At the first glance, for example, and I give it merely as an example, our experts are inclined to think that perhaps too large an amount of tonnage has been permitted for submarines. Submarines are a class of vessels most easily abused in their use, and which, in fact, in the late war, were most grossly abused. We quite admit that probably the submarine is the defensive weapon, properly used, of the weak, and that it

would be impossible, or, if possible, it might well be thought undesirable, to abolish them altogether. But the amount of submarine tonnage permitted by the new scheme is far in excess, I believe, of the tonnage possessed by any nation at the present moment, and I only throw it out as a suggestion that it may be well worth considering whether that tonnage should not be further limited, and whether, in addition to limiting the amount of the tonnage, it might not be practicable, and, if practicable, desirable, to forbid altogether the construction of those submarines of great size which are not intended for defense, which are not the weapon of the weaker party, whose whole purpose is attack and whose whole purpose is probably attack by methods which civilized nations would regard with horror.

ALL ESSENTIALS ACCEPTED

However, there may be other questions of detail, questions connected with replacement, questions connected with cruisers, which are not connected with or required for fleet action. But those are matters for consideration by the technical experts, and, however they be decided, they do not touch the main outline of the structure which the United States Government desires erected and which we earnestly wish to help it in erecting.

That structure stands, as it seems to me, clear and firm, and I cannot help thinking that in the broad outline, whatever may happen in the course of these discussions during the next few weeks, that structure will remain, as it was presented by its original architects, for the admiration and for the use of mankind.

I have little more to say except this: It is easy to estimate in dollars or in pounds, shillings and pence the saving to the taxpayer of each of the nations concerned which the adoption of this scheme will give. It is easy to show that the relief is great. It is easy to show that indirectly it will, as I hope and believe, greatly stimulate industry, national and international, and do much to diminish the difficulties under which every civilized Government is at this time laboring. All that can be weighed, measured, counted; all that is a matter of figures. But there is something in this scheme which is above and beyond numerical calculation. There is something which goes to the root, which is concerned with the highest international morality.

This scheme after all—what does it do? It makes idealism a practical proposition. It takes hold of the dream which reformers, poets, publicists, even potentates, as we heard the other day, have from time to time put before mankind as the goal to which human endeavor should aspire.

A narrative of all the attempts made, of all the schemes advanced, for diminishing the sorrows of war, is a melancholy one. Some fragments were laid before you by

our Chairman on Saturday. They were not exhilarating. They showed how easy it is to make professions and how difficult it is to carry those professions into effect.

CABLE FROM LLOYD GEORGE

What makes this scheme a landmark is that, combined with the profession is the practice, that in addition to the expression, the eloquent expression of good intentions, in which the speeches of men of all nations have been rich, that a way has been found in which, in the most striking fashion, in a manner which must touch the imagination of everybody, which must come home to the dullest brain and the hardest heart, the Government of the United States has shown its intention not merely to say that peace is a very good thing, that war is horrible, but there is a way by which wars can really be diminished, by which the burdens of peace, almost as intolerable as the burdens of war, can really be lightened for the populations of the world. And in doing that, in doing it in the manner in which they have done it, in striking the imagination not merely of the audience they were addressing, not merely of the great people to whom they belonged, but of the whole civilized world, in doing that they have, believe me, made the first and opening day of this congress one of the landmarks in human civilization.

I have said all that I propose to say, but if you will allow me I will read a telegram put into my hands just as I reached this meeting, this congress, from the British Prime Minister:

Following for Mr. Balfour from Mr. Lloyd George:

Many thanks for your telegram. If you think it will serve useful purpose to let them know, message might be published, as follows:

"Government have followed proceedings at opening session of conference with profound appreciation, and whole-heartedly indorse your opinion that speeches made by President Harding and Secretary of State were bold and statesmanlike utterances, pregnant with infinite possibilities. Nothing could augur better for ultimate success of conference. Please convey to both our most sincere congratulations."

When Mr. Balfour, referring to the proposal that scraps half of Britain's mighty fleet and lays down a permanent proportion of five-five-three for the sea strength of England, America and Japan, called it "one of the best things ever done by constructive statesmanship," the audience rose to their feet in a great demonstration of enthusiasm, and there was a similar outburst of admiration and approval when he announced his firm belief that Great Britain would accept it.

THE VOICE OF JAPAN

It was next the turn of Admiral Baron Kato of the Japanese delegation. As he rose and began speaking in his own language a hush of puzzled interest fell upon the assemblage, for few indeed of his hearers could understand Japanese. Yet as he proceeded they easily divined from his manner and gestures that he was adding Japan's indorsement to the Hughes program of naval limitation. The official translation of his statement is as follows:

Japan deeply appreciates the sincerity of purpose evident in the plan of the American Government for the limitation of armaments. She is satisfied that the proposed plan will materially relieve the nations of wasteful expenditures and cannot fail to make for the peace of the world.

She cannot remain unmoved by the high aims which have actuated the American project. Gladly accepting, therefore, the proposal in principle, Japan is ready to proceed with determination to a sweeping reduction in her naval armament.

It will be universally admitted that a nation must be provided with such armaments as are essential to its security. This requirement must be fully weighed in the examination of the plan. With this requirement in view, certain modifications will be proposed with regard to the tonnage basis for replacement of the various classes of vessels. This subject should be referred to special consideration by naval experts. When such modifications are proposed, I know that the American and other delegations will consider them with the same desire to meet our ideas as we have to meet theirs.

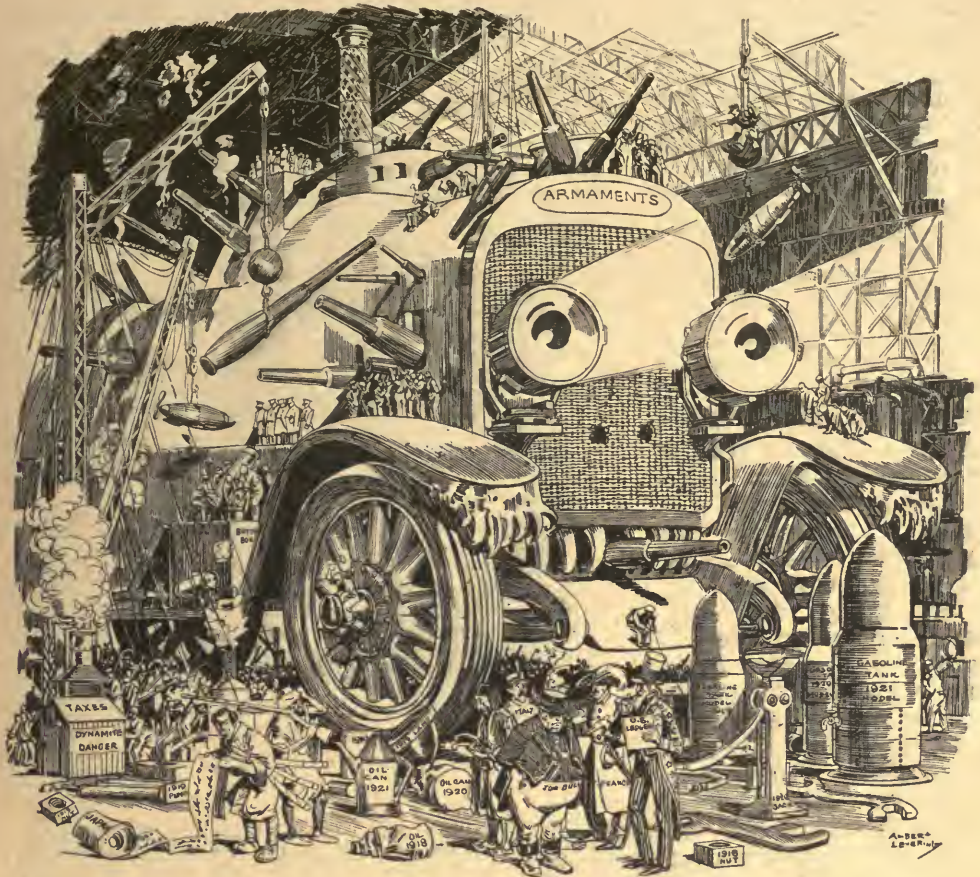
Japan has never claimed or had any intention of claiming to have a general establishment equal in strength to that of either the United States or the British Empire. Her existing plan will show conclusively that she never had in view preparations for offensive war.

ITALY'S OFFICIAL APPROVAL

Senator Carlo Schanzer, the blond-bearded delegate from Italy, then addressed the delegates, expressing the satisfaction of his Government over the progress made, and suggesting that the conference consider also the fleets of Italy and France. He spoke as follows:

The time has come and this conference has been called not for general resolutions and for mutual advice, but for action. You proved at once that you mean to carry out your suggestions into practical execution.

[American Cartoon]



—New York Tribune

IT ISN'T THE FIRST COST OF A CAR; IT'S THE UPKEEP THAT COUNTS

The first impression made by your statement concerning the limitation of naval armament is one of great sincerity, great force, great courage. You stated clearly and unhesitatingly to the conference and to the public opinion of the entire world the question of the limitation of naval armament as concerns especially the great naval powers, and you did it with precision of facts and of figures, thus affording a solid basis for discussion.

We shall not consider the technical side of the question which concerns especially the great naval powers. We only wish to express in the name of the Italian delegation our great satisfaction in the proposals of general order. We hope that your proposal when accepted will be the source of the most beneficent economic consequences. The peace of the world cannot be permanently maintained if you do not consider the ways and means to re-establish the economic balance of the world.

Modern civilization is an economic civilization, and the modern world, in spite of the distance and natural barriers, cannot be conceived except as a single great economic system. This economic system has been shattered by the war. It is necessary now to revise it and get it into motion again.

We think that your proposal is the first effective step toward giving the world a release of such nature as to enable it to start the work of its economic reconstruction.

In respect to Mr. Balfour's reference to the question of French and Italian naval forces, may I be allowed to say a few words?

I think it rather difficult to separate the question of Italian and French naval armament limitation from the general question of the limitation of naval armaments of the world. Certainly, as you have stated, Mr. Chairman, in your address, the question concerning the great naval powers must be considered in the first place, and you have

stated that the United States proposes that this matter be left for the later consideration of the conference. So we wish and feel sure in accordance with your statement that the French and Italian naval question will be considered by the conference before concluding the question involved in your proposal.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I express in the name of the Italian delegation the most fervent wish that the conference, taking your proposal as its working basis, may lead to a result which would be extremely happy not only for the powers directly interested but for the entire world.

PREMIER'S BRIAND'S SPEECH

Aristide Briand, head of the French delegation—and the only Premier who succeeded in attending the Washington conference—was greeted with applause as his shaggy head appeared above the line of chairs. The audience listened with delight to the flood of pure French that flowed from his lips with no apparent effort. He urged the necessity of adopting definite rules of procedure and said he would welcome any opportunity to explain the problems of France in regard to land armaments. The official translation of his speech follows:

Mr. Chairman: I fully concur with what the President of the British delegation has just said, when at the beginning of his eloquent statement he said that this conference would be one of the great landmarks in the history of the world and of civilization. While I do not quite agree with him, at least not to the same extent, as to his feelings, as expressed, when he first heard the statement made by the representative of the United States, I may say, for my own part, that when coming here I felt quite sure that a great people like the United States could not have begun such a momentous initiative without having some definite, clear-cut purpose. I think, gentlemen, that we have no longer the right in those questions of peace and war—when we undertake to promise to the world that there shall be no more war; that there shall be everlasting peace after the painful struggle from which we have just emerged—we have no right to

[American Cartoon]



—San Francisco Chronicle

HIS HANDS FULL

let the people of the world hope for a final peace unless we have made up our minds to prepare and to decide upon the means that are most appropriate in order to realize these hopes.

Many conferences and congresses have already met in order to try to carry out this noble idea, and Mr. Balfour was quite right when he pointed out the great danger there was in looking at this question through the glass of idealism. But, Mr. Secretary, you have shown us the way; you have shown that it was no longer a question of groping for a way out of the difficulty; you have struck out boldly the opportunity for us by setting the example. I may say that we are back of you, Mr. Secretary.

Of course, during these difficult, arduous examinations of the details of the subject, upon which, after all, depends the practical realization, if it happens that we are taken out of the straight way and feel the temptation of using the devious paths, we, on the part of France, are ready to join our efforts to those of other men of good-will and help in returning to the fair, straight road that would take us to our goal.

The question with which we have first to deal here is, of course, one that mainly concerns the great naval powers; but I may

[American Cartoon]



—San Francisco Chronicle

CAN THE CONFERENCE FIND THE ANSWER

say for my part that I have listened with great joy to the very large, broad and general adhesion given in principle by the Governments of Great Britain and Japan. It is not that France feels entirely disinterested in this question. We shall have, I hope, an opportunity of saying this and showing it, but I may say now—and this will be carried out later on by figures and by demonstration—that we have already entered upon the right way, and that we have already done something in the direction you indicate. The war has kept us down to a certain level, of course. It has prevented us from carrying out our plans for a weak fleet, perhaps too weak for the necessities of national defense.

REDUCTION OF ARMIES

But I will not dwell on this subject. I rather turn to another side of the problem to which Mr. Balfour has alluded, and I thank him for this. Is it only a question here of economy? Is it only a question of estimates and budgets? If it were so, if that were the only purpose you have in view, it would be really unworthy of the great nation that has called us here.

So, the main question, the crucial question, which is to be discussed here is to know if the peoples of the world will be at last able to come to an understanding in

order to avoid the atrocities of war. And then, gentlemen, when it comes on the agenda, as it will inevitably come, to the question of land armament, a question particularly delicate for France, as you are all aware, we have no intention to eschew this. We shall answer your appeal, fully conscious that this is a question of grave and serious nature for us.

The question will be raised—it has been raised, gentlemen—and if there is a country that desires, that demands, that the question of land armaments should be raised, it is France. It will come in due time before the conference, and I hope that I shall enjoy the opportunity and that I shall be able to state publicly in one of the meetings of this conference what the position of France is, so that the United States and the world may fully know; and when I have tried to prove this, when you have listened to this demonstration, I am quite sure that you will be convinced, gentlemen, that France, after the necessities of safety and life have been adequately secured, harbors no thought whatever of disturbing the peace of the world. The time will come for this demonstration.

Today I will simply record, with great feelings of joy, the agreement that has already been reached here on this first great problem of the conference, and express the wish that we shall come to a similar agreement upon all the other questions that await the conference.

CLOSING WORDS BY MR. HUGHES

Chairman Hughes brought the session to a close by assuring M. Briand that he would have full opportunity to present the case of France, and by summing up the situation in the following words:

Gentlemen: We have listened not only with gratification, but I may say with profound emotion, to these expressions, so cordial, of agreement in principle with the proposal that has been made on behalf of the United States with respect to the limitation of naval armament. It will now be in order to consider the many details which must be associated with an exact agreement for that purpose.

There are subjects, it has been suggested here, which will appropriately be examined by naval experts, and it is the desire of the American Government that what has been proposed by that Government, with the

suggestions that have been made by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government, by Admiral Kato on behalf of the Government of Japan, and any other suggestions by way of modification or emendation or criticism that may be proper, shall all be thoroughly considered, to the end that after the most mature and careful deliberation we may accomplish the great purpose which this conference in this matter has been assembled to achieve.

But while the time is now opportune for the consideration of these details, the great first step has been taken in this notable expression of approval in principle of what has been suggested by the American Government. And do I go too far in saying that we may commit this matter to a technical examination with the assurance, which I am very certain will be gratifying to the hearts of our people, that there will come out of this conference an appropriate agreement for satisfactory, important, essential reduction of naval armament, to the end that offensive naval warfare will be no more and this great advance will be made to the accomplishment of an enduring peace?

If it is not desired to have further discussion of the matter which has been brought before us, I suppose it will be in order to adjourn to give opportunity for the consideration of the project to which I have referred. And may I add that I have no doubt that I express the wish of the conference that at an opportune time M. Briand will enjoy the opportunity of presenting to the conference most fully the views of France with regard to the subject of land armaments, which we must discuss?

On motion of M. Briand the conference then adjourned subject to call by the Chairman.

FIRST WORK OF COMMITTEES

It had been announced formally by Secretary Hughes, at the opening session of Nov. 15, that the work of the conference would be done through two Committees of the Whole, one composed of the delegates of the five main nations, viz., Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States, to deal with limitation of armament, the other of all nine nations, including China, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, whose duty it would be to deal with details of program and procedure on all matters affecting the Pacific and the Far East. It had been agreed that meetings of these committees and of their sub-committees should be held in the

Pan American Building and should not be open to the public.

The first meeting of the Pacific Committee had been held in the afternoon of Nov. 14. The action taken was officially given out in this communique:

The Committee on Program and Procedure with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, appointed by the conference in its session of Nov. 12, met at 3 P. M. Monday, Nov. 14, at the Pan-American Union, there being present the following delegates: Messrs. Hughes (Chairman), de Cartier de Marchienne, Balfour, Sze, Briand, Schanzer, Shidehara, Van Karnebeek and D'Alte, with their respective secretaries.

It was decided to recommend to the conference the appointment of a committee composed of all the plenipotentiary delegates of the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and Portugal, to examine and report to the full conference with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions, and with power to set up such sub-committees as it might from time to time deem desirable. Mr. Hughes, as Chairman of the committee and of the conference, undertook to submit this proposal to the conference.

J. Butler Wright was nominated as secretary to the Committee on Program and Procedure, with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

The Committee of the whole on Limitation of Armament met in the afternoon of the 15th and, after some discussion, appointed a sub-committee of expert advisers instructed to report on each detail of the arms limitation plan as soon as agreement had been reached on it. The committee's anxiety to make progress was seen in the decision to sanction all such accepted details without waiting for agreement on the whole. Theodore Roosevelt, as head of the American technical advisers on naval affairs, was elected Chairman of this special sub-committee. The official report of the meeting of the committee was as follows:

The first meeting of the Committee on Limitation of Armament was held in the Pan American Building Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1921. There were present the delegates of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, with a Secretary for each delegation, and the Secretary General of the conference, who was chosen Secretary of the committee.

A subcommittee, composed of one technical naval adviser for each of the five powers,

[American Cartoon]



UNCLE SAM: "And that's the shirt I was to wear at the party!"

was constituted to take under immediate advisement the questions raised by the proposal of the United States for a limitation of naval armament, and to report to the committee from time to time the program of their deliberations. The subcommittee is composed of the following: Colonel Roosevelt, Admiral Beatty, Vice Admiral Le Bon, Vice Admiral Action and Vice Admiral Kato, with full power of substitution for each adviser. At the suggestion of Mr. Balfour, it was agreed that Colonel Roosevelt should act as Chairman of this subcommittee. The committee adjourned to meet at the call of the Chairman.

The Advisory Committee of the American delegation, consisting of twenty-one prominent men and women appointed previously by President Harding to serve under the general direction of Secretary Hughes, held a special meeting on Nov. 14, at which Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, explained the disarmament program of the United States and declared that its execution would mean a saving of more than \$200,000,000 on construction. A discussion followed (Chairman Sutherland presiding), in which the committee showed complete unanimity in backing this program. Six sub-com-

mittees were appointed at that time. On Nov. 16 the Executive Committee met at Washington and began to formulate its plans for helping the arms conference. The Sub-committee on Far Eastern Questions also began its work on similar lines. [The full membership of the Advisory Committee will be found in the list of delegates at the end of this article.]

CHINA'S TEN POINTS

The disarmament conference met in private session on Nov. 16 as a Committee of the Whole on Pacific problems. Here the opening gun on that front, so to speak, was fired by China in the form of ten

official demands or proposals drawn up for China by Minister Sze. In general these proposals laid down certain principles on which the whole coming diplomatic battle should—in the opinion of the country most concerned—be conducted. They called for the complete removal of all political, jurisdictional and administrative restrictions upon the Chinese Republic. The United States, Great Britain and Japan all had indicated their willingness to start the debate on bases presented by the Chinese, and Mr. Sze accordingly had formulated the broad lines of his country's desires, notifying the conference at the same time that it was the intention of his delegation to bring forward more detailed plans later. His statement in full is as follows:

In view of the fact that China must necessarily play an important part in the deliberations of the conference with reference to the political situation in the Far East, the Chinese delegation has thought it proper that they should take the first opportunity to state certain general principles which, in their opinion, should guide the conference in the determinations which it is to make. Certain of the specific applica-

tions of the principles which it is expected that the conference will make it is our intention later to bring forward, but at the present time it is deemed sufficient simply to propose the principles which I shall presently read.

In formulating these principles the purpose has been kept steadily in view of obtaining rules in accordance with which existing and possible future political and economic problems in the Far East and the Pacific may be most justly settled and with due regard to the rights and legitimate interests of all the powers concerned. Thus it has been sought to harmonize the particular interests of China with the general interests of all the world.

China is anxious to play her part not only in maintaining peace, but in promoting the material advancement and the cultural development of all the nations. She wishes to make her vast natural resources available to all peoples who need them, and in return to receive the benefits of free and equal intercourse with them. In order that she may do this, it is necessary that she should have every possible opportunity to develop her political institutions in accordance with the genius and needs of her own people. China is now contending with certain difficult problems which necessarily arise when any country makes a radical change in her form of government.

These problems she will be able to solve if given the opportunity to do so. This means not only that she should be freed from the danger or threat of foreign aggression, but that, so far as circumstances will possibly permit, she be relieved from limitations which now deprive her of autonomous administrative action and prevent her from securing adequate public revenues.

In conformity with the agenda of the conference, the Chinese Government proposes for the consideration of and adoption by the conference the following general principles to be applied in the determination of the questions relating to China:

1. (a)—The powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic. (b) China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any power.

2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called open door, or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.

3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East the powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions

without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate.

4. All special rights, privileges, immunities or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the powers in or relating to China, are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so made known are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities and commitments, now known or to be declared, are to be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity and, if valid, to harmonize them with one another and with the principles declared by this conference.

5. Immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East, as a basis for the determination of common policies of the signatory powers in relation thereto.

It was noted at once that some of these principles would be deemed debatable by one or more of the other countries concerned. General agreement could be expected upon the open door, which the United States regards as vital and which Great Britain also supports. Point 5 was the one most likely to raise protracted discussion, as it not only involved the abolishing of extra-territorial jurisdiction but was so sweeping that it might be construed to mean the surrender of certain guarantees which perhaps none of the powers would be ready to abandon. The abolishment of the zone of influence system was regarded as presenting fewer difficulties, as most of the powers had already given up the rights claimed under the old arrangement. The plan, of course, involves the Japanese departure from Shan-

[American Cartoon]



—Los Angeles Times

THE WEARY CAMP FOLLOWER

[Norwegian Cartoon]



NEW TIMES—NEW WEAPONS

"Mr. President, do you really think that we can proceed with disarmament?"

"Oh yes. The discoveries of our chemists are making existing armaments quite useless."

—Tryfhans. Christiania

tung, including Kiao-Chau, as well as the departure of other nations from leased ports, if the principle should be applied to its limit. The demand in Point 4 that all nations having secret agreements with regard to China must publish them or throw them away is in line with the Chinese view that the whole question of the relation of China to the rest of the world should be opened up to sunlight and revised. The Anglo-Japanese alliance itself is closely related to this subject. The program as a whole does not mean that China wishes to denounce all agreements she has with outside countries, as, for instance, for the conduct of her railroads and post offices; but she wants these agreements limited and placed on a more businesslike basis. The whole question of Siberia, however, is involved. All in all, the "ten points" of China bade fair to open up one of the most far-reaching and complicated debates in diplomatic history. Nor was the situation simplified by the fact that not a majority vote but absolute agreement of all parties was necessary for a decision.

COMMENT ON PROPOSALS

The immediate effect of the proposals made by Secretary Hughes regarding naval limitation at the first session of the conference was electrifying. The emotion shown even by the reticent Japanese delegates was typical of the impression produced. "The words which the President and the Secretary of State spoke yesterday," said Prince Tokugawa on Nov. 13, "have thrilled us no less than they have thrilled the nations of Europe and America." Baron Kato declared that the proposals of Secretary Hughes had "clarified the situation," and that with fears eliminated on both sides, "an agreement, so far as Japan and the United States are concerned, cannot fail to come."

The comment in England, France, Italy and Japan, to say nothing of Holland and Belgium, combined a large amount of enthusiasm with considerations of just how far the con-

ference would go toward disarmament, and the immediate consequences to each of the nations involved. These national reactions were reflected in most cases by the foreign observers at Washington. The British correspondents found their enthusiasm tempered by the question of Great Britain's need of imperial defense. Lieut. Col. Repington, for instance, correspondent of *The London Telegraph*, wrote on Nov. 14:

The natural inclination of all here is to be somewhat carried off our feet by the grandiose character of the plan, and the historic aspect of the world-moving conference. America is self-contained, and not liable to serious attack from any power. Japan's army renders her secure at home. But England is not self-contained, nor has she a great army. She has a scattered empire, oceanic in character, so the preservation of the maritime routes is indispensable to her existence.

In view of these conditions, declared Colonel Repington, it would scarcely be reasonable to ask Great Britain to ascribe to the same standard of auxiliary cruisers, especially in view of the fact that such British cruisers serving on distant stations would not be able to co-operate with the main fleet. Nor could the British tie their hands for ten years, as the American plan proposed, unless they received guarantees against the danger from secondary navies (such as that of France or Italy) or a combination of them. All in all, this British observer implied, the adhesion by Great Britain to the plan would mean a great deal more sacrifice than in the case of other nations, and the special interests of Great Britain must be considered.

J. H. Hamilton, correspondent of *The London Chronicle*, pointed out particularly the rival claims of Great Britain and the United States to submarine equipment in view of coast-line extension. The Americans, he intimated, had been somewhat disconcerted by the demand of the British delegates that the maximum of submarine tonnage be made the same for both, and had emphasized the length of the American coast line and the

necessity of protecting the Panama Canal. But, he declared, the coast of Great Britain as an empire must be considered, and all the British narrow waters and the Suez Canal must also be taken into account.

French observers, such as "Perlinax," the correspondent of the *Echo de Paris*, saw in the United States policy the formulation of an Anglo-American entente, under which England would get the lion's share.

"Washington has conceded her the most powerful navy," he said. "Undoubtedly as replacements are effected the United States will rise to the same level, but Great Britain had always declared that she would be satisfied to be on that level." Later he added:

We are witnessing a great British diplomatic victory, the result of the preparation carried out by Sir Auckland Geddes [British Ambassador at Washington] with infinite care and political acumen. On the one hand, Great Britain successfully enforces her claim to the possession of the greatest share of maritime power. On the other, she solves the grave problem arising out of the existence of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and out of the strength of the American resentment.

This feeling that France was faced at the conference by an Anglo-American combination, from which England was deriving superior advantage, was clearly expressed in the French press three days after the conference had begun. The effervescing enthusiasm of the first reaction from Secretary Hughes's dramatic proposal was succeeded by a mood of doubt and pessimism. The *Homme Libre*, from the front page of which the name of Clemenceau, its founder, has now disappeared, said:

Everything is changed. Yesterday there was enthusiasm. Today there is quibbling. And naturally it is our good friends, the English, who are the promoters of this change. Mr. Balfour is a great diplomat. The whole question of naval disarmament and all questions of the Far East lie for him in the dismantling of France in face of Germany, which his Prime Minister and he have failed to disarm completely.

Even the conservative papers emphasized the special necessity of

France to retain sufficient armament to give her protection against new aggressions from Germany. The Temps admitted that the British demands might be necessary for the British Empire's safety, and declined to admit that the Hughes program was "already a triumph for England," which would imply that it was a disaster for some other country. The Temps laid down two formulas. The first was summed up as follows:

Under the régime of limited armaments such as that of which Mr. Hughes has defined the basis, each State has a right to possess forces proportionate to the dangers to which, in the opinion of all the other contracting parties, it can reasonably believe itself exposed. [Both the British suggestion for eliminating big submarines and the Japanese request for non-fortification of Pacific islands are taken as examples of this right.]

The Temps then laid down its second formula. In case agreement could not be reached as to such dangers by all the other powers, those powers fall under obligation to give protection if the apprehended dangers materialize into realities. "A nation attacked or menaced can then say to the other contracting parties: 'Help me to meet the peril, which exceeds the powers of the arms to which you have invited me to consent.'" The Journal des Débats more definitely combated Mr. Balfour's plea for the limitation of submarines, saying:

The figure of 90,000 tons may be quite enough for the British, who will have a powerful fleet even on a reduced scale, but it will not be enough for France, which must compensate for her weakness in capital ships. If the Balfour suggestion is adopted, then France must revise her naval program, and add to her fleet.

Premier Briand himself said on Nov. 16:

France being isolated—for she is isolated—is in a different position from America, Great Britain and Japan in the limitation of naval armaments. * * * France is not in such a relation to Germany. Consequently France is bound to make such provision for her security as seems to her sufficient. Germany is in a situation where she can with great rapidity mobilize five or six millions of men who have had service in her armies. We must be able to put

immediately into action a force adequate to delay or prevent rapid mobilization.

Admiral Kato's speech before the session of Nov. 16 showed similarly that, although Japan had subscribed "in principle" to the American proposals and was willing to agree to a "sweeping reduction" of naval armament, she would nevertheless insist on retaining a sufficient force for national security. The reaction in Japan to the whole proposal was, with few exceptions, favorable in the extreme, the prospect of a lightening of taxes being welcomed by all classes.

The Japanese delegates received China's ten demands with apparent composure, but Dr. H. Shimomura, Director of the Osaka-Asahi Shimbun, called these demands a second "bomb-shell," the full effect of which would be that any "foreign rights, any foreign interests on or in Manchuria, Wei-hai-Wei, Kiao-Chau, Indo-China or Hongkong would be scrapped, and China would be freed from what they call the foreign yoke." The attitude of China toward the conference was one of determination to secure to the full her national rights. Mr. P. Y. Chien, representative of the Social Welfare, published in Tientsin and Peking, wrote on Nov. 16:

The Chinese delegates came with the whole nation at their back, to fight not against one or a number of foreign powers, but for principles, long established, generally recognized, but never carried out and once more undermined by the Versailles Treaty. Those principles foreshadow the peace of the Pacific and the destiny of the world. To uplift them by preserving the integrity and sovereignty of China is, besides preventing the dangerous aggrandizement of a certain empire to the detriment of the whole world, to preserve the peace of the world and to prevent the repetition of war.

JAPAN WANTS MORE SHIPS

Japanese opposition to the five-five-three ratio of capital ships took definite form on Nov. 17 when Baron Tomosaburo Kato, the Japanese Minister of Marine, who was the spokesman for his delegation, called together the press representatives and issued this statement:

Because of her geographical position, Japan deems it only fair at the present time that the other interested countries should agree that she maintain a proportion in general tonnage slightly greater than 60 per cent., and, in a type of vessel of strictly defensive character, she might desire even to approximate that of the greater navies.

Inquiries as to the exact meaning of this statement brought out the fact that instead of the 60 per cent. ratio of capital ships allowed by the Hughes program, Japan desired something more like 70 per cent. Baron Kato also indicated that he had light cruisers in mind when he referred to "a type of vessel of strictly defensive character," which he thought Japan should possess to an extent approximately as great as that of America and Great Britain. It was made known the next day that the American delegation was opposed to any such modification of the program, and that the British would support the Americans. The British delegates also made it plain that before they signed a tripartite agreement on naval limitation they desired a provision for the limitation of the navies of France and Italy.

Great Britain's sincerity in accepting the Hughes program in principle was indicated in a practical way on Nov. 18 when the Admiralty announced that it had notified the Clyde contractors to suspend all work on the four new capital ships of the super-Hood type, which had been authorized by Parliament, and on which work had been begun two weeks before. These four battleships were to have cost \$160,000,000. While the canceling of the contracts meant some relief for the British taxpayer, it also meant the canceling of work and wages for 4,000 men and 200 firms.

The subcommittee on Far Eastern questions met on the morning of Nov. 17 and decided to recommend to the full committee a general discussion of China's ten principles jointly with a general consideration of the American agenda. The meeting of the full committee, however, was postponed for two days at the request of Japan.

Following is the communique that was issued:

A meeting was held this morning at the Pan-American Building of the subcommittee appointed to outline a course of procedure for the discussion of the Pacific and Far Eastern questions on the part of the full committee of the delegates appointed by the conference to deal with these subjects.

The subcommittee, consisting of the heads of the delegations of the powers, decided to recommend that at a meeting of the full committee of the delegates there should be first an opportunity for a general discussion of the questions relating to China and then there should be a discussion of the various particular topics in the order listed in the tentative agenda which had been submitted by the American Government, with a consideration of the proposals submitted on behalf of the Chinese delegation in connection with the appropriate heads to which the several proposals relate.

The subcommittee then adjourned. The full committee is to be convened at a time found to be convenient for the members of the delegations.

RESPONSES TO THE CHINESE DEMANDS

The conference reassembled Nov. 19 as a committee on Far Eastern Affairs to receive the statements of the heads of the various delegations in response to the demands of the Chinese delegates, which were previously presented and are printed on full. The following was the official communique of the proceedings:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions held its second meeting in the Columbus Room of the Pan-American Building this morning at 11 o'clock. All plenipotentiary delegates were present, excepting Baron Shidehara for Japan, Ambassador Jusserand for France, and Mr. Meda for Italy.

Admiral Baron Kato, on behalf of Japan, made the following statement:

1—It seems to the Japanese delegation that existing difficulties in China lie no less in her domestic situation than in her external relations. We are anxious to see peace and unity re-established at the earliest possible moment, but we want to avoid all action that may be construed as an intervention in the internal affairs of China. All that this conference can achieve is, it seems to us, to adjust China's foreign relations, leaving her domestic situation to be worked out by the Chinese themselves.

2—The Japanese delegation wishes to assure the Chinese delegation and the whole conference that Japan has every desire to cultivate the happiest relations with China. We are solicitous of making whatever contributions we are capable of toward China's realization of her just and legitimate aspirations. We are entirely uninfluenced by any policy of territorial aggrandizement in any part of China. We adhere without condition or reservation to the principle of "The Open Door and Equal Opportunity" in China. We look to China in particular for the supply of raw materials essential to our industrial life and for foodstuffs as well. In the purchase of such materials from China, as in all our trade relations with that country, we do not claim any special rights or privileges and we welcome fair and honest competition with all nations.

With regard to the question of abolition of extraterritoriality, which is perhaps one of the most important questions proposed by the Chinese delegation, it is our intention to join with other delegations in the endeavor to come to an arrangement in a manner fair and satisfactory to all parties.

We have come to this conference, not to advance our own selfish interests; we have come to co-operate with all nations interested for the purpose of assuring peace in the Far East and friendship among nations.

3—The Japanese delegation understands that the principal object of the conference is to establish in common accord policies and principles which are to guide the future actions of the nations here represented. Although we are ready to explain or discuss any problem which in the wisdom of the conference is taken up, we should regret undue protraction of the discussions by detailed examination of innumerable minor matters.

Baron de Cartier, speaking for Belgium, Mr. Balfour for the British Empire, and Senator Schanzer for Italy, then made the statements that follow:

Baron de Cartier, Belgium:

I believe it advisable to briefly point to the spirit in which Belgium takes up the examination of the questions relating to the Far East.

She is happy to subscribe to the noble sentiments that inspired the words of the Secretary of State at the opening session of the work of our committee.

In so far as China is concerned, my country has for many years maintained important relations with her, and has been among the first to contribute to the development of the natural resources of China through the large part she has taken in the construction of its railroad system. It has

also established there industrial and financial enterprises of importance.

The personal experience that I have been able to acquire through sojourns in China during the last twenty-five years, the evidences of the progress that she has made during that period, the manner in which she has been able to overcome her internal crises, inspire me with great confidence for her future.

Belgium will take part willingly in all the measures that this conference may adopt to insure the territorial integrity of China, and to furnish her with the means to overcome her present difficulties. She is convinced that the support of the action of the Government is the necessary condition of all progress, and of the fruitful application of such rules as this conference might lay down in accord with the Government of the Chinese Republic.

Belgium will unreservedly favor the policy of the open door. She desires to see assured to the industry and commerce of all the nations the possibility of sharing on a footing of complete and genuine equality the development of the resources of China to the greatest benefit of the Chinese people and of all humanity.

She has heard with satisfaction the statement of the representatives of the Chinese Republic that that country is ready to apply the policy of commercial liberty in all parts of its territory without exception. This commercial liberty will not produce its full effect unless the nationals of the powers obtain the rights and privileges which are a necessary condition of the full development of economic interests.

Belgium, in accord with the powers concerned, is ready to consent to a fair increase in the customs duties.

She will align herself willingly on the side of the countries which are disposed to accept the gradual abandonment of their rights of jurisdiction as soon as the Chinese Government shall have completed the work that it has undertaken and shall be in a position to give assurance of the many guarantees that the proper administration of justice demands.

GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. Balfour's statement:

Mr. Balfour said that he thought it unnecessary to add one word to what had been said by his colleagues in regard to the question of a general order, which had been raised. His reason for saying this was that he had nothing to add to the frequent declarations of the Government he had the honor to represent on all these questions; for example, the "open door" in China, the integrity of China and the desirability of leaving China to work out its own salvation and to maintain control over its own affairs, and of substituting, when circum-

stances warranted, the normal processes of law for extraterritoriality. All these principles had been formulated over and over again in explicit terms by the Government which he represented.

ITALY

Senator Schanzer's statement:

I have the honor to state in the name of the Italian delegation that we fully subscribe to the noble sentiments that have been expressed by the orators who have preceded me. The Italian delegation is ready to examine, together with the other delegations, with the greatest care and in a spirit of sincere sympathy, the questions relating to China. It will give its support to the solutions that shall appear to be best suited to assure the free development of China and to guarantee an equality in footing of the different nations in their efforts to promote the progress of China and of commerce with that country.

FRANCE

M. Briand expressed the warm sympathy that France feels for China, with which she has a common frontier about 1,500 kilometers long. The French delegation is disposed to consider in the most favorable light the Chinese claims in their entirety. But in order to reach a practical result it will be necessary to make a thorough examination of each claim.

HOLLAND

Jonkheer van Karnebeek remarked that, in the present phase of the discussion, there is not much for him to say of a general character and at the same time of material importance.

He wished, however, to seize this occasion to say, as the representative of one of China's neighbors, that the Netherlands delegation will be happy to consider the principles which China has laid down and the problems themselves from the standpoint of the world's general welfare, and to examine them in a spirit of sympathy and friendship toward China. Holland, Jonkheer van Karnebeek said, has old friends along the shores of the Pacific; China knows that it is one of them.

If China avails herself of the opportunity now afforded by this conference to assert her rights, to declare her position and to define her wishes, she may count on Holland's good-will and its willingness to aid her in the realization of legitimate

aspirations and in her endeavors toward a consolidation and stabilization of her domestic affairs which are connected with the problem affecting the Pacific.

PORTUGAL

Viscount d'Alte said that the Portuguese delegation saw with pleasure that the delegates of the other nations represented at the conference had expressed nearly identical views as to the desirability, in the interests of all, of a prosperous and united China. He gladly associated himself with his colleagues in the expression of this desire.

Mr. Sze expressed on behalf of the Chinese delegation his sincere appreciation for the united sympathy and friendship of the delegations here for China and her proposals. Of course, many of the proposals will be considered in connection with their applications. He would desire to reserve to the Chinese delegation the right of discussing them in detail then. But he was sure that the friendly sentiments as expressed and the general spirit of accord thereby presented would be greatly conducive to the success of this conference.

After a general discussion the meeting adjourned until Monday, Nov. 21, at 4 P. M.

DR. KOO CONSULTS MR. ROOT

After the committee adjourned Dr. Koo went directly to the offices in the Navy Building and held a conference of more than half an hour with Elihu Root. Mr. Root said later that Dr. Koo had explained in detail the situation with regard to China.

In response to questions concerning how far the ten points presented by China several days ago represented the American policy with regard to China, Mr. Root said that some of the ten points were well recognized as American policy, some of them were new and had never brought forth an expression, and others would be subject to a technical exposition. It was understood that some of the latter points formed the subject of Dr. Koo's meeting with Mr. Root.

Great Britain is officially on record as willing to abandon spheres of in-

fluence and exclusive territorial privileges in China. Attention was directed by the British spokesman to a statement made in the House of Commons by Under Secretary Harmsworth of the Foreign Office in the following language: "The policy of spheres of influence in China has been superseded by one of international co-operation, and the further development of this policy will no doubt form one of the subjects of discussion at Washington." This formal statement is regarded by the British delegates as of the utmost importance in its bearing upon the proceedings of the conference.

SESSION OF NOV. 21

The open plenary session of the conference held on Nov. 21 was devoted to a discussion of the attitude of France in respect to the size of her army. Premier Briand delivered a notable address, full of stirring eloquence and forceful logic, in which he elaborated the position of his country and the necessity of making provision against a hostile Germany. At the conclusion of his address the chief delegates of each of the powers replied in terms which were tantamount to a pledge that France would not be isolated if she were again attacked—that in such event her former allies were ready to give her not only their sympathy but their material aid. Mr. Briand announced in the course of his address that the term of service in the French Army would be cut in two, thus reducing the army to one-half its present size.

Secretary Hughes opened the session with this statement:

It is a pleasure to be able to state that gratifying progress has been made in the work of the conference. The proposals of the American Government with respect to the limitation of naval armament have been under consideration by the committee of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five powers, and, aided by a subcommittee of naval experts, that matter is progressing favorably.

You will recall the appointment of a committee consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the nine powers to consider questions relating to the Pacific and the Far East. In the course of the delibera-

tions of that committee most important declarations have been made on behalf of the represented countries, and while there is nothing at the moment to report to the plenary session with respect to either of these topics, I think I am justified in saying that our expectations with respect to the expedition and thoroughness of our consideration on these matters have already been more than realized.

There remains another subject which so far has not engaged our attention, and that is the subject of land armament or military forces.

So far as the army of the United States is concerned, no question is presented. It has always been the policy of the United States (it is its traditional policy) to have the regular military establishments upon the smallest possible basis. At the time of the armistice there were in the field and in training in the American Army upward of 4,200,000 men. At once, upon the signing of the armistice, demobilization began and it was practically completed in the course of the following year, and today our regular establishment numbers less than 160,000 men.

While, however, we have this gratifying condition with respect to the military forces in the United States, we fully recognize the special difficulties that exist with respect to military forces abroad. We fully understand the apprehensions that exist, their bases and also the essential conditions of national security which must appeal to all the powers that are here represented.

It is regarded as fitting at this time that there should be the freest opportunity for the presentation of views upon this subject of land armament or military forces by the delegates present, and it is the wish of all delegates that full explanation of all the conditions that bear upon the matter should be had, and that all the delegates of the Governments represented here should have opportunity to present fully the matters which they think should be understood by the conference and the world.

BRIAND'S ADDRESS ON LAND ARMAMENTS

Premier Briand then followed with his address. It was delivered in French by sections, each portion being translated into English as he proceeded. It created a profound impression. The address in full is as follows:

Gentlemen, you will readily admit that I, as a delegate of France, should feel moved when rising to speak from this full-sounding platform, whence every word that is said goes to the attentive and anxious ear of the world and of all civilized people.

I wish, first of all; to thank my colleagues of the conference who, on the opening of this public meeting, so kindly allowed me to speak as the representative of my country.

I shall endeavor to make it appear to your eyes and to the eyes of the world with its true genuine face, as it is; that will show you that she is ready, and I might say perhaps more ready than any other country, to direct her attention and her earnest will to whatever steps may be thought desirable in order to insure final peace for the world. Nothing for my colleagues and myself would be more pleasant than to be about to tell you this: We bring here sacrifices to the fullest extent possible. We have our own security insured. We lay down arms.

We should be so happy to be able to make that gesture in order to participate in the final disarmament of the world.

Unfortunately, we cannot speak in this way. I say also, unfortunately, we have not the right to do so. I shall briefly explain later on for what reasons. I shall tell you, for France, that she wants to make peace. If you want to make peace there must be two people, yourself and the neighbor opposite. To make peace—I am speaking, of course, of land armament—it is not sufficient to reduce effectives and decrease war material. That is the physical side, a physical aspect of things.

WANTS MORAL DISARMAMENT

There is another consideration which we have no right to neglect in such a problem that touches vital questions which are of the most serious character for the country concerned. It is necessary that besides this physical disarmament there should be in those same circles what I shall call a general atmosphere of peace. In other words, a moral disarmament is as necessary as the material one.

I have the right to say this, and I hope to be able to prove it to you. And I have the right to say to you that in Europe, as it is at present, there are serious elements of instability, there are such conditions prevailing that France is obliged to face them and to contemplate the necessary matters from the point of view of her own security.

I am now staying in a country many of the men of which have already enjoyed the opportunity of seeing France and knowing exactly what she is. They came to us in the most critical time of the war. They came and shed their blood—mingled their blood—with ours, and they shared our life, and they have seen France and they know what France is. And certainly these men have contributed to enlighten their own countrymen, and they have done everything to dispel and drive away those noxious gases which have been spread about and under which certain people have been trying to mask and to conceal the true face of France.

Here in this country you are living among States which do not know the entangled barriers and frontiers of Europe. Here you live in an immense expanse of space. You do not know any factions in your own land. You have nothing to fear. So that it is rather difficult for some of you—it must be difficult for some of you—to realize what are the conditions at present prevailing in Europe, after war and after victory.

I quite admit that every citizen of the United States might come and tell me this: "The war is won. Peace is signed. Germany has reduced her army to a great extent. Most of her war material has been destroyed. What is it that prevents peace from now reigning in Europe? Why is it that France keeps such a considerable army, abundantly provided with war material?"

SPURNS SUSPICION OF FRANCE

Of course, in saying this only certain people have got something at the back of their minds. They suggest that France also has some hidden thought—some hidden design. It has been said that France wanted to install in Europe a sort of military supremacy, and that after all she wanted to do so simply to take the place Germany occupied before the war.

Gentlemen, perhaps this is the most painful, heartrending and cruel thing that a Frenchman can hear.

And for them to say it, after the direful war from which we have just emerged—unprovoked war which we had to undergo—to be again in the cruel necessity to give to the world only the appearance that we have perfidious intentions and military design—this, gentlemen, constitutes I may say the most disheartening thing for us.

If we had not the full confidence of those that know my country, those that have seen it—they can testify that not one word of it is true. If there is a country that has deliberately turned her steps toward peace, that wants peace with all her heart, believes in it with her entire faith—if there is a country that does this, gentlemen, it is France.

Since the armistice we have had many disappointments. France has had to wait for certain realizations which she has not been able to get. She has seen Germany digress—haggle over the signature which had been given. Germany has refused to stand by her pledged word. She has refused to pay compensation due for the devastated regions. She has declined to make the gesture of chastisement that after all, every man of sense would expect after the horrors that we have witnessed. Germany has refused to disarm.

At that time France was strong and Germany could not resist. Public opinion in France was naturally impatient, while under this provocation France remained per-

fectly cool. There was not one gesture on her part to aggravate the situation. I may say here emphatically in the face of the world, we have no hatred in our hearts, and France will do everything she can. She will use every means to prevent between Germany and herself a recurrence of these bloody conflicts. She wishes for nothing else but that the two peoples should be able to live side by side in the normal conditions of peace.

But after all we have no right to forget. We have no right to abandon ourselves. We have no right to weaken our position; and were it only because we must avoid giving rise in the bosom that would only be ready to take advantage of it, to give rise to certain hopes that would be encouraged by our weakness.

PART OF GERMANY WARLIKE STILL

Gentlemen, I spoke a few moments ago of the moral aspect of disarmament, and I referred in my remarks to Germany. I do not want to be unjust; nothing is further from my mind. But we know there is in Germany—there is one part of Germany that is for peace. There are many people, especially among the working classes, who want to work, who have had enough of this war, who have had enough of war altogether and are most anxious to settle down in peace, and also to set to work. We shall do everything to help that Germany, and if she wants to restore her balance in the bosom of a pacific republic and democratic institutions, then we can help her, and we shall all be able to contemplate the future with feelings of security.

But, gentlemen, there is another Germany, a Germany which has not changed her mind and to which the last war has taught no lesson. That Germany keeps thoughts in the back of her mind; she has the same designs which she entertained before the war; she has kept the same pre-occupations and she cherishes the same ambitions as the Hohenzollerns did. And how can we close our eyes to this? How can we ignore this state of things? This, gentlemen, is happening at our very doors; we have only got to look. This is happening but a few miles from us, and we follow the thoughts of the Germans, or certain Germans, and the evolution which is taking place. And more than that, we have witnessed certain attempts to return to the old state of things.

Nobody could be mistaken about the real bearing of what was called the Kapp Putsch. We know very well that if it had succeeded Germany would have returned to her pre-war state, and we do not know what might have happened—or rather we know too well what would have been the consequences of such a state of things.

READS FROM LUDENDORFF BOOK

Gentlemen, a volume has been published by no less a man than Field Marshal Lu-

dendorff, who still enjoys great authority in many German circles, and who is followed by a great part of the élite in Germany—professors, philosophers, writers, &c. What do we read in this book? Gentlemen, I should not like to make too many quotations. I should not like to prolong this speech, and perhaps draw too much of your attention, but this is part of my brief, and if you are, like me, convinced that the moral element is of the utmost importance, you will allow me to read just two or three passages. This is the first quotation:

"It is necessary that we should learn to understand that we live in a warlike time; that struggle will remain forever, for the single individual as for the State, a natural phenomenon; and that the struggle is equally on the divine order in the world."

In the same book Marshal Ludendorff produces these terrible words of von Moltke on the 11th of December, 1919:

"Eternal peace is a dream. It is not even a beautiful dream, and war is one of the parts of the order of the world, such as it has been created by God. It is by war that are developed the noblest virtues of man, courage, disinterestedness, devotion to duty and the spirit of sacrifice, up to the abandonment of one's own life. Without war the world would sink in the morass of materialism."

And further—this is Marshal Ludendorff himself speaking now:

"It is for the political education of the German people, and it is an indispensable notion with the knowledge of this fact, that in the future war will be the last and the only decisive means of policy; that thought, completed by the virile life of war, the Entente shall not be able to forbid the German people to entertain, although they are trying to take it away from us. War is the cornerstone of all intelligent policy. It is the cornerstone of every form of future even, and chiefly of the future of the German people."

And, lastly, Marshal Ludendorff says this:

"The warlike qualities of the Prussian and German army have been put to the proof on the bloody battlefields. The German people need no other qualities for their moral renovation. The spirit of the former army must be the germ which will allow this renovation to take place."

Such, gentlemen, are the words used by the highest German authorities who have preserved—and I can quite understand it, the full part, the great part at least—of the confidence of the German people, and that is what we are listening to now. After a war that has caused the death of millions of men, after the sore wounds that have been inflicted and that are still bleeding in the sides of the countries of Europe, that is the sort of thing that is being taught at the very door of France. How can you expect that France should close her eyes to such words?

GERMANY'S POTENTIAL SOLDIERS

RECOGNIZES WIRTH'S GOOD-WILL

I now come to the physical aspects of disarmament. I can quite understand that somebody might say it is not sufficient to harbor evil designs, to make war one must have appropriate means, because when it is a question of war enormous effectives are necessary; you must have the officers and noncommissioned officers, you must have plentiful material—rifles, guns, machine guns, artillery, &c.—and Germany has no longer any of these.

Germany, from the point of view of effectives, just emerging from the war, from a war where her men have been fighting for four years—and I should be the last to underestimate the valor of her soldiers—our soldiers have had to face and to fight the German soldiers, and they know to what point the German soldier is able to carry his heroism; but Germany, just issuing from the war, still has 7,000,000 men who have fought through and survived the war. Of course you will say they are not actually serving under the flag; they are not living in barracks. Certainly. Have these men any officers and noncommissioned officers ready to be marshaled to the field? Is it possible to mobilize such an army tomorrow?

To this question I answer "Yes," and I am going to explain it. Since the war, since the moment peace was signed, Germany has constituted a force, a so-called police force, which was intended for the maintenance of public order. That force is called the Reichswehr. It is to include 100,000 men, and in fact does include 100,000 men. But what men? They are nearly all officers or noncommissioned officers. I mean, gentlemen, regulars, all having served in or having belonged to the old army. Therefore, the cadres are ready there; the officers and noncommissioned officers are ready to marshal the army of tomorrow.

And what is that army? Is it in conformity with the requirements of the peace treaty? Is it only for purposes of public order? No. There are a certain number of those of which I have to express the state of facts as they are.

According to secret instructions issued by the military authorities the Reichswehr is to prepare not only for police purposes, but also for war, and is to train for war, with the necessary rehearsals and manoeuvres.

There is something more. Germany has another denomination. There is another group called *Einwohnerwehr*. This group includes almost all the men of good-will who are ready to serve their country in time of need, and instead of using it only to preserve internal order, it might be used for other purposes.

The danger was so real that the Allies were obliged to send an ultimatum to Germany to demand that this force should be disarmed.

At another moment, under an organization called the *Orgesch*, which is the organization of war, the *Einwohnerwehr* acquired such strength and became such a threat that the Prime Minister of Bavaria, animated by a spirit of revolt, informed the world that he had at his disposal and he could raise in a short time an army of 300,000, plentifully provided with rifles, machine guns and artillery. Well, that force has been disorganized. The German Government has done its duty, and nobody more than myself is ready to recognize it.

It is only a duty on my part, a mere duty; a mere sense of fair play. I stated it in my own parliament. I am ready to recognize that the German chancellor, Chancellor Wirth, is a man of good-will, animated by fair purposes, loyal and frank, and that he has applied every endeavor, acting with no small merit on his part, in order to really realize a state of peace, and honor the signature of Germany.

But this Government in Germany is weak. It is being watched. Snares are laid in its path and it might fall at any moment. I may say that on our side we are ready to do everything in order to allow this great people to return to normal conditions of peace, and the German Government, as I said, dissolves the *Einwohnerwehr*.

There is something else, gentlemen. There is another force, which is called the *Sicherheits Politzei*. That is also a police force. It includes 150,000 men. These are enlisted men. The force is composed almost exclusively of regulars, officers, and noncommissioned officers or at least noncommissioned officers ready to undergo a new period of military service. We demand the dissolution of this force, but what happened? The *Sicherheits Politzei* disappeared, but another appeared in its place—*Schutz Politzei*; but it was just the same. That included 150,000 men. So that instead of its being a local police force, it became a general police force at the disposal of the Central Government that could be used anywhere on German territory; so that we come to a total of 250,000 men, and enough men that are real officers, ready to marshal the troops who are training to be ready instantly in case of war. These men are constantly watched by the Government.

The Government keeps them under its hand. These 7,000,000 men have not returned to civil life, to civil occupations entirely. They are grouped together, in this marvelously ingenious way which the German people always have when they want to achieve their purposes. They are called *Frei Corps*, or former combatants' associations, and what not. Any day, any anniversary—and Germans are rather fond of anniversaries—is favorable in order to convene these men and marshal them to see

that you have got them under your hand ready to do the work that is to be done.

MOBILIZATION FOR SILESIA

We are Frenchmen. We know this. It is happening at our door. And I will only give you an example to show you how rapidly these organizations might be put on a war footing. Just one second. When the Upper Silesian question reached a somewhat acute stage recently, within a few weeks, I might almost say within a few days, there were, out of these *Frei Corps* or other bodies, about 40,000 men ready with guns, machine guns, rifles, armored trains, and with most perfect military instruments, so that this force should have its full combatant value.

These are facts, gentlemen. I am not noticing them and bringing them here just to make my case better. They are facts that have been verified, and that everybody can ascertain for himself. Therefore, as a question of fact and from the point of view of effectives, Germany can rise in a few weeks, and perhaps almost in a few days, and can begin to raise her 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 men with their officers again and the noncommissioned officers are ready to do the work.

Now I must ask the great people of the United States, so fond of justice, so noble in their purposes, to answer me when I tell them this: Suppose by your side, oh, American people, a nation which has been for years and centuries in bloody conflict with you; and suppose that this nation, you feel, is still ready, morally and materially, to enter into a new struggle. What would you do?

Would you turn away your eyes? Would you close your eyes to a danger that was threatening you? You that are said to be such a positive, such a precise people, would you close your eyes? Would you not desire to do everything in your power in order to safeguard your life, and, what is more, your honor? Would you do anything to weaken yourselves? No. There is not one citizen in the whole United States who would not answer me: "No; never in the world."

France is looking upon what is happening. France does not exaggerate. She is only watching and waiting.

I now come to the question of war material. We have been told that there was no more war material. It is true; the commission of control in Germany have done admirable work. A great many guns—artillery, I mean—have been destroyed. Some of the destruction has been supervised by the allied officers. It is real.

Other destruction has taken place, as we have been told. We might have a doubt. We are not quite certain. But we must give the opponents the benefit of the doubt, and we believe the destruction on that side is practically completed.

WAR INDUSTRIES AVAILABLE

But the problem of war material is one that can easily be solved. You have seen, in the war, with what promptitude—and that was lucky, because if the help had not come so quickly we might have been down, finally—you have seen how quickly immense armies have come over to us, provided with the most modern material, and fought on our sides upon the battlefields.

Well, what is Germany but a vast country or industry—industrially organized? Germany always had two aims. The first was trade, commerce. And that is only natural. The second was war. All her industries, all her manufactures, have been working to the full during the war, and they have developed since.

Everything is ready in Germany. The plans, the designs and calibre. Everything is there ready to insure a steady manufacturing of guns, machine guns and rifles. Suppose that during a period of diplomatic tension, purposely protracted for a number of weeks, certain of the manufacturers, certain of the works, begin to fabricate, just at the beginning, just to start the war, just to set the war going, and then go on manufacturing guns and rifles and artillery; what would happen? It is not only in Germany that industry can work to the full. You can make preparations outside. In fact, preparations have actually taken place. In fact, great captains of industry or great industrial magnates have bought important firms in Scandinavia and in other parts of Europe.

It is easy enough to fabricate these guns without our seeing it, outside of our supervision. You know very well that it is possible to build great railroads. You know very well that it is impossible to bring here the proof that Germany is not actually making or purchasing war materials.

It is different from the navy. It is rather difficult to lay the keel of a ship in the stocks, to prepare the dockyards without the world knowing it. But suppose that was possible. Do you think you could launch a capital ship without somebody being on the spot and knowing what was happening? But the guns, the rifles, the machine guns—any instruments used on the field of battle—they can be manufactured and cannot be controlled with any measure of certainty.

Ah, gentlemen, this is not the first time in history that France has had to face a situation of this kind. We have known Prussia disarmed. And disarmed by whom? By Napoleon. Well, that Prussia, which seemed practically disarmed, which was harmless to all intents and purposes, we found her again on the battlefield and we were nearly bled white. How can we forget that?

"DIREFUL LESSON" REMAINS

Of course, we know what is often said of the French people. It is often said that

we are a frivolous nation and that naturally when the danger is passed we turn our minds to other things—just as befits a frivolous people. Evidently, gentlemen, we are not the sort of men to keep our eyes steadily fixed on whatever is sad and depressing.

We have not been doing that since the war, but we have been too deeply wounded, I might almost say murdered, to forget the direful lesson which has just been taught us. Gentlemen, there are too many homes in mourning in the country, there are too many men in the streets that are disabled and maimed. Even if we wanted to forget, we could not.

Therefore we have not the right and we do not intend to leave France defenseless. France must, to all intents and purposes, protect herself.

Such is the situation as far as we are concerned. You will grant me, gentlemen, that it is serious enough. But that is not all. What about the rest of Europe? Apparently Europe is at peace, although here and there on the ground certain volumes of smoke just arising seem to indicate that the fire is not extinguished everywhere. I might say that this fire is smoldering in certain parts of Europe, and if France had not had an army war would already have broken out in Europe again.

I will just draw your attention to one subject to which I may refer later on, and that is the subject of Russia. Russia is a country of 120,000,000 men, which is actually boiling over with anarchy. They have an enormous standing army, which is in theory 1,500,000 men, but which has a practical strength of 600,000 men. What will Russia do? Who can say what will happen on that side?

About a year and a half ago there was a wild rush of Russia on Europe. Russia tried to rush Poland, and through Poland to reach Germany, where some people were beckoning to her. Gentlemen, we had at that time terribly anxious hours in France. If the barrier had not held good, if that anarchic army had been able to join the people who were calling them on the other side, what would have happened? Where would France be, and where would the rest of Europe be? Happily, there was the French army, which was the soldier of order for its own account and for the sake of the world.

The situation in Russia is far from being settled. It is a sort of permanent anxiety to everybody. What will become of that enormous army? What could, or might, Germany do in order to equip Russia and exploit her? We know not. There are so many problems, economic, financial, &c., with which we have to deal that really, gentlemen, we do not know to which to turn, but the greatest problem of all, the greatest question, is life.

First of all we must be able to live. That is a sort of a question mark in France.

Thanks to our allies, to whom our gratitude will remain everlasting—thanks to their efforts we have been able altogether to insure the life, liberty and dignity of men, but, gentlemen, I trust you will certainly feel the weight of my argument and recognize that we are faced with a terribly serious situation.

When we say we contemplate a reduction of naval armaments, when we discuss it with ourselves, heart to heart, we could have nothing in our minds. We were speaking between friends. There is no threat of war; if there is any menace to peace it is so far distant that you can hardly conceive it, and yet you have not assumed the right of ignoring this danger altogether. You intend to keep your navies to the extent necessary to defend your liberties and insure your life.

FOR PEACE BUT NOT PERIL

If you do that, gentlemen, on the sea, what shall we do when the danger is there at our doors and hanging over our heads. I may say that I have always been in favor of peace; I have assumed power for the sake of peace in very difficult conditions. Where my country was feeling natural impatience at the state of things, I formally attached myself to the cause of peace. I fastened my heart on that noble task, and I may say that if ever peace is to be disturbed in the world, I shall not be the one to disturb it. But, gentlemen, precisely because I have urged everybody on the road of peace, because I have done everything in my power in order to obtain peace, I feel all the more the great weight of the responsibility which I have assumed, and if tomorrow, because I had been too optimistic, I saw my country again attacked, trampled under foot, bleeding because I had weakened her, gentlemen, I should be a most despicable traitor.

It is that situation which we have got to take into account, gentlemen, and the weight of the responsibilities with which we are burdened.

Only the other day the course of events turned in such a way that it certainly became acute, as you know, in Upper Silesia. I have already referred to this subject. Germany, which did not think the French people were ready to undertake a military operation, suddenly informed us that she was going to send the Reichswehr to the spot in Upper Silesia in order to preserve order.

These were momentous times for us, and although I have been through many critical times in my life, I may say that no hour was perhaps of more importance than that, and that I clearly and definitely made up my mind, and I told Germany that such a thing was not possible, and that if Germany undertook a thing of the sort she would have to bear the consequences and the language was understood.

But, gentlemen, if I had spoken without having the French army back of me, what would my words have availed? And if the event had actually taken place, what would have become of Europe itself? Europe is still in a troublous state. It is composed of young States, newly come to life. Who could say to what such conflict might have led?

That is the problem and that was the problem, and the struggle did not take place because it was felt that there was still a sufficient force in Europe and in France to preserve order.

Quite recently another attempt has been made, a certain attempt at the restoring of the old order of things in the centre of Europe, that might have set fire to the powder magazine again. Nothing happened because the Allies were in perfect understanding and the incident was peaceably settled.

Gentlemen, I give you these reflections for you to ponder over. You will see that there is nothing in that that would draw us aside from the path that leads to final peace. I apologize for having been with you so long and for having so trespassed upon your attention. Perhaps at another time the President will be less inclined to allow me to speak.

ARMY TO BE CUT BY HALF

The thought of reducing the armaments, which was the noble purpose of this conference, is not one from which we would feel disinterested from the point of view of land armaments. We have shown it already. Immediately after the armistice demobilization began, and demobilization began as rapidly and as completely as possible. According to the military laws of France there are to be three classes of men: that is, three generations of young men under the flag. That law is still extant; that law is still valid. It has not been abrogated yet, and the Government has taken the responsibility to reduce to two years the time spent under the flag, and instead of three classes—three generations of young men—we have only two undergoing military service.

It is, therefore, an immediate reduction by one-third that has already taken place in the effectives—and I am speaking of the normal effectives of the metropolis, leaving aside troops needed for colonial occupation or obligation imposed by treaty in the Rhineland or other countries and plebiscites.

We do not think that endeavor was sufficient, and in the future we have plans in order to restrict further the extent of our armies. In a few days it is certain that the proposals of the Government will be passed in the chamber, in order to reduce further the military service by half. That is to say, there will be only one class and a half actually serving. The metropolitan French army would be, therefore, reduced by half, but if anybody asks us to go fur-

ther, to consent to other reductions, I should have to answer clearly and definitely that it would be impossible for us to do it without exposing ourselves to a most serious danger.

You might possibly come and tell us "this danger that you are exposed to, we see it, we realize it and we are going to share it with you. We are going to offer you all means—put all means at your disposal in order to secure your safety."

Immediately, if we heard those words, of course, we would strike upon another plan. We should be only too pleased to demonstrate the sincerity of our purpose. But we understand the difficulties and the necessities of the statesmen of other countries. We understand the position of other peoples who have also to face difficult and troublous situations.

We are not selfish enough to ask other peoples to give a part of their sovereign national independence in order to turn it to our benefit and come to our help. We do not expect it; but here I am appealing to your consciences, if France is to remain alone, facing the situation such as I have described, and without any exaggeration—you must not deny her what she wants in order to insure her security. You must let her do what she has to do, if the need arises and if the time comes.

I should be the last one here to try to restrict the noble endeavors which are being made here in order to limit armament in the conference which has been convened, with such noble purposes in view; and I should like to be able to say that I foresee no limit, no restriction to your labors and to the results which you may achieve. Any question here can be debated and can be resolved upon, but I must draw your attention to one thing: moral disarmament of France would be very dangerous.

SHUNS MORAL ISOLATION

Allow me to say it will be most unjust. We do not enjoy the sufficient condition. We should be ready to do it, but the time has not come yet to give up our defense for the sake of final peace in Europe.

We have to know, however, that France is not morally isolated; that she still has with her the men of good-will, and the hearts of all people who have fought with her on the same battlefields. The true condition of a moral disarmament in Germany—I mean to say I am referring to these noxious elements of which I have already spoken—the true condition at this time of disarmament in Germany lies in the fact that it should be known over there that France is not alone, and then I feel quite sure that the poisonous propaganda of which I have spoken will simply run up dead against the wall; that it will not be able to go through, and that nobody anywhere will believe in it.

If those that still harbor evil designs know that, and if those that entertain

happy ideas of peace—this working class that wants to return to a normal state of peace—if it is known in Germany that France is not morally alone, peace will come back much quicker; and the words of anger, the words of revenge, will be simply preached in the wilderness. It will be impossible for Germany to reconstruct a defensive army, and she will be able to install democratic institutions, and then we can all hope for final conditions of peace.

Everything that France can do in this direction, she will do. In fact, she has already done much. She did not hesitate to open conversations with the German Government in order to settle this painful question of reparation for the devastated regions. Everything has been done and will be done in order to restore normal conditions, and the hour will come when everything will be settled, but the hour has not come yet.

If by direction given to the labors of the conference it were possible somewhere over there in Europe—if it were possible to say that the outcome of this conference is indirect blame and opprobrium cast upon France—if it were possible to point out France as the only country in the world that is still imperialistic, as the only country that opposes final disarmament, then, gentlemen, indeed this conference would have dealt us a severe blow; but I am quite sure that nothing is further from your minds and from your intentions.

If after listening to this argument, after weighing the reasons which you have just heard, you consider it then as valid, then, gentlemen, you will still be with us and you will agree with me and say that France cannot possibly do anything but what she has actually done.

MR. BALFOUR'S RESPONSE

At the close of M. Briand's address the leaders of each of the powers followed with brief speeches pledging sympathy and aid to France in certain eventualities. Mr. Balfour first spoke for Great Britain, saying:

Mr. Chairman:—Evidently this is not a fitting moment to deal at length or in detail with the great speech which has just come to its conclusion. It has been your privilege, and my privilege, to hear one of the great masters of parliamentary oratory. We have heard him with admiration, we have heard him with a full measure of sympathy; but we have done much more, I think, than merely been the auditors of a great artistic performance. We have heard something more than a great speech; we have heard a perfectly candid, perfectly lucid, perfectly unmistakable exposition of the inmost thoughts of the Prime Minister of our great ally.

He has told us, I believe without reserve, what are the anxieties, what are the pre-occupations, of the country over whose destinies he presides. He has told us what they fear and why they fear it. And nothing can be more useful, nothing can be more instructive to us of other nations, than to have this full revelation of the inner thoughts of one of our allied and associated statesmen.

We live under very different conditions from the French citizens, for whom M. Briand has so eloquently spoken. In the secure homes of America no terrors exist or can exist comparable to those which inevitably haunt the thoughts, waking and sleeping, of the leaders of French politics. For they have what neither you in America have nor we in England have. I do not venture to speak for the other nations represented around the table.

They have at their very doors the great country that was their enemy—great in spite of defeat, powerful in spite of losses; and of its policy, of the course which it means to pursue in the future, they necessarily remain in anxious doubt.

It is good for us all, I venture to say, from whatever nation we may be drawn, from whatever part of the great continent we come, that we should be initiated, as we have been initiated this morning, into the inner sanctuary of French policy.

It must be acknowledged, sorrowfully acknowledged, that the speech to which we have just listened is not hopeful for any immediate solution of the great problem of land armaments. And why is it—why is it that there is this great difference between land armaments and sea armaments? Why is it that we all here look forward with a confidence, which I think is not overrated, a serene confidence, to bringing about as a result of our deliberations some great measure, and under the guidance of the program laid before you by the United States Government? Why is it we are hopeful of coming to some solution of the great naval problem?

It is because, in the language of M. Briand, there has been, in matters maritime, a moral disarmament, and it is on the basis of the moral disarmament that the physical and material disarmament is going to be built. That is why we are hopeful about the naval question.

And why are we less hopeful about at least any immediate settlement of the military questions? It is because, as M. Briand has explained to you, in that case there has not been moral disarmament, because we have no assurance, or because the French Government, who watch these things closely, have no assurance either in Russia or in Germany that moral disarmament has made the degree of progress which would make material disarmament an immediate possibility.

I do not venture to offer an opinion of my own upon this question. I leave you to judge of the facts, as they have been expounded by one who has profoundly studied them and whose gifts of exposition cannot be excelled.

Only this I would say, for I need hardly tell you that I am not going to make a speech: M. Briand appears to have some fears lest France should feel herself in moral isolation. That would be a tragedy, indeed.

That the liberties of Europe and the world in general, and of France in particular, should be maintained and guarded against the dominating policy of her Eastern neighbor is the cause for which the British Empire fought and in which the British Empire still believes. Killed on the field of battle, we lost nearly a million men. I am talking of the British Empire now. We lost nearly a million men. We lost well over two million men in addition, maimed and wounded.

We grieve over the sacrifice; we do not repent it. And if the cause of international liberty was worthy of this immense sacrifice from one of the allied powers—I speak not of others, it is not my right to speak for them—if it deserved and required this sacrifice from one of the allied and associated powers, and if we at all events have not changed our views, either as to the righteousness of the war or as to its necessity, how can it be otherwise than that if a similar necessity should again arise, if again the lust of domination, which has been the curse of Europe for so many generations, should threaten the peace, the independence, the self-development of our neighbors and allies, how should it be possible that the sympathies, once so warm, should become refrigerated, should become cold, and that we who had done so much for the great cause of international liberty, should see that cause perish before our eyes rather than make further sacrifices in its defense?

Those are the thoughts which rise in my mind after hearing the great speech of M. Briand. I should only be interfering, I should only be weakening, its effect, were I to dwell further upon it, and I will content myself, therefore, with thanking M. Briand for the admirable and candid account which he has given of the policy of his country, and wishing him and his country every success and every forward step in that path of unaggressive prosperity which I hope and believe they are now entering.

SENATOR SCHANZER'S SPEECH

Signor Carlo Schanzer then spoke for Italy, as follows:

Gentlemen: I am going to use the French language because I wish that the thought of the Italian delegation should arrive direct, and without the short delay of trans-

lation, direct to the French delegation across the table.

Gentlemen, we have listened with almost religious silence to the magnificent speech which M. Briand has delivered with warm eloquence to explain the position of France and the French point of view.

We are united to France, certainly, not only by the bonds of affinity and common race, but also by the brotherhood in art, by the fraternity of a long and glorious war which received a new and unforgettable consecration when the two peoples fought together on the same battlefields for the sacred defense of national liberty and for the cause of justice.

We listened with the greatest attention to the figures and documents quoted by M. Briand, and we found with great pleasure that France, in spite of the great difficulties, and within the limits of probability, was ready to contemplate the principle of limitation of land armament.

It is far from my mind to discuss what France considers indispensable for her national safety. That safety is as dear to us as it may be to them, and we are still morally by the side of our allies of yesterday and our friends of today.

I wanted to say this only: may I be allowed to express the wish and the hope that the general limitation of land armament may become a reality within the shortest possible space of time? Italy has fought the war for the highest aims which a country can seek, but Italy is in her soul a peace-loving nation. I shall not repeat what I had the honor to state at the first meeting of the conference, but I should like to emphasize again that Italy is one of the surest factors of the world's peace; that she has no reason whatsoever of conflict with any other country; that she is following and putting constantly into action a policy inspired by the principle of maintaining peace among all nations.

Italy has succeeded in coming to a direct understanding with the Serb, Croat and Slovene people, and in order to attain such an end has made considerable sacrifices for the interest of the peace of Europe. Italy has pursued toward the successor countries to her former enemies a policy not only of pacification, but of assistance, and when a conflict arose between Austria and Hungary, a conflict which might have dragged into war the Danubian peoples, offered to the two countries in conflict her friendly help in order to settle the dispute. Italy has succeeded and in so doing has actively contributed to the peace of Europe.

Moreover, Italy has acted similarly within her own frontiers and has reduced her armed forces in the largest possible measure. She has considerably curtailed her navy expenditures in comparison to the pre-war time. The total amount of her armed forces does not exceed 200,000 men, and a further reduction to 175,000 men is already planned, and 35,000 colored troops.

Our ordinary war budget for the present financial year amounts to \$52,000,000, including \$11,000,000 expenses for police forces; the extraordinary part of the war budget, representing expenses dependent for the liquidation of the war, expenses therefore of a purely transitory character, amounts to \$62,000,000.

However, although we have all reduced our armaments to the greatest possible extent, we consider it necessary, for a complete solution of the problem of limitation of armament in Europe, to take into consideration the armaments of the countries either created or transformed as a result of the war. The problem is not a simple one. It must be considered as a whole. It is a serious and urgent problem, for which a solution at no far distant day is necessary.

Gentlemen, I trust I have said all that is necessary to explain the Italian point of view. The United States in calling this conference has taken a great and noble initiative, with the aim of creating sound guarantees for the safeguarding of the peace of the world.

In conclusion, may I express the desire and the hope that the conference, while taking into account the present difficulties, should give attention also to the problem of the limitation of land armaments, the solution of which is an essential condition for promoting throughout the world that atmosphere of peace which M. Briand has so clearly explained and without which it would be hopeless to anticipate that the economic and social reconstruction of the nations which have suffered most severely during and after the war may be fulfilled?

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE

Baron Kato expressed Japan's sympathy for France in words that were translated as follows:

It is needless for me to assure M. Briand that Japan has nothing but a most profound sympathy for the peculiarly difficult position which has been so clearly and so eloquently presented to us this morning. May I venture also to add Japan's appreciation of and sympathies for the great sacrifices in men and wealth made by France, the British Empire, Italy and the United States in the great war for the cause of peace, justice and harmony?

I would like to say this morning just a few words on land armament limitation. Japan is quite ready to announce her hearty approval of the principle which aims to relieve a people of heavy burdens by limiting land armaments to those which are necessary for national security and the maintenance of order within the territory.

The size of the land armaments of each State should be determined by its peculiar geographical situation and other circumstances, and these basic factors are so divergent and complicated that an effort to

draw final comparisons is hardly possible. If I may venture to say it, it is not an easy task to lay down a general scheme for the limitation of land armaments, as in the case of limitation of naval armaments. Nevertheless, Japan has not the slightest intention of maintaining land armaments which are in excess of those which are absolutely necessary for purely defensive purposes, necessitated by the Far Eastern situation.

BELGIUM'S POINT OF VIEW

Baron de Cartier de Marchienne spoke thus for Belgium:

Mr. President: Being still under the spell of the thrilling and convincing speech delivered by M. Briand, I would just like to state briefly the point of view of Belgium on the question of limitation of land armaments.

Belgium, trusting in the undertaking given by the powers that guaranteed her neutrality, remained for three-quarters of a century faithful to a policy of peace and limitation of armament. The tragical events of 1914 were for her a terrible awakener. While she was aspiring to nothing but peace, while she was only anxious to accomplish her duties as a neutral State, war was carried on her own territory by the two powers that had not only taken the engagements with regard to neutrality, but had pledged themselves to see that neutrality should be respected.

Devastation, fire, wanton devastation of her industries, murdering and wounding of her inhabitants, deportation of civilian population, heavy losses in her armies, were the reward of her peaceful policy and of the fulfillment of her international obligations.

The Treaty of Versailles put an end to this régime, which events had proved to be worthless and dangerous for her. Owing to her special geographical position and to her situation, Belgium is forced to remain in a certain position, and in 1920 she concluded with France a military agreement purely for defensive purposes, and in case of new, unprovoked aggression on the part of Germany. She keeps her army down to a level that is strictly consistent with the requirements of her national security and she could not possibly proceed to a further reduction of her armament. And yet there is perhaps no State that is more sincerely peace loving. We have no hatred whatever, and we do not want to see war, which has inflicted such painful sufferings upon us.

If I may refer to the words which King Albert of the Belgians, in his message to President Harding, used, I will say that the Belgian Nation calls with her earnest wishes for the moment where the general situation will allow us to enter upon the path of limitation of armaments. She admires the initiative taken by the Government of the United States and wishes every

success to the conference for the greater benefit of the whole world.

AMERICA'S FRIENDSHIP

Secretary Hughes closed the session with this sympathetic comment on the situation of France:

I shall detain you, gentlemen, but a moment. It would not do justice to my own sentiment or to that of my colleagues of the American delegation if I did not, in a word, take part in this expression of the sense of privilege which has been felt in listening to this brilliant, eloquent, comprehensive and instructive address stating the position and policy of France.

No words ever spoken by France have fallen upon deaf ears in the United States. The heart of America was thrilled by her valor and her sacrifice, and the memory of her stand for liberty is imperishable in this country, devoted to the institutions of liberty.

It is evident from what M. Briand has said that what is essential at this time, in order that we may achieve the great ideal, is the will to peace. And there can be no hope of a will to peace until institutions of liberty and justice are secure among all peace-loving people.

May I say, in response to a word which challenged us all as it was uttered by M. Briand, that there is no moral isolation for the defenders of liberty and justice? We understand the difficulties; what has been said will be read throughout this broad land by a people that desires to understand.

The essential condition of progress toward a mutual understanding and a maintenance of the peace of the world is that we should know exactly the difficulties which each nation has to consider, that we should be able justly to appraise them, that we should have the most candid and complete statement of all that is involved in them, and then, with that full appreciation of the apprehensions, of the dangers, of all that may create obstacles in the path of the policy that we are most anxious to pursue, we should then plan to meet the case to the utmost practicable extent; and thus the will to peace may have effective expression.

We cannot go into a statement of detail now. Apparently the conference is so organized that this matter may have an appropriate place in our discussion. We cannot foresee at the moment what practical measures may be available, but the expressions that we have heard from the representatives of the powers engaged in this conference make us confident that here will be generated that disposition which is essential to national security, the final assurance of security which armies and officers and men and material can never supply, that is, the disposition of a world conscious of its mutual interests and of the dependence upon the fact that if they desire,

most ardently and wholly desire it, peace will be enduring among our people.

Is it the desire of the delegates that the matters suggested by the addresses that have been made and the subject itself of land armament should now be committed for the consideration of the Committee on Armament, consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five powers? Assent is manifested, and it will be so ordered.

Is it now in accordance with your wish that we should adjourn subject to the call of the Chair?

Adjourned.

SOLVING THE CHINESE PROBLEM

A meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was held Nov. 21, when resolutions were unanimously adopted which, in the main, accept the ten principles formulated by China [see page xxviii.] and are believed to point out the way to a definite solution of the whole Pacific problem. The resolutions, which were drawn by Elihu Root on behalf of the American delegation, are as follows:

It is the firm intention of the powers attending this conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

China did not participate in the adoption of the Root resolutions because they represent the attitude of the powers toward herself. Her delegates regard them as a step nearer the realization of the doctrines included in the ten principles submitted by the Chinese delegation.

The two features of the declaration attracting widest attention were the clause approving "administrative in-

tegrity" for China and that under which the powers agreed not to seek "special rights" within Chinese territory. Previous declarations of policy regarding Chinese integrity have stopped with "territorial integrity," commonly construed as a much narrower term than "administrative integrity." The "special rights" agreement was considered generally a direct contravention of the policy of "spheres of influence."

The formula adopted differs essentially in its wording from what the Chinese asked. It deals broadly with "China" rather than with the "Chinese Republic." To have adopted the first of the principles proposed by the Chinese would have pledged the eight powers to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the "Chinese Republic."

CHINESE QUESTION DISCUSSED

Discussion of the Chinese question occupied the full time of the Committee of the Whole on the Pacific questions of the conference, Nov. 22, when it was decided to appoint a subcommittee to study Chinese fiscal affairs. This committee is to consider China's proposal for restoration of tariff autonomy, which would remove the present restriction limiting to 5 per cent. the duty collectable on China's imports.

China's undertaking in Paragraph B of the first point in her set of principles, not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any power, was touched upon in a general way at the meeting, and it was understood that this would be one of the problems to be discussed at the next meeting. Shantung was not discussed, nor were Manchuria or Mongolia or any specific proposals other than fiscal. The territorial issue was greatly clarified at the meeting by a statement of Baron Kato that Japan regarded Manchuria as part of China.

The plea of China that the arrangement entered into in 1842—by which

China has ever since been prohibited from exacting more than a 5 per cent. duty on imports—so that China may increase her revenues, to a great extent was responsible for consideration of the tariff question. Chinese delegates represented that the lifting of existing restrictions by foreigners on her commerce would bring to her \$300,000,000 additional annually.

GERMANY ANSWERS BRIAND

Freiherr Edmund von Thermann arrived in Washington on Nov. 20 to prepare the new German Embassy, ultimately to become its counselor. Following the publication of Premier Briand's speech, Herr von Thermann, who at the time was speaking officially for the German people, announced himself through The United Press as, in accord with a public statement of Herr George Bernhard, editor in chief of the influential newspaper Vossische Zeitung, Berlin, who spoke as follows regarding the Briand address:

If the French people think it would be possible to avoid any danger of future war between France and Germany by our giving guarantees, the German Government, I believe, would be ready to give any further guarantees possible to any international tribunal as a sign of its good faith and peaceful intentions.

Herr von Thermann said he wanted to avoid anything that might be taken as "German propaganda" in America, and specifically wanted to steer clear of a controversy with M. Briand.

"Tell me, then, how Germany regards Ludendorff, quite apart from any remarks Briand made about him," the questioner asked.

"Ludendorff," Thermann replied, "has no influence upon the Government or on the people. He scarcely dares to go to Berlin; the fact that he sits in Bavaria writing books and has associations with some of the old clique is no sign that he is a factor today."

The German Government on Nov. 22 issued an official denial of M.

Briand's charges. The statement said:

M. Briand's assertion that the Reichswehr is composed exclusively of officers and non-commissioned officers of the old army is incorrect; on the contrary, the bulk of the Reichswehr is made up of youths between the ages of 19 and 21, recruited since the war.

The "Protection Police (Schuetzpolizei) was created at the bidding of the Entente. The Reichswehr is wholly unaffiliated with the Schuetzpolizei, which took the place of the security police (Sicherheitspolizei) when the Entente ordered the latter's dissolution. The Schuetzpolizei is primarily an agency to maintain law and order, and is not subject to the authority of the Ministry of Defense. It takes orders solely from the civilian Ministries of the federated States. Its numerical strength and its composition with reference to the ratio of officers and men are designated and supervised by the Entente Control Commission. The number of rifles and small arms it is permitted to have is carefully specified. It does not possess heavy-calibred arms suitable to convert into a unit of fighting troops. The Einwohnerwehr, or civilian guards, referred to by M. Briand, have been dissolved, and their arms have been surrendered and destroyed.

The statement disputed M. Briand's assertion that Germany still possessed numerous arsenals equipped to turn out war materials, and asserted that these plants are now limited to two or three required to keep the German Army supplied and that their output is carefully supervised by the Entente Control Commission.

PERSONNEL OF THE DELEGATIONS

Previous to the opening day, the United States Government gave out a complete official list of all the delegations. This list was as follows:

UNITED STATES

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State.

Elihu Root, former Senator and ex-Secretary of State.

[American Cartoon]



—New York World
FIRST BLOOD!

Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts.

Oscar W. Underwood, Senator from Alabama.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

George Sutherland of Utah, ex-Senator, who is to be appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court when a vacancy occurs.

Herbert C. Hoover of California, Secretary of Commerce.

General John J. Pershing, Chief of Staff of the Army.

Rear Admiral W. L. Rodgers of the navy.

Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania, Representative in Congress and Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana, former Progressive, now a Democrat.

Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, Assistant Secretary of State.

Colonel J. M. Wainwright of New York, Assistant Secretary of War.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts.

Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson of California.

Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan of New York, a writer, who has resided in the Far East.

Mrs. Thomas G. Winter of Minnesota, President General of the Federation of Women's Clubs.

William Boyce Thompson of New York,

financier and close political friend of President Harding.

Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, ex-Senator.

Samuel Gompers of the District of Columbia, President of the American Federation of Labor.

John L. Lewis of Indiana, President of the United Mine Workers of America.

Walter George Smith of Pennsylvania, lawyer and publicist.

Carmi Thompson of Ohio, former Treasurer of the United States.

Charles S. Barrett of Georgia, President of the National Farm Bureau.

Harold M. Sewell of Maine, former Minister to Hawaii and Consul General in Samoa.

TECHNICAL STAFF GENERAL

John Van A. MacMurray, Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

D. C. Poole, Chief, Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State.

Professor E. T. Williams, Former Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

J. Butler Wright, counselor of embassy, now at London.

Leland Harrison, counselor of embassy.
Edward Bell, counselor of embassy, recently at Tokio.

Prof. G. H. Blakeslee, Clark University.
W. S. Rogers, Department of State, expert in cable communications.

Nelson T. Johnson, Department of State.
E. L. Neville, Department of State.

S. W. Stratton, Director, Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce.

J. H. Dillinger, Department of Commerce.
Professor Edgar F. Smith, University of Pennsylvania.

William S. Culbertson, United States Tariff Commission.

Frederick K. Nielsen, solicitor, Department of State.

Chandler P. Anderson, former counselor, Department of State.

J. Reuben Clark, former solicitor, Department of State.

Professor George G. Wilson, Harvard University.

FOR THE ARMY

Major Gen. James G. Harbord, Executive Assistant Chief of Staff.

Major Gen. George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer.

Major Gen. C. C. Williams, Chief of Ordnance.

Brig. Gen. William Mitchell, Assistant Chief of the Air Service.

Brig. Gen. Amos E. Fries, Chief of the Chemical Warfare Section.

Colonel John McA. Palmer.

Colonel B. H. Wells.

Lieut. Col. Stuart Heintzelman, Chief of Military Intelligence.

Louis Cohen.

FOR THE NAVY

Admiral Robert E. Koontz, Chief of Naval Operations.

Rear Admiral William A. Moffatt, Chief of the Naval Air Service.

Captain William V. Pratt.

Captain Frank H. Schofield.

Captain Luke McNamee, Chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Captain Samuel W. Bryant.

L. W. Austin.

BRITISH

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

The Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, O. M., Lord President of the Council.

The Right Hon. the Lord Lee of Fareham, G. B. E., K. C. B., First Lord of the Admiralty.

Sir Robert Borden, G. C. M. G., K. C., M. P., former Prime Minister of Canada, for Canada.

Senator the Hon. George F. Pearce, J. P., Australian Minister for Defense, for Australia.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, member of the Vice Regal Council of the Government of India, for India.

Sir J. W. Salmond, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, for New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir Auckland Geddes, K. C. B., the British Ambassador at Washington, will act as a delegate in the absence of the Prime Minister or of any other delegate.

TECHNICAL ADVISERS

Lieut. Gen. the Earl of Cavan will head the military staff.

Admiral of the Fleet Lord Beatty will head the naval technical staff.

There are many other army, naval and other technical advisers.

SECRETARY GENERAL

R. Leslie Craigie, Secretary of the British Embassy, Washington.

FRENCH

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

M. Aristide Briand, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. René Viviani, former Prime Minister.

M. Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies.

M. Jules Jusserand, French Ambassador at Washington.

SECRETARY GENERAL

M. Philippe Berthelot of the French Foreign Office.

PRINCIPAL TECHNICAL EXPERTS

Marshal Ferdinand Foch.

General Buat, for military questions.

Admiral Debon, for naval questions.

M. Fromageot, for legal questions.
M. Kammerer and M. Leger, for political questions.

M. Casenave and M. Cheysson, for financial and economic questions.

M. Duchesne, for colonial questions.

M. Girardeau, for questions concerning cables and communications.

M. Ponsot and M. Corbin, for the press.

INTERPRETERS

M. Camerlynck, M. Denaint.

JAPANESE

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, President of House of Peers.

Admiral Tomosaburo Kato, Minister of Marine.

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Japanese Ambassador to United States.

PRINCIPAL ADVISERS

Sennosuke Yokota, Director of the Legislative Bureau.

Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Tsuneo Matsudaira, Director of the European and American Bureau, Foreign Office.

Kiroku Hayashi, Councilor of the Foreign Office.

Toru Takao, Consul General.

SECRETARIES OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Eiichi Kimura,	Tohhio Shiratori,
Yotaro Sugimura,	Eiji Kishida,
Shuichi Sako,	Isago Gomyo,
Eiji Amau,	Hirofumi Terajima.
Yoshio Iwate,	

TRANSLATORS

Tsunetaro Yamamoto, Chuichiro Harada,
Tsuneo Yoniyama, Jotaro Takayanagi

CHANCELLORS

Yokichi Okajima, Thuruya Tamaki.

SPECIAL APPOINTEES OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Sakutaro Tate, Eigo Fukai.
Katsuji Inahara.

SECRETARIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

Takeo Kawagoe. Tsunetaka Komuchi.

THIRD SECRETARY OF EMBASSY

Yutaro Tomita, Secretary, Department of Finance, and Secretary, Foreign Office.

Major Gen. Kunishike Tanaka.
Lieut. Col. of Artillery Noboru Morita.
Major Kanichiro Tashiro, Infantry.
Major of Infantry Tanehide Ferujo.
Major of Infantry Kanichi Nishihara.
Captain of Artillery Takamasu Iseki.

Kanichiro Morishima, Surgeon.

Vice Admiral Kanji Kato.

Captain Katsuroshin Yamanashi.

Captain Nobumasa Suyetsuger.

Captain Yoshi Takeueda.

Captain Kichisaburo Nomura.

Commander Teikichi Hori.

Lieut. Commander Akira Kuragano.

Lieutenant Torao Kuwahara.

Engineer Lieutenant Yoshihiko Mito.

Paymaster Lieut. Commander Daisuke Takei.

Naval Constructor Kasushi Taji.

Juji Enomoto, Councilor of Navy Department.

Shinichiro Matsumura, Councilor Legislative Bureau.

Katsji Debuchi, Counselor of Embassy.

Sadqua Saburi, Counselor of Embassy.

Yotaro Suzuki, First Secretary of Embassy.

Hachiro Arita, First Secretary of Embassy.

Hiroshi Saito, Consul.

Shigeru Kuriyama, Second Secretary of Embassy.

Masaharu Shibatsu.

Renzo Sawada.

Itaro Ishii.

Shu Tomii.

Shoichi Nakayama.

Takanobu Mitsuya.

Canzo Shiosaki.

Tadakazu Ohashi.

Tatsuo Kanobu Kawai.

Renkei Tsuda.

Morindo Morishima, Attaché.

Akira Omi, Attaché.

Hoshiaki Miura, Secretary, Foreign Office.

Takero Ishii, Telegraphist.

Joshiro Sugiyama, Consular Assistant.

Issaku Okamoto, Chancellor.

Sawaji Otake, Major General.

Hatsutaro Haraguchi, Major General.

Uaruji Tatekawa, Lieutenant Colonel, Cavalry.

Tsunenari Hara, Major, Cavalry.

Harumi Mizuno, Naval Captain.

Oasaharu Hibine, Naval Captain.

Massabaru Kojima, Surgeon.

Tadashi Negishi, Instructor Tokyo University of Commerce.

Toyoki Nagakawa, Secretary Department Communications.

Kiyoshi Kanai, Councilor Railway Bureau.

Baron Naibu Kanda, Member House of Peers.

Masunosuke Odagiri, Director Yokohama Specie Bank.

Yasuji Seko, Secretary House of Peers.

ITALIAN

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

His Excellency Carlo Schanzer, ex-Minister of Treasury, Chairman.

His Excellency Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Italian Ambassador to the United States.

His Excellency Filippo Meda, ex-Minister of Treasury.

Senator Luigi Albertini.

EXPERTS FROM THE VARIOUS MINISTRIES

General Vaccari, Chief of Staff, Royal Army.

Admiral Acton, Chief of Staff of the Navy.

Marquis Visconti Venosta and Mr. Pogliano for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Commander Ruspoli, for the Ministry of the Navy.

Mr. Castatini, for the Ministry of Colonies.

Mr. Gidoni for the Bank of Italy.

Mr. Pora and Mr. Giannini for the Italian Embassy at London.

DUTCH

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland, Chief of Political Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. E. Moresco, Secretary general of Ministry for the Colonies.

ALTERNATE DELEGATES

Dr. J. C. A. Everwijn, Netherlands Minister in Washington.

Jonkheer W. H. de Beaufort, Counselor of Legation, Washington.

TECHNICAL ADVISERS

Jonkheer O. Six, Chief of Division, Ministry for Colonies.

Mr. van Wettum, former Chief of Opium Monopoly Service in Dutch East Indies.

Mr. de Kat Angelino, Adviser for Chinese Affairs, Dutch East Indian Government.

G. J. W. Putnam Cramer, Captain, Royal Netherlands Navy.

SECRETARIES

Jonkheer M. van Haersma de With, Counselor of Legation.

Jonkheer A. Tjarda van Starkenborgh, Secretary of Legation.

Jonkheer C. van Breugel Douglas, Attaché of Legation.

BELGIAN

PRINCIPAL DELEGATE

Barton de Cartier de Marchienne, Ambassador at Washington.

TECHNICAL COUNSELORS

M. Felicien Cattier.

M. Jules Jadot.

Chevalier Emmanuel de Wouters d'Oplinter.

CHINESE

PRINCIPAL DELEGATES

Dr. S. Alfred Sze, Minister to the United States.

V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to Great Britain.

Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

SUPERIOR ADVISERS

Chow Tsu-ch'i, recently Minister of Finance.

M. T. Liang, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

ADVISERS

Admiral Tsai Ting-kan, Associated Director of the Revenue Council.

Hwang Fu, Adviser in the President's Office.

Wang Hsia-jui, Secretary of Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Cabinet.

Lo Wen-kan, Vice Director of Law Codification Bureau, former Chief of Peking Procurator's Court.

Dr. P. C. King, President of Tsing Hua College.

Tang En-liang, Chief of Bureau of Roads and Waterways, Shantung.

Hsu Hsu-jen, clerk, Bureau of Foreign Affairs, Tsinan.

COUNSELOKS

Liu Yen, ex-Secretary of the Cabinet.

Wang Chung-yu, brother of Wang Chung-hui.

Chung Wen-yao, Directorate of Shanghai Mint.

Hsu Tung-fan, Secretary in the Foreign Office and Shantung Government's Office.

Wu Nan-ju, editor the newspaper New Society.

Wang Ta-chen, translator in the Foreign Office.

Yang Tien-chi, Secretary in the Ministry of Finance.

CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE DELEGATION

Philip Tyau, recently senior counselor of Foreign Office, now Minister to Cuba.

ASSISTANT CHIEF SECRETARY

Sao Yun-Hsiang, counselor of Foreign Office.

MILITARY MEMBERS OF DELEGATION

Lieut. Gen. Lee Chung-lo, Chief of the Department of Operations in the War Department.

Colonel Chen Ting-chia, counselor in War Department.

NAVAL MEMBERS OF DELEGATION

(in addition to Admiral Tsai above mentioned.)

Admiral Lee Ching-Hsi, Chief of the Department of Naval Education, acting as Naval Technical Delegate.

HONORARY ADVISERS

Ho Hsiao-sheng and Wen Shih-chen.

PORTUGUESE

Viscount d'Alte and delegation.

THE MURDERED JAPANESE PREMIER AND HIS SUCCESSOR

THE overshadowing event of the month in Japan was the assassination of the liberal Premier, Takashi Hara, at a Tokio railway station on Nov. 4, 1921. The assassin, a youth named Ryichi Nakoka, a station switchman, leaped upon the Premier from behind a railway blackboard, and stabbed him repeatedly with a short sword. Nakoka was apprehended, together with the station master. Mr. Hara, mortally wounded, was brought to his home, where he expired shortly afterward. The news of his untimely end filled Japan with grief and consternation. The Hara Government had been subjected during the last year to merciless criticism, particularly of its Shantung and Siberian policy, and several anonymous threats had been made to kill the Premier and other high officials, including even the Japanese delegates to the Washington conference. The late Premier bore the responsibility for many acts that were really due to the military party. Hara stood pre-eminently for harmony. It



TAKASHI HARA

Late Premier of Japan, assassinated at Tokio on Nov. 4, 1921



(Keystone View Co.)

BARON KOREKIYO TAKAHASHI
New Premier of Japan, succeeding Hara, in whose Cabinet he had been Minister of Finance

was he who framed the policy of conciliation which dictated the reaching of a settlement with China and with the Far Eastern Russian Republic at Dairen, both of which attempts proved unsuccessful. The same spirit was shown by him in regard to the California issue. The Japanese delegates brought many of his ideals with them to Washington.

Baron Korekiyo Takahashi, Minister of Finance in the Hara Cabinet, was named as the new Premier on Nov. 12. He is 67 years old, is an eminent banker of wide foreign interests, and has twice visited the United States. Like the late Premier, he has always opposed the military element. On Nov. 17 he sent a message to America declaring himself in full sympathy with the Disarmament Conference.

JAPAN, ENGLAND AND WORLD PEACE

BY STEPHEN BONSAI

Because the militarists of Japan still control the Government's foreign policy, and because the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is still a weapon in their hands, permanent peace is difficult of attainment—The late Premier Hara and his problems

THE practice of thousands of years has imbedded militarism deep in the souls of the Japanese people. The tenets of Bushido have long been taught as the ideal of life. The Emperor, the army, the nation from immemorial times have been set up as the trinity which all Japanese must worship. Energized by this spirit, the military caste has created a machine which holds the dominating position, and the military policy is dictated by the General Staff, which is entirely independent of every agency of Government and is only subject to the will of the Emperor himself. Indeed, by its practical veto upon the appointment of Ministers abroad and its exclusive control of the military and naval attachés all over the world, the General Staff completely dominates Japanese diplomacy. As to army organization and expenditure, the General Staff makes its plans without the slightest consultation with any other branch of the Government. When these plans reach him bearing the legend—and, indeed, it is often a legend—"Approved by the Emperor," the helpless Prime Minister, with the wreckage of his predecessors floating on the political seas all about him, if he wishes to retain power and to carry out some of his plans which the people ask for and which the militarists may tolerate, knows where he has to sign, on the dotted line.

Even the gallant Hara, who has fallen a victim to the assassin's knife,

had to conciliate the omnipotent power whose existence is known to everyone in Japan. Although opposed to militarism and probably engaged constantly in undermining it, Hara had to give sops to Cerberus. In many ways he was very democratic and was continually calling upon the people to assert their dormant powers. In addressing the Diet he no longer referred to himself pompously as all his predecessors had done as "This Imperial Minister," but simply as "I." He abolished the bodyguard of uniformed police who had always guarded the Prime Minister; and this, though a step in the right direction, now proves to have been a mistake. He would not have the street traffic in the capital stopped when the Emperor passed, and he permitted discussions of socialism in public meetings. To the amazement of many, he did not suppress the visit of Bertrand Russell. He was very lax in executing the laws restricting the formation of labor unions, and, to the disgust of the *narikin*, or war millionaires, he openly favored the revision of the factory laws.

These same *narikin*, or war profiteers, should not be lost sight of as an important and adverse factor in the situation today. Out of the war with China came Fujita and Okura, who profited largely by selling munitions. Out of the Russo-Japanese War, Baron Furukawa, the copper king, emerged with untold millions. The greatest and perhaps the most

unhealthy of these war growths is the Suzuki Company, which made colossal sums by cornering the sugar crop of Formosa during the great war. These men, together with the Mitsuis and the Iwasakis, control the finances and the industry of the nation, and while they differ as to details at times, they generally have a very smooth-working agreement with the militaristic group.

THE REAL TAKASHI HARA

Takashi Hara, the late Premier, whose untimely and tragic end is everywhere lamented, was a secretary at the conference in Shimonoseki, where the treaty ending the Sino-Japanese war was concluded; he acted there as the joint secretary of Mr. Mutsu and of Marquis Ito, who afterward attained princely rank and also fell by the hand of an assassin. Mr. Hara was entirely without fortune and without influential friends, and everything he accomplished in life he owed to his unaided efforts.

He was never, at least in his academic years, noted as an industrious student. Not because he wanted to, but because he had been urged to do so, he matriculated in the late eighties at a mushroom law college in Tokio which had a record for the ease of its examinations and the shortness of its terms. While ostensibly studying here, Mr. Hara really worked as a reporter on the *Hochi*, and in this capacity laid the foundation of his profound knowledge of the realities of Japanese politics—a knowledge that was later to stand him in good stead. However, the inevitable hour of the final examinations approached, and Mr. Hara, his professors and his fellow-students were quite confident that he would fail. But three days before the examinations were due, the mushroom law school went into bankruptcy, and the examinations were never held. Mr. Hara was wont to dramatize this story and dwell upon it from many and most amusing angles, but the moral lesson he drew from it was this: "Even if you are sure to

fail, perhaps the other fellow will fail first."

After this adventure, in which he flattered himself that he came out with flying colors, Mr. Hara went to Korea on a special mission with Count Inouye. Inouye appreciated the young man's ability and succeeded in placing him in the Consular Service, in which he spent some years in Tientsin and in Paris. He was called home to act as private secretary to Inouye when this elder statesman, then in the prime of life, became Minister of Agriculture. Inouye was soon succeeded by Count Mutsu, and when Mutsu returned to the foreign office he took his invaluable assistant with him in recognition of his services at Shimonoseki; thus Hara in 1895 became Under Secretary or Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. I can testify from what I saw at Shimonoseki that though Hara was the junior of all the other Japanese delegates, he proved himself to be at once the leading spirit and the wheel horse of the Japanese delegation. As further reward he was appointed Minister to Korea.

I often fancied that Mr. Hara was not an ardent admirer of the Korean policy which his Government was then developing. Perhaps, however, it was merely the restraint of diplomatic life that proved irksome to him. Be this as it may, early in 1897 he resigned his position and became the editor of the *Osaka Mianichi*, a great liberal organ. The following three years were the most fruitful of his career. His editorial work and his frequent speeches on timely topics gained him great prominence. He and Mr. Hoshi Toru were naturally selected as Prince Ito's active lieutenants when in 1900 the Prince raised the standard of liberalism, separating from his former affiliations, and founded the *Seiyu Party*. Mr. Hoshi, after having been Japanese Minister at Washington, where he distinguished himself by his careful study of American machine politics, had run a some-

what radical course as Deputy in the Diet from Utsonomiya. He then became Lord Mayor of Tokio and was shortly afterward assassinated by a reactionary fanatic. Indeed, it is a noteworthy fact that the founder of the liberal party, the great Ito, and his two ablest lieutenants, Hoshi and Hara, all came to their end at the hands of assassins. All are dead now, including Mr. Mutsu, and of the early leaders only Marquis Saionji, who served as the senior delegate of the Japanese Mission at Paris, remains. If he had assumed the reins of power it would have been a temporary and a nominal leadership at best. Marquis Saionji is very old and quite infirm. In Paris during the peace conference it was with great difficulty that he performed the duties that were incumbent upon him. He played a prominent part in the Restoration struggle in Japan as far back as 1868, and, as M. Clemenceau loved to recall, Saionji was the only representative of Asia who fought for liberty on the barricades of Paris in the terrible year of 1870. His active career is now finished.

Prime Minister Hara formed his Cabinet and assumed responsibility and the reins of power in 1918, after the fall of the Terauchi Ministry. On several occasions later he made statements quite in harmony with his attacks on the Okuma-Kato Ministry in 1915, but the expected, and indeed promised, reversal of the militarists' policy has not been realized. Admittedly Mr. Hara was not an imperialist and not a "Prussian." Still, it must be conceded that as regards foreign affairs of the East his policy did not come up to the liberal expectations which were not without justification. In the general election that was held in May, 1920, the Seiyu-Kai, as the ministerial party, received a great popular endorsement, and the election conducted a few months before for the provincial assemblies gave equally satisfactory results. It is certain that Mr. Hara's efforts to lower the franchise and to broaden the electorate proved highly favor-

able to the representatives of his party and the allied progressive groups. But I cannot recall a single instance of that constructive assistance to China which was promised, or a single demand of the Imperialist Party that was actually reversed while the late Prime Minister was in power.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

With the centre of world interests and of world alarm shifting from Europe to the Pacific, there is no factor of the complex situation more vital to us than exact knowledge of the present relations between England and those sovereign States, her overseas dominions. We are frequently comforted with the suggestion—sometimes it even amounts to a semi-official assurance—that as far as the overseas dominions are concerned the Anglo-Japanese alliance has for all practical purposes been denounced, or in any event may be regarded today as void and of no effect. Unfortunately, there is little or no justification for this comforting delusion. Before these lines are published Washington may well be more concerned as to what the British dominions are going to do in the light of possible contingencies than even what Japan is going to do. This new imperial policy promising a distinct change in methods was initiated by Sir Robert Borden, the Premier of Canada, during the Peace Conference in Paris, and resulted in the following memorandum, by which it was thought a new theory of constitutional relations was laid down:

1. The Dominion Prime Ministers, after careful consideration, have reached the conclusion that all the treaties and conventions resulting from the peace conference should be drafted so as to enable the dominions to become parties and signatories thereto. This procedure will be a suitable recognition of the part played at the peace table by the British Commonwealth as a whole, and will at the same time record the status attained there by the dominions.

2. The procedure is in consonance with the principles of constitutional government that obtain throughout the empire. The Crown is the supreme executive in the United Kingdom and in all the dominions, but it acts on the advice of different Minis-

ters within different constitutional units; and under Resolution IX. of the Imperial War Conference [1917] the organization of the empire is to be based upon equality of nationhood.

Australia has gone somewhat further. An Order in Council has been passed in Australia "praying his Majesty to issue letters patent appointing plenipotentiaries in respect of the Commonwealth of Australia" to facilitate the signing and the ratification of peace treaties. At the imperial conference in London last June, however, Mr. Hughes, Australian Prime Minister, advocated the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance as a means of eliminating possible causes of war, coupling his advocacy, nevertheless, with two notable reservations: "(1) That no treaty must impair the White Australia policy; or (2) in any way endanger Australian friendship and understanding with the United States."

Mr. Hughes's course at the imperial conference subsequently received the general support of the Australian Parliament, though it was far from unanimous. Mr. Ryan, a leader of the Laborite opposition, moved an amendment forbidding the Prime Minister to make Australia a party to any Anglo-Japanese treaty without the consent of the Australian Parliament, and he argued at some length that in spite of the reservations made by Mr. Hughes the Anglo-Japanese alliance, if renewed, would almost necessarily give offense to the United States. Mr. Ryan provoked by his frank words storms of approval as well as of disapproval, but Prime Minister Hughes met the situation and weathered the storm by pledging himself to bring before Parliament "questions of naval and military defense and any scheme for adjustment of foreign policies together with the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—if it should be renewed."

Apparently this solution is regarded as fairly satisfactory in Australia. It is thought that the new status of the dominions, as manifested at the Peace Conference in Paris through their separate representation and by their separate membership in the League of Nations, is fully safeguarded. And so it may be for the future, but the dominions are still bound by the Anglo-Japanese alliance and by the secret Shantung Treaty of 1917, just as they were before the new procedure was adopted. As I have stated before, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which is the bulwark of Japan in Shantung and the main danger to the integrity of China, is self-continuing. In time of war it cannot be denounced at all, and in time of peace a notice of twelve months in advance of termination is required. Down to the present writing no such notice has been given. Today the Anglo-Japanese Treaty is in full force and its unhappy influence is of world-wide effect. It is estranging the English-speaking peoples in the East as well as in the West.

The practical effect of the present policy is to let the treaty continue terminable at any time, as long as peace prevails, upon twelve months' notice. This drifting course may be satisfactory to the Australian and perhaps even to the Canadian, although I doubt it; but it is—and this fact should be emphasized—increasingly unsatisfactory to the people of the United States. While we are drifting along in this way a treaty is in full force that is endangering "Australian friendship and understanding with the United States." In the shadow of this misunderstanding more progress is being made by those who for a variety of reasons oppose the association of England and America for the upholding of world peace and progressive civilization than ever before.

A FRANK OFFICIAL STATEMENT FOR JAPAN

BY BARON MIJURO SHIDEHARA

Japanese Ambassador to the United States and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Arms Conference

Policy of Japan in the Far East, and its bearing on arms limitation, stated authoritatively by the Japanese Ambassador—Attitude regarding China and the Philippines—War against United States would be “national suicide”—Baseless suspicions

I AM glad to comply with the request of CURRENT HISTORY for a statement of the Japanese position at the Washington conference. In the first place, Japan welcomes the opportunity afforded by the conference to make clear her policy, which has been either misunderstood or misrepresented too frequently. We have as a principal article in our conference creed the belief that by a frank interchange of views, a straightforward statement of ideas without concealment or indirection, much of the international suspicion and distrust which now make understandings difficult will be removed, and a substantial measure of success will be achieved.

The primary object of the conference is, of course, limitation of naval armament. To what extent this reduction of expense may be carried is naturally impossible now to state exactly; too many factors are involved. But in a general way there should be little difficulty in reaching an agreement, for there are practically only three powers concerned, and only three navies. Each of the three is separated from the others by broad oceans, and none of them has vital interests conflicting with the others. Thus it is only by a display of the most obtuse obstructionism that the great purpose can be defeated, for the peoples of every country are demanding with profound earnestness a relief that can be afforded now only by agreement in the conference. None of the delegations can afford to go home to confess failure.

There are some obstacles in the way, but they exist chiefly in the mind of the public, or in its attitude toward us. Many Americans see the pathway toward an agreement blocked by the “Far Eastern problems.” As a frank discussion is the only safe way to understanding, I shall venture to point out the simple character of these problems, and the unsoundness of the contentions that have been advanced here by those who expect the conference to fail and by those whose interest opposes its success.

There is the fear that Japan might attack America.

The World War left America unassailable. No nation could make war on the United States without risking national suicide. Europe contains no threat to you, over the 2,500 miles that separate you. European countries are too keenly alive to the fact that they must look to you for the help they so urgently need in this period of dreadful exhaustion. You are the living, vigorous example of the fact that national power resides, not in the extent of armed establishment, but in the perfection and extent of industrial organization.

But Japan, with a land too small to feed its population and facing a transformation into an industrial nation, dependent on the rest of the world for both its markets and its supplies of material, is divided from your continent by an ocean twice as broad as the Atlantic. If she had the will to attack America, the circumstances being what they are, can you

conceive that she would be so foolish as to attempt it?

NO DESIRE FOR PHILIPPINES

The alarmists, however, do not confine themselves to that argument. They assert that Japan could take the Philippines. But Japan does not want them, nor does she want Hong-kong, or French Indo-China and other Eastern possessions of the Western nations. Japan does not want them, and although she could well consider them a threat against herself if they were in the hands of enemies, she is content with the assurance that none of those nations has designs against her.

Japan's unfriendly critics, however, also charge her with a plan to control and organize China into an immense yellow threat. That vicious phrase, "the Yellow Peril," was, if you remember, coined by Wilhelm II. of Germany in his abortive attempt to stir up antagonism between our countries and to turn America's eyes from his war. If that idea still survives in America, the fact proves that you do not realize, what Japan recognizes clearly, that such a project is impossible of attainment.

First, an attempt to carry it out would bring us directly into conflict with all the other nations already holding great interests in the Far East. Next, we should have not only to organize and train, but to control China politically. There are centuries of history to show the impossibility of it. China has been invaded and conquered, and the unvarying end of the adventure has been the absorption of the "conqueror" into the mass of China. Besides, a conquered people can never be an asset in war; and Japan needs peace and friends, not war and enemies.

The big blessing for Japan would be a prosperous, stable China, organized to produce and able to buy. The Open Door and equal opportunity in China mean economy, if not actual salvation, for Japan. Every million of dollars or pounds sterling or francs that goes into the development of

Chinese resources is a direct saving of the equivalent in yen. It means prosperity to China—increase of her purchasing and producing power—without expense to Japan. It means good business for Japan.

JAPAN'S AIMS IN CHINA

But equal opportunity to help China and in that way to help ourselves is not to be denied us. We are not self-sustaining, rich in natural resources, like the United States. Nor have we an empire like the British, broadcast over the world, to supply our needs. We have an area about equal to your State of Montana, and a population of 60,000,000. Like England, we must obtain our sustenance abroad, and our products must go to foreign markets. China's markets and materials mean to other countries only more trade; to Japan they are vital necessities.

We have reached the stage of development where we must industrialize in order to preserve our existence. Continental Asia has the materials for our trade. We demand the right to equal opportunities there, secure in the knowledge that in competing with other countries we need no advantages beyond our geographical position. We ask only an adoption by all concerned of the "live and let live" policy.

In developing these resources and markets of China we should deprive—according to our opponents—the Chinese of their native rights. But the contrary is true. By such development, whether it should be the result of Japanese, British or American enterprise and capital, the chief gainer would be China. There are, it must be confessed, unscrupulous rogues among the traders in China as on any trade frontier. There is keen competition in dishonesty among many nationals; it is not a Japanese monopoly. An unorganized and backward country is invariably victimized by such persons, either of its own or other nationalities. But the Asian Continentals are always the first to benefit by any industrial or agricul-

tural development made possible by foreigners.

Along the line of the South Manchurian Railway, for example, in a region where the native population was so harassed by brigands—before the Japanese control of the railway—that it was being driven out of the country, a régime of law and order has now so stabilized conditions of life and property that the Chinese have flocked to the new prosperity. A district that was threatened with extinction as a human habitation, with becoming a part of the barren Mongolian Desert, has become a place of prosperity, producing crops so great in volume that there is an influx of farm laborers each harvest season. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese cross over each year from the Provinces of Shantung and Chi-li to gather the crops and then go back with their wages to winter at home in comfort.

Wherever development is undertaken the resulting activities benefit the whole world. At present America does with Japan many times the volume of business that she does with China, whose size and natural wealth are so vast. In China, America may have lost part of her piece-goods trade to England, but she has taken in exchange a business in textile machinery.

REGARDING SHANTUNG

Japan is charged with having deprived China of the Province of Shantung. What are the facts in that case?

When Japan, in the great war, assumed the duty of protecting allied interests in the Far East, she was obliged to remove the existing threat of the German military base in Tsingtao. She made the necessary military effort—together with a British contingent—and took the place. Japan then occupied Tsingtao and the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu Railway, formerly held by Germany under a ninety-nine-year lease, in order to prevent a recrudescence of enemy influence from that focus. This leased

territory of Kiao-Chau is about two hundred square miles in extent—the Province of Shantung is two hundred times greater—and contained about fifty or sixty thousand persons who had gathered there to trade with the Germans and who remained there to do business with the Japanese. The population of the Province of Shantung is estimated at forty millions.

Japan had no intention of retaining the former German leased rights, and after the war she repeated her original offer to turn them back to China, suggesting that the former leased territory be made a free port for the trade of all nations on equal terms, and that the section of the German railway which she held be made a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise.

China has refused this offered arrangement, contending that all the former German rights automatically reverted to China when she declared war against Germany. But that declaration of war was made a full year before China arranged with Japan a loan—and accepted payment under it—recognizing the principle of the joint working of the former German railway.

Japan maintains troops along the railway line in Shantung to police the line. Together with the contingent in Tsingtao—the port—the detachment numbers about two thousand officers and men. Twice that number of troops are maintained by the great powers, including the United States, in the neighboring Province of Chi-li to police the railway from the coast to the capital and to guard the legations in Peking. Moreover, the former German preferential rights, to supply capital for further railway development, are to be turned over—if the Japanese suggestion is followed—to the present International Financial Consortium composed of American, Belgian, British, French and Japanese banking groups, supported by their Governments.

So it is evident that there is really little truth to support the charge of

Japanese aggression in Shantung. Now all this has to do with naval armament limitation. For if it can be demonstrated that there is no vital conflict of interest among the conferring nations, and therefore no threat of aggression to arm against, the solution becomes merely a matter of degree.

And again, frankly, Japan comes to the conference recognizing that there is in America suspicion and distrust to be overcome, though Japan feels no such distrust regarding America; her delegates come hoping and trusting that this cloud will be cleared away when the facts are made known. She hopes to demonstrate the facts, her needs, and the justice of her policies. She is ready to har-

ken to advice and to co-operate with the others to her utmost.

As Admiral Baron Kato, the Minister of Marine, has stated, Japan is prepared to agree to limitation of naval armament so far as may be consistent with her national security. Details of proper proportionate reductions of building programs belong to the technicians.

Japan is an island empire dependent on sea-borne commerce, but she believes that relief can be obtained by armament limitation, and that armament limitation can be achieved by a genuine co-operation based on mutual knowledge. She is here prepared to spread her facts on the table, knowing that she has nothing to conceal and much to gain.

CHINA AT THE WORLD COUNCIL

BY SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

Minister of China to the United States and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the Washington Conference

Representatives of the Peking Government at the Arms Conference seek only a full recognition of China's sovereign rights—Covetous eyes of other nations turned upon her undeveloped resources—Need of a definite understanding on Pacific questions

CHINA gave immediate and wholehearted acceptance to the invitation of the United States to participate in the conference for the par-cussion of political questions in the Pacific, for no nation is more desirous than is China that world peace—especially peace in the Pacific—should be preserved.

The Chinese Government is convinced that it is possible to establish and maintain, by friendly agreement among the nations, a régime in which the legitimate interests of every nation may be recognized and advanced. In other words, the Chinese Govern-

ment believes that there is an essential harmony between the true interests of all nations, and that the Washington conference offers an opportunity to determine, as far as the Pacific is concerned, the basis upon which such harmony may be more securely maintained.

China is all the more glad to enter this conference because she is in the fortunate position of seeking only a full recognition of her rights as a member of the family of nations. She has no acts of aggression on her part to explain to anybody. She will ask only that the conference give its for-

mal recognition to principles of international conduct which the world will recognize as just and calculated to advance the interests of all the peoples of the Far East and of those nations of the West which have political or economic interests in the Pacific.

At the same time that China is thus able and disposed to co-operate for the attainment of the common ends for which the conference has convened she is confident that her own interests will be greatly advanced. She expects that as the result of the conference she will be freed in future from the assaults that in the past have been made upon her territorial and administrative integrity, and that thus she will be able to concentrate her efforts upon the improvement of her domestic conditions—the extension of her railways, the reorganization of certain of her public services and the adoption of a permanent Constitution whose provisions will meet the political needs of the country as they have been disclosed since the establishment, ten years ago, of a republican form of Government.

We must all admit that the world is poorer because of the World War through which we have just passed. Untold destruction was wrought in the fields of wealth and man-power, and many years will be required for various nations to get on their feet again. Many nations are so impoverished that it may require half a century for them to return to the condition of prosperity that existed before the war, and, to make matters worse, the war has left in its wake problems of social readjustment that make the economic readjustment much more difficult. Even the nations of the American continents have not escaped the consequences of six years of destruction in Europe.

CHINA IN THE WAR

The Republic of China took part in the World War. It broke off relations with the Central Powers, largely because of the fine example of the United States of America. China

did not send soldiers to the western front, but she did send an army of more than 150,000 laborers, artisans and mechanics, and these men did yeoman service for the allied cause. In France they mingled with the American and British and French and Belgian soldiers, and their enthusiasm for the cause was just as patriotic as the spirit that animated the doughboy, the Tommy and the poilu. In Archangel and Murmansk several regiments of Chinese volunteered for the firing line, donned British and French uniforms and helped to hold the trenches against Bolshevik advance. Chinese laborers were also found with British expeditionary forces to Southern Russia and Mesopotamia.

China was affected by the World War in other ways: Two great and powerful nations of Europe, Germany and Russia, both of which at various times in the past constituted a menace to China, were eliminated as military powers and placed in a new position in respect to their relations with China. China was also affected vitally by the territorial arrangement growing out of the war settlement—a territorial arrangement that must be righted to the just consideration of our people before we can ever have permanent world peace. And then there was another change wrought in China by the World War—a change in the minds and thoughts of our people that may ultimately be the most far-reaching of all. I believe I am stating the case exactly when I say that the people of China were more deeply stirred by the war and its consequences than by any other event in our recent history, with the possible exception of the change from a monarchy to our present republic.

The Republic of China has a territory approximately one-sixth larger than the continental United States, and we have a population about four times as great as the United States. We have always been an agricultural people, producing largely for our own needs, with a small surplus for export.

In recent years we have had the beginnings of industrial development, and this process of transition was hastened by the war. In many ways we are going through the same transition stages that the United States passed through in its industrial development. You found a virgin, undeveloped land. First, you conquered the land to agriculture. You borrowed large sums of money abroad, and with the money you developed your railroads, waterways and industries. We are trying to do the same thing, and in our new development we are trying to benefit by your experience.

UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES

We see a great deal in the press these days about the financial situation in China. The Banque Industrielle de Chine, one of the largest banks in China, recently failed after many years of operation. This was not a Chinese failure, but was a part of the financial stress that all countries are feeling. The Banque Industrielle de Chine had always been managed by foreigners, never by Chinese; and when it failed it was the Chinese bankers who came to the rescue and averted a general financial collapse.

Our difficulty has been that we have not had the free opportunity for development that you have had. Our great, undeveloped resources, coupled with our weakness in national defense, have made China the object of the covetous eyes of more powerful nations. This has handicapped our development and has produced a situation in China that is generally recognized to constitute a menace to the world's future peace and prosperity. Whether this condition is to continue or not depends largely upon the attitude of the various nations now gathered in Washington to consider the limitation of armaments and the settlement of the Far Eastern problems.

The World War produced tremendous changes in the relative standing of nations—changes which we are only now beginning to realize. China, although weak economically, is in the position of a going concern. China at the present time constitutes a market for practically everything that the Western World produces. Although our country is the most densely populated section of the earth, we have vacant spaces in the hinterlands of China that are unmatched by any other world areas save the great western part of the United States, which you have made so productive. It has been stated by competent authorities that Germany, in order to carry her after-the-war burdens, will have to produce six or eight times as much as she did before the war. In relation to the problem of German production, think what it would mean to the present prosperity of the world if China could be helped to produce just twice as much as she now does. It would set your factories to going almost overnight, and your problem of unemployment would disappear as if by magic.

China comes to this conference with confidence that her own sovereign rights and legitimate national interests will be recognized and respected. Her delegates will gladly support any conclusions which may be reached, the purpose and result of which will be to enable the other nations of the Pacific to maintain their sovereign rights and legitimate interests.

So far as China will ask for a correction of conditions which she deems unjust and burdensome, she will not do so solely or primarily for her own benefit, but in order that thus the relations of other powers with herself may be simplified and harmonized, and that thus international concord and co-operation may be maintained and international peace made more certain.

SOUTH CHINA'S WARNING

BY MA SOO*

Representative of the Canton Government at Washington

*President Sun Yat-sen's envoy at Washington declares that the greatest Pacific problem cannot be solved by the Disarmament Conference if South China is denied a voice in the settlement—
Bitter criticism of Japan and powers that have exploited China*

CHINA'S importance to the world seems not to have been generally realized until the wreck of the more highly organized trade and commercial systems of the West brought about by war's upheaval forced attention more acutely upon the vast potential resources awaiting development in the East. Now, because of its natural resources and the quality and unlimited units of its man-power, China has suddenly sprung into prominence and seems destined to play a rôle of vast importance in the future development of the world. It is this very vastness of natural resources and man-power which is partly responsible for the predicament in which China finds herself today.

There are two things which the world powers demand today, and which they must have: markets and natural resources. Both of these exist in China. Nowhere in the world are there greater resources of undeveloped material. The soil of China has been farmed for centuries and shows no signs of exhaustion. The agricultural wealth of the land is supplemented by vast deposits of coal and iron, two minerals essential to the industries of the world. To these may be added deposits of tin, quicksilver, copper, antimony and other minerals essential to industry. And with this vast store of natural wealth China has an extensive sea coast, unsurpassed harbors, and rivers which form practical transportation routes from the coast to the undeveloped

fields so rich in material now demanded by the world. Add to this store of wealth a population of some four hundred million people who have produced a civilization which has endured for four thousand years and compares favorably with the civilization of any race on earth, a population which is frugal, industrious, patient, peaceful and intelligent, and you have a large section of the world wherein exist the greatest possibilities of history. All this the nations of the West now realize. The result is that, together with Japan, they are marking China for their own exploitation. They are turning to the last great storehouse in a mad scramble to be first in dipping the greedy hand of the West into the treasure-chest of the East.

Long before the nations of the West began to take a serious interest in China as a possible source of trade development and raw materials, Japan realized the commercial possibilities dormant in her great neighbor. Systematically, and not always honestly, Japan set about gaining control of these resources, as she is poorly supplied with the things that are

*Mr. Ma Soo, like his chief, President Sun Yat-sen, is a Chinese statesman and scholar of the new school, having received his education in the United States and Europe. He has been chosen by the President of the Canton Government—which is seeking to overthrow the Peking Government on the ground that it is corrupt—to serve as Chinese Minister at Washington, but thus far the United States Government has not given him official recognition. In the intervals of his diplomatic duties Mr. Ma Soo recently lectured at Columbia University, his American Alma Mater, on "The Development of Chinese Civilization."—EDITOR.

so abundant in China. When the World War broke out, Japan at once saw that either group of powers engaged in the struggle would be willing to pay well for such services as she could render. Especially would they be willing to pay, as the price would not be demanded from their own coffers, but from the people of China. Japan realized that her supreme chance had come. She acted accordingly. Already in a strong natural position with regard to China, she saw that she could so strengthen her hold as to obtain great quantities of the raw materials which she required, and in exchange she could make payment in manufactured articles to her own advantage. Japan entered the war, and she was astute enough to enter upon the winning side.

Although China later entered the war as an ally of Japan and of Japan's allies, the attitude of the Japanese Government toward China was never that of an ally. It is probable that Japan honestly desired in 1914—and that she desires today—to cement the Far East into one great productive organization, with herself at the head. Nevertheless, her methods with regard to China have not been such as to win the confidence of the Chinese people. The attitude of Japan is resented by the Chinese, and, instead of drawing the two Eastern nations into closer mutual relations, is driving them further and further apart.

The policy of Japan was clearly disclosed in the now famous Twenty-one Demands. These were withheld from the world at the time they were forced upon China—a course that was not surprising in the light of their nature. Had China acceded to these demands she would have become a mere bondman for Japan; in fact, they were designed to give Japan a protectorate over China. It is well for the rest of the world that at this critical time the people of China, rising in their seldom-used might, forced the Government at Peking to balk Japan's plan for gain-

ing control of the wealth and manpower of China.

THE OPEN DOOR

Japan is making hay in Shantung today by reason of her economic and governing status there. The nations of the West see what is going on, and they sense further Japanese inroads in China, especially into the Chinese market; they are anxious, therefore, to proclaim anew and very loudly the policy of the open door in China, in order that all of the plums may not fall into Japan's basket.

The commercial nations of the West have come to realize that one of their greatest needs today is a market for their manufactured products and a source from which to draw raw materials. They see both of these in the great, awakening and resourceful land of China. In the old days, before war was made so stupendous and so horrible—and so expensive as to become unpopular with the mass of the people who bear its burdens—nations would unhesitatingly have fought for what they desire from China. Today the competition in armaments necessary for expansion by means of war is becoming too expensive. Nations bent upon acquiring special privileges, spheres of influence, concessions, &c., are today engaged not in fighting for these things, but in talking for them. The present idea of some of the nations of the West, in fact, is to talk Japan into giving them some of the plums she stole from China while the rest of the world was busy with war in Europe.

It is quite apparent that one main cause for the calling of the Washington conference is the desire to share in the great development of China. The world has seen what wealth there is behind the curtain which has so long shrouded the Far East, and it wants a share of the treasure without a fight.

In these calculations the West seems to have overlooked the Chinese people. The millions who inhabit the land where the natural riches are stored, the millions who will make

possible a great trade expansion in the Orient, cannot be ignored. Nations which fail to consider the Chinese people, which do not co-operate with them in the development of natural resources, planning for the benefit of the Chinese people as well as for that of the rest of the world, will never solve the problem of the Far East. The rights of the Chinese people in their own country cannot be successfully ignored.

China is quite aware that in her past dealings with other nations she has not always, not very often, in fact, been accorded strict justice. Suspicion of the motives of foreign nations is but natural in a land which has been so largely exploited as has China. There is only one way in which this suspicion can be removed by those nations which have enriched themselves at China's expense, and that is by giving up their ill-gotten and often extorted concessions and so-called "rights." To prove their honesty of purpose beyond any doubt, Japan, Great Britain and France should give up their "spheres of influence," and there should be established in China but one "sphere of influence"—that of the sovereign people of the Republic of China.

CORRUPT PEKING GOVERNMENT

There is one other important consideration in regard to rehabilitating China and making her what she should become, the greatest producing and buying nation on earth, and that is the stabilizing of her Government. The people of China are awake to this essential. They understand that success cannot be obtained so long as the powers persist in backing corrupt government in China in order to gain concessions and authority. The powers must realize that, in spite of temporary advantages to be gained from corrupt officials, they must ultimately deal with the Chinese people as a whole. It is a well-known fact that, before the Republic of China was recognized, Great Britain made it a condition of recognition that a new treaty giving Britain increased rights

in Tibet be drawn. It has been the practice of the powers to support corrupt government in Peking in order to feather their own nests at the expense of the Chinese people. They supported Yuan Shih-kai financially and morally—Yuan Shih-kai, the man who would have made himself Emperor, who betrayed the Chinese people, and who was destroyed by the people because he wished to destroy the republic.

Unfortunately, the lesson with regard to Yuan Shih-kai was not a warning to the powers. Today they are supporting an equally corrupt Government in Peking headed by Hsu Shih-chang, who is dominated by the pro-Japanese Tuchuns, the militarist chieftains of the North. Unless such a policy as this is discontinued, there can be no lasting success in stabilizing government in China.

Another great cause for the failure to stabilize China, perhaps the greatest cause working in the interest of eventual disintegration, is the continued ignoring of the pleas of the Canton Government, the only real and legal Government functioning in China, for recognition. The Canton Government is headed by patriotic, progressive men who have made the greatest sacrifices for their country, instead of exploiting it for their own profit, as others have done. Inviting representatives of the Peking Government to the Washington conference and ignoring the Canton Government cannot but result in failure in the settlement of Chinese questions. Peking no longer represents China. It is merely representative of a small clique of militarists who retain power by force. It is obvious that this clique cannot represent the Chinese people, nor can its delegates to the conference speak in any way for China.

SUN YAT-SEN'S DECLARATION

President Sun Yat-sen, the chief executive of the Republic of China, has set forth the case as it is seen by a large portion of the Chinese people in the following declaration made at

the time invitations to the conference were sent to the Peking Government and withheld from the Canton Government:

The President of the United States has invited China to participate in the discussions of Pacific and Far Eastern questions at the conference to be held at Washington.

The Government of the Republic of China, of which I am the duly constituted Chief Executive, affirms that no settlement of these questions is possible so long as China is not freed from policies which are defined and elaborated in the Twenty-one Demands and Treaties, and further worked out in the series of secret agreements, loans, concessions concluded and granted by Hsu Shih-chang's Administration in favor of Japan. All other questions are subordinate to these menacing policies, the unchecked prosecution of which involves an alien domination of China, with her man power and natural resources.

To secure her release from this policy of domination China must be represented at the conference by a delegation under the direction of an Administration that is not only the legal Government in China but is not committed and not compromised by dealings and relations with the foreign power pursuing that policy.

Hsu Shih-chang and his Administration are so committed and so compromised. He was the Secretary of State of the Administration which mismanaged the negotiations connected with the Twenty-one Demands, and in consequence sacrificed vital Chinese rights. He and his Administration concluded the secret agreements of Sept. 24 and Sept. 28, 1918, and other secret transactions impairing the independence and integrity of China and subjecting Chinese economic resources to an exploitation subserving the same policies of domination. Besides this moral incompetency of the Administration, Hsu Shih-chang is illegal. He was elected by an illegal Parliament, which was set up in violation of the Chinese Constitution, and which he himself had to dissolve in the Autumn of last year as unconstitutional.

On the other hand, this Government is entirely free and stands uncommitted vis-à-vis any foreign power. It is also the legal Government of the Republic of China, because it has been established in pursuance of government-making power vested by the Constitution in Parliament.

The moral disqualification of Hsu Shih-chang and his Administration to state China's cause is a difficulty that goes to the root of the Chinese representation at the conference. This difficulty cannot be solved by any paper scheme for political unification of China. It is a stern reality

that must be faced if China is to secure a minimum of justice at the conference.

Therefore I, in the name of and on behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of China, hereby declare that unless a delegation under the direction of this Government attends and takes part in the work of the Washington conference, none of the decisions of the conference relating to China shall be recognized as having any validity or force.

Whatever influence the Peking Government has is the influence of Japan. This influence is at work in Peking today. It will be at work at the conference. It will be felt at Washington, even though some of the Peking delegates may find their instructions from Peking distasteful. The grip of Japan is upon the throat of Peking, and it cannot be shaken off, even though Peking is gasping and dying from the strangle-hold.

The Canton Government has made its stand perfectly clear in the above declaration of its President, and it will abide by its position. Nothing that the conference may do will change the patriotic attitude of these men who, above all other considerations, place the well-being and the future sovereignty of their country first.

There can be no solution of the "Problem of the Pacific," there can be no permanent basis for disarmament in the Far East—and that means, of course, that there can be no disarmament anywhere—until the sovereign rights of China are fully restored to her, until she has control of her own resources, railroads, customs, waterways and internal and external relations. There may not even be a start made toward the stabilization of China until the powers recognize the legal Government set up by the Chinese people in accordance with their Constitution and their desires, and give over dealing with a fictitious Government maintained in the interest of militaristic overlords willing to sell the rights of the Chinese people to the highest bidder in order to maintain their own fleeting authority and line their own pockets.



(© Underwood & Underwood)
General Pershing laying a wreath at the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London, as America's tribute to Britain's Unknown Soldier

BRITAIN'S UNKNOWN WARRIOR HONORED BY AMERICA

CERTAINLY the most impressive event of the month in England was the ceremony attending the decoration of the grave of the unknown British warrior in Westminster Abbey, Oct. 17, with the American Congressional Medal of Honor. As a special military representative for the occasion, General Pershing arrived from Paris, escorted by a detachment of 500 American troops from the Rhine zone.

At the north door of the abbey the Prime Minister, with several of his Cabinet, joined the dean and clergy to receive General Pershing. Upon the American General's arrival a procession was formed to escort him to the unknown warrior's grave by the west door. American soldiers lined the passage.

General Pershing walked immediately behind the dean, with George Harvey, the American Ambassador, at his side. After them came Admiral Niblack, U. S. N., other naval and military officers, and the British Ministers. Near the grave were grouped a brilliant gathering of Field Marshals and other high dignitaries. After the chanting of a hymn, the American Ambassador be-

gan an address. In a dramatic passage Mr. Harvey typified the two armies in two soldiers, different in race, but one in patriotism, fidelity, honor and courage; one recumbent in the grave, "the other, equally noble and equally well beloved, by my side. Both live, and will ever live, in the hearts of their countrymen." General Pershing followed with an appropriate speech, in which he said:

As we fondly gather about this sepulchre, the hearts of the American people join in this tribute to their English-speaking kinsman. And now, in this holy sanctuary, in the name of the President and the people of the United States, I place upon his tomb the Medal of Honor conferred upon him by special act of the American Congress, in commemoration of the sacrifices of our British comrade and his fellow-countrymen, and as a slight token of our gratitude and affection toward his people.

General Pershing stooped to one knee, and, with reverence, deposited the wreath with eyes still riveted upon the hallowed spot, and standing out alone, he gave a soldier's salute. Intense stillness prevailed throughout all the multitude the abbey at that moment sheltered.



(Photo International)

Famous war leaders watching the parade of the American Legion in Kansas City. Left to right: General Jacques of Belgium, General Diaz of Italy, Marshal Foch of France, General Pershing of America, Admiral Beatty of Great Britain

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Burial of America's "Unknown Soldier" in Arlington National Cemetery—Visit of Marshal Foch and other distinguished men—Ratification of peace between the United States and the Central Powers—Army and navy developments—Noteworthy speeches

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 10, 1921]

SELDOM has the soul of the nation been more deeply stirred than on the occasion of the burial of the "Unknown Soldier," which took place with solemn ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, on Nov. 11, the third anniversary of the signing of the armistice that ended active fighting in the World War.

Great care had been taken to assure that the identity of this soldier should remain forever unknown. The

choosing of the body took place at the City Hall of Chalons-sur-Marne, France, Oct. 24. Four earth-stained coffins lay in a row in a flag-decorated room. They had been brought there, one from each of the four American military cemeteries—Bel-leau, Bony, Thiaucourt and Romagne. While French and American comrades stood at attention, Sergeant Younger of the Fifty-ninth Infantry, who had been selected to make the choice, walked slowly past the hon-

ored row, a bunch of white roses in his hand. Through a door floated the strains of a dirge played by the band of the 106th French infantry. Twice the Sergeant made a tour of the room, and then gently placed the roses on the coffin at the right, looking toward the door. The coffin was placed in a casket, which bore the inscription: "An unknown American soldier who gave his life in the great war." The casket was then taken to Havre and placed on board the *Olympia*, the old flagship of Admiral Dewey, which conveyed the remains to America, arriving at Washington on Nov. 9.

The casket was conveyed under a guard of honor to the rotunda of the Capitol, where it lay in state on the same catafalque that had borne the bodies of Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley. Under the vast, shadowy dome had gathered the most eminent men of the nation. A broad white ribbon was laid over the casket by Mrs. Harding, and then the President stepped forward and pinned to the ribbon a silver shield, on which were forty-eight gold stars, representing the States of the Union—a symbol of the heart of the nation which went with the soldier to his tomb.

Until the morning of Nov. 11 the body lay in state and thousands passed before it in silent homage. Flowers and wreaths were brought by individuals and organizations. Representatives of foreign countries brought tributes from their nations. The Earl of Cavan placed upon the catafalque the wreath from King George, which bore a card with the royal crest and, in the King's own handwriting, the message:

"As unknown and yet well known,
As dying, and, behold, we live."
Nov. 11, 1921. GEORGE, R. I.

Mr. Balfour brought a wreath from Premier Lloyd George, which carried a card reading: "Nameless, yet his name liveth forever." Canada's wreath of maple leaves bore this sentence, chosen by Sir Robert Borden from "The Pilgrim's Progress":

"But that which put glory of grace in all he did was that he did it out of pure love to his country." France, Belgium and a host of other nations brought tributes of similar eloquence and appropriateness.

It was at 8:30 in the morning of Nov. 11 that the body of the unknown was lifted from its resting place in the rotunda and borne tenderly down the broad steps of the Capitol to the caisson waiting below, while the band played "Nearer, My God, to Thee." The pallbearers were eight men from the army and navy, chosen for this duty as examples of the finest types of soldier and sailor.

The President of the United States and an ex-President walked with the mourners, while another ex-President, Mr. Wilson, owing to his shattered health, rode in a carriage. The ranking General of the American Armies, war veterans whose valor had won for them the Congressional Medal of Honor, Cabinet members, Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives and Governors were in the cortege.

At the Amphitheatre in Arlington Cemetery an immense throng had assembled. Hymns were sung and psalms recited. Decorations were placed on the casket by Marshal Foch, General Diaz and other representatives of foreign nations. Secretary of War Weeks spoke briefly, and then President Harding made a notable address, which was marked by deep emotion. As the body was lowered into the tomb, "taps" was sounded, and a battery began the national salute of twenty-one guns.

By means of telephone amplifiers, every word of the President's address, every note of song or bugle at Arlington, was heard distinctly by tens of thousands of ex-soldiers and their friends assembled in New York and San Francisco, and the same emotion that swept the vast concourse in Washington moved these far distant listeners to tears at the same moment. The day was observed as a solemn holiday throughout the nation.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

The period under review was notable because of the great influx of distinguished foreign visitors. Most of these were comprised in the delega-

[American Cartoon]



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SHAKE!

tions of the Governments invited by President Harding to participate in the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Many military and naval leaders came, ostensibly as the guests of the American Legion at its annual convention in Kansas City, but their visits were so timed that they could act as advisers to their respective delegations at the conference.

The welcome extended to these eminent guests of the nation was most cordial. Marshal Foch of France, General Diaz of Italy, Admiral Beatty of Great Britain and General Jacques of Belgium were greeted with great ovations. To most of them the freedom of the City of New York was given, immediately on landing,

and at Washington, Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago the population turned out almost en masse to do them honor. The journey of Marshal Foch especially resembled a triumphal progress. Honors, decorations and degrees were showered on him everywhere, and cities vied with each other in showing the former Generalissimo of the allied forces how high a place he held in their gratitude and affection.

Less demonstrative, but very friendly, were the welcomes given to the eminent statesmen of the various countries represented at the conference. Prominent among these were Briand and Viviani of France, Balfour of Great Britain, Tokugawa, Kato and Tanaka of Japan, Schanzer of Italy, d'Oplinter of Belgium, Van Karnebeek of Holland and Wellington Koo of China. The warmth of the greeting extended to them was significant of the deep interest the nation took in the conference and the hopes it held regarding the result. [The text of Marshal Foch's address at Kansas City will be found on page 413.]

PEACE TREATIES RATIFIED

The treaties negotiated by the Harding Administration to end the war of the United States with Germany, Austria and Hungary were ratified by the Senate on Oct. 18. The treaty of Berlin, ending our war with Germany, was first acted upon, the vote for ratification being 66 to 20, or a fraction more than eight votes in excess of the required two-thirds majority. The Administration victory was due to Democratic support. Thirteen Senators on the minority side joined Senator Underwood, their leader, in support of the treaty. Had the Democrats voted as a unit, ratification would have been defeated. The Wilson leaders in the Senate, Glass of Virginia, Heflin of Alabama, Williams of Mississippi and others who favor the Treaty of Versailles fought against it to the end.

The Austrian treaty was ratified by the same vote as the German compact, while the Hungarian treaty was approved by a vote of 66 to 17.

The Democratic vote in support of the Administration surpassed all expectations. At no time had any of the treaty advocates claimed more than twelve votes from the minority side. The final count showed sixteen Democrats for the treaty, for in addition to the fourteen who voted for it, two others—Smith of South Carolina and Hitchcock of Nebraska—were paired in its favor.

Ratifications of the American-German peace treaty were exchanged in Berlin on Nov. 11, and the next day President Harding formally proclaimed peace. On the 16th he nominated Ellis Loring Dresel of Boston—who had negotiated the treaty—to be American Charge d'Affaires at Berlin. On Nov. 18 peace with Austria was formally proclaimed.

HARVEY'S LIVERPOOL SPEECH

A significant utterance bearing on the foreign policy of the United States was made in England by Ambassador Harvey on Nov. 3, in a speech delivered to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. He referred to a speech made by Lord Derby in Paris, in which the latter had expressed his judgment that a definite alliance of Great Britain and France would be wholly desirable in the interest of peace, at the same time voicing the hope that in the near future the United States might join the combination. To this proposition Ambassador Harvey replied:

I feel impelled to say frankly that the hope voiced by Lord Derby must be regarded as futile. Our first President, George Washington, with the acquiescence of famous contemporary statesmen of the young Republic, fixed the foreign policy of the United States clearly and unequivocally when he adjured his countrymen never under any circumstances to enter into a permanent alliance with any other power. This policy has been reaffirmed by practically all his successors. It was reiterated with great positiveness in our latest national campaign by our present President, and was confirmed by a majority of the people so great as to be beyond the pale of comparison.

[American Cartoon]



—Dayton News

TO STRUGGLE ALONG ON
BORROWED LEGS

In view of these circumstances, and without considering the wisdom and advisability of a continuance of this definite policy and unbroken practice, am I doing more than stating a wholly obvious and unescapable fact when I pronounce the entrance of the United States into any permanent alliance, however desirable that action may seem to be, an utter impossibility? May it not be then the part of wisdom to avoid the discussion or even the suggestion of a proposal which, however praiseworthy it may be, could hardly serve any purpose other than to feed the enemies and distress the friends of both Great Britain and France who live in America?

A warm reaffirmation of the friendship and unity of interest between Great Britain and the United States was made by the President in a speech at Yorktown, Va., Oct. 19, the occasion being the 140th anniversary of the surrender of the forces of Cornwallis to Washington. The United States and Great Britain, the President declared, had consecrated a long-time friendship by association in the common sacrifices of the World War, and found themselves arrayed together in a "trusteeship for the preservation of civilization."

[German Cartoon]

—*Fliegende Blaetter*, Munich

THE PEACE PIPE

"Well, Fritz, what do you think of my peace pipe?"

"Well, as you kept it back so long, you might have put a better tobacco in it."

He spoke also a word of gratitude for the aid given by France in the Revolution, and said that the time had come for world-wide co-operation and amity between nations. In the general discussion of world relations that followed, the President declared American participation in world affairs "inevitable" and voiced a hope that general co-operation "for the common good" would usher in a new day of international relationship. He sounded a warning, however, against impairment of national sovereignty in the name of international unity.

EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO

In a speech at Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 26, before a great audience of white and colored people in Capitol Park, President Harding declared that the negro was entitled to full economic and political rights as an American citizen. He added that this did not mean "social equality." The white man and the negro also should stand, he asserted, uncompromisingly against "every suggestion of social

equality." Racial amalgamation, he added, could never come in America. The race problem, the President declared, was no longer a sectional question, applicable only to the Southern States, but a national question, which must be met as such. In recent years, he pointed out, great numbers of negroes had left the South to seek homes in the North and West, and as a result of this migration the "race problem" had been brought closer to the people of those sections. "I believe," he added, "that it has served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question."

ARMY BELOW 150,000

Latest official statistics on recruiting, prepared by the War Department for possible use at the pending arms conference, showed that new enlistments in the United States Army during recent weeks had not been sufficient to offset normal discharges and other "casualties." As a result, it was said, the regular army was below the minimum peace strength set by Congress. The official total was 138,000 on Oct. 31. In October 2,834 men left the service, while only 2,800 men were signed as recruits.

It was announced by the Secretary of War on Oct. 22 that the Government had decided to retain approximately 5,600 officers and men of the army in the occupied region of Germany for an indefinite period, pending determination of whether the United States should participate in the permanent occupation of German territory. About 8,000 of the 13,000 American soldiers now in Germany were to be brought home, but as only two transports had been assigned to this duty, the reduction would not be fully accomplished until March, 1922.

In the annual report of the Red Cross Society, issued Oct. 29, it was disclosed that the organization had spent \$10,000,000 in the last fiscal year to aid disabled veterans of the World War. The report showed that at the close of the fiscal year on June 30 there were 26,300 disabled men in

the 1,692 Public Health Service, contract and other Government hospitals and soldiers' homes. This number, the report added, was increasing at the rate of 1,000 a month, and the Red Cross had been told by Government officials that the peak would not be reached before 1925.

The work done by the Red Cross was varied, and consisted in obtaining medical treatment, compensation and vocational training for veterans, in furnishing financial aid and care for their families and in providing recreation and assistance of every sort while the men were receiving treatment and training.

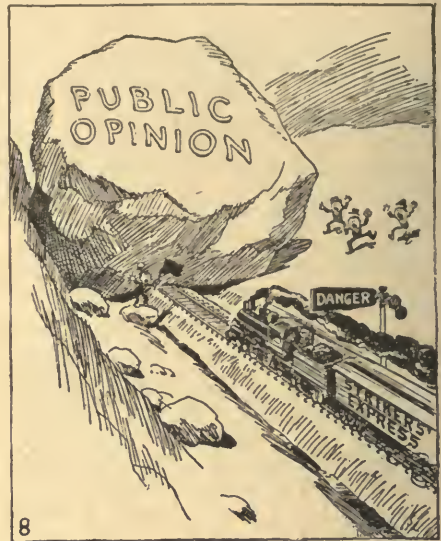
NAVAL AFFAIRS

President Harding on Oct. 29 nominated Captains Sumner E. W. Kittelle, William V. Pratt and Louis M. Nulton to be Rear Admirals. Captain Kittelle was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1889, and had served as Commander of the battleships Georgia and Maryland. Captain Pratt served as Assistant Chief of Naval Operations from 1917 to 1919. He will be one of the naval advisers to the American delegates at the arms conference. Captain Nulton has been in command of a number of naval vessels, including the battleship Pennsylvania.

It was stated in Washington on Nov. 6 that a new type of submarine motive plant, a combination of gas and electric propulsion, would be put in three American submarines of the V type, two of which had just been laid down at the Portsmouth (N. H.) Navy Yard. Naval engineers were said to be watching the construction with great interest, because of their expectation that improved operation of submersible war craft would result from the new power plant. A cruising radius of 10,000 miles was said to be a possibility.

The newest submarines are to be 2,025-ton boats, 300 feet long and equipped with electric engines of 6,500 horsepower. They are designed for a surface speed of twenty-one and a submerged speed of from

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

WELL, THEY CAN'T SAY THE SIGNAL
WASN'T WORKING

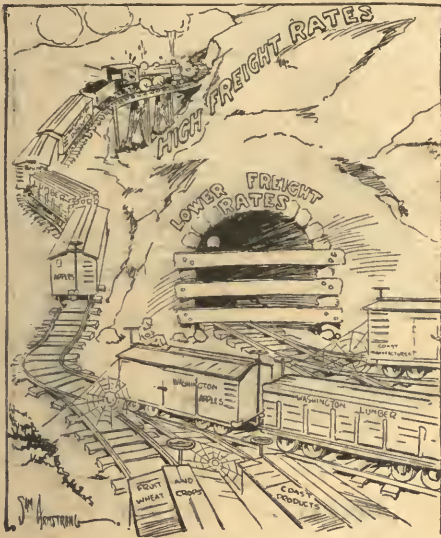
nine to ten knots an hour. When completed in 1923, each of the new submarines will be armed with a 5-inch gun set in a "wet" mount forward of the conning tower. The gun is designed to remain in the water when the boat is submerged, and can be trained almost in a complete circle or elevated as an anti-aircraft weapon. Machine guns will be mounted on the conning tower bridge. Forward will be four torpedo tubes and aft two others, all of the 21-inch size. Storage space is planned for sixteen torpedoes.

LOSS ON MERCHANT SHIPS

The United States Shipping Board, it was stated on Oct. 18, had had an inventory made of all surplus material and supplies left over from its war activities, and had authorized the removal of all restrictions placed on the sale of general materials and supplies.

The cost value of the material covered by the appraisal and inventory was \$389,780,000 and its value at present is estimated at approximately

[American Cartoon]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

OPENING THE TUNNEL WOULD HELP
A LOT

\$75,000,000, exclusive of the real estate at 45 Broadway, New York, fuel oil stations all over the world, and ships and drydocks under construction, on which no appraisal value has been set. The supplies and material available for immediate sale were bought for \$125,000,000, and their present appraisal value is \$35,000,000.

Whole towns were also slated to be sold regardless of cost. Contracts were signed on Nov. 1 by the Shipping Board through the Emergency Fleet Corporation to sell about 2,000 houses erected by the Government during the war for occupancy by the officers and employees of the ship-building yards.

TAX REVISION BILL

The Senate on Nov. 8 passed the tax revision bill after a continuous session of more than fifteen hours. The measure then went to conference between the Senate and the House for final agreement on the amendments made by the Senate. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 38 to 24. Senator Broussard of Louisiana was the

only Democrat who supported it, while Senators LaFollette, Norris and Moses, Republicans, voted against it. The soldiers' bonus amendment was brought forward twice, but was rejected both times.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the Senate adopted an amendment which taxes gifts that exceed in monetary or property value \$20,000, the purpose being, it was stated, to check the practice by which it was possible for a man to reduce his tax bill by transferring parts of his taxable property to members of his family, other persons or institutions. The amendment, which was offered by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, provided for a graduated tax, beginning with 1 per cent on gifts between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and ending with 25 per cent. on all gifts that exceed \$10,000,000.

Outstanding features of the bill were provisions for repeal of the excess profits tax and of all the transportation taxes on Jan. 1, 1922, and a reduction of the surtax rate all along the line, with the maximum rate reduced from 65 per cent. to 50 per cent.

RAILWAY RATE DECISION

A decision of far-reaching importance to railroads, shippers and the public was handed down by the Interstate Commerce Commission on Oct. 22. The commission not only directed reduction of freight rates on certain commodities, but revived a principle of rate-making believed to be of greater consequence than any enunciated for a decade past. The principle was that the commission, instead of making its freight rates applicable to the operating costs of the railroads, would be guided in future by the reasonableness and justice of freight rates, leaving to the railroads the readjustment of their expenses to conform to the income which the commission's rate-fixing rulings permitted. The special case in question involved interstate rates on grain, grain products and hay in carload lots between points in the Western and Mountain-Pacific

groups of railroads, and the reduction on the commodities named averaged 16 per cent.

STRIKE ORDER NULLIFIED

The threatened strike of railway employes against the decision of the Railroad Labor Board reducing wages, which was scheduled to go into effect on Oct. 30, was called off on Oct. 27 after a four-hour conference of the "Big Five" Brotherhood heads at Chicago. It had been made clear by the Labor Board that it "would deal with the unions with ungloved hands" in its attempt to prevent a walkout of the union members, and the contest had virtually narrowed down to one between the union leaders and the Government itself. Under these circumstances, the leaders felt that a further fight would be useless.

The resolutions annulling the strike went extensively into the history of the controversy, and pointed out that the "Big Five" groups based the cancellation of the strike order upon (1) the assurance given by the railway executives that no carrier would seek changes in wages of working schedules except through the legal agency of the Labor Board, and upon (2) the policy of the board as enunciated in the memorandum it had adopted.

That memorandum stated as a policy that the Labor Board would not take up for consideration any request for further wage cuts for any class of employes until it had finished with the matter of rules and working conditions for that class. The board held that it thus eliminated both contingencies which influenced the vote to strike against the July wage cut itself.

FOREIGN LIQUOR BARRED

In a decision handed down Oct. 21, Judge Julius M. Mayer of the United States District Court held that the transshipment of liquor through the United States from one country to another was prohibited by the Eight-

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

IN ONE EAR AND OUT THE OTHER

eenth Amendment and the Volstead act. The pronouncement of the Court was in a test case brought by the Anchor Steamship Line to restrain George W. Aldridge, Collector of the Port of New York, and other Government officials from interfering with a shipment of five cases of Scotch whisky through the Port of New York. Had Judge Mayer upheld the contention of the plaintiff company, it would have been lawful for liquor originating in Canada, for instance, to be shipped across the country to Mexico, and for liquor originating in Europe to be shipped across the United States for export from a Pacific Coast port.

Internal Revenue Commissioner Blair announced in Washington on Nov. 1 that letters were to be sent to brewers, advising them that beer already manufactured and held in stock could be sold for medical purposes under the new Treasury regulations. Sale of this beer, Mr. Blair declared, could begin at once under the proper permits. The whole status of this question was changed a week later, however, by the passage of the anti-beer bill by Congress. Details of that measure will appear in next month's CURRENT HISTORY.

MARSHAL FOCH'S ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN LEGION

Full text of the historic speech at Kansas City, in which the greatest living soldier of France extolled the brave deeds of Americans in the World War

FERDINAND FOCH, Marshal of France, probably touched the supreme moment of his visit to the United States when, on Nov. 1, 1921, he and other distinguished World War leaders led a parade of 25,000 ex-soldiers of the American Legion through the streets of Kansas City, Mo., and when, in reply to a speech of welcome by General Pershing, he delivered in French the address which is here translated:

Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the great American Army, my dear comrades of the American Legion:

I cannot tell you how great is my satisfaction at finding myself among you, valiant soldiers of 1918, to live again our glorious memories. Three years ago, on the first of November, 1918, the entire American army in France took up vigorously the pursuit of the defeated enemy and did not halt until the German surrender. Hour of glory for the American Army, a proper culmination for a military effort, prodigious alike in its intensity as in its rapidity. One and all you have had your share in it. You may well be proud!

In responding in mass to the call to arms of your Government, in equipping, training and organizing yourselves as rapidly as possible, you had in view only the purpose to take your place as soon as possible in the line of battle.

In numbers—Eighteen months after the declaration of war by the United States on Germany the American Army had passed from effectives of 9,500 officers and 125,000 men to 180,000 officers and 3,500,000 men.

Effort of organization—If, in the month of March, 1918, you had in France but six divisions, six months later you had forty-one, of which thirty-one engaged in battle.

Effort in instruction—In order to have officers, non-commissioned officers and men rapidly trained, you multiplied in America, as in France, your schools and camps, which became centres of prodigious activity. In order to arm you and encamp you the American manufactories worked without respite and supplied all your needs.

Admirable effort also in transportation—You swept away every obstacle which interfered with bringing your units from the centres of instruction to the ports of embarkation. In France, you improved the ports of debarkation, created new installations, increased the traffic of the railroad system by work of all kinds and multiplied your store houses and hospitals.

Your shipyards were organized for intensive production in such a way that when the war ended you utilized for your ocean transporta-

tion almost four millions of marine tonnage, instead of 94,000 available at the beginning of the war. And meanwhile your splendid war fleet, thanks to its vigilance and its fine military qualities, protected, with an efficiency to which I am happy to pay tribute here, the transportation of your troops and material.

A prodigious effort on the part of your entire nation's intelligence, will power and energy! A prodigious effort which has filled your associates with admiration and gratitude and confounded your enemy!

This splendid spirit of an entire nation we find again on the battlefields of France, where it was blazoned in the admirable virtues of bravery and heroism. It was the spirit of the Second and Third American Army Divisions which, one month later, took part in the second battle of the Marne and distinguished themselves immediately in the operations around Château-Thierry and in Belleau Wood. Again it was the spirit of those five divisions which, on July 18, participated in the victorious counter-offensive of the Tenth and Sixth French Armies, between the Aisne and the Marne, and contributed in great measure to that victory.

Finally, it was that spirit which animated all the American Army when, on July 24, General Pershing formed your splendid units under his own direct command. On Sept. 12, 1918, the First American Army delivered its first battle on the soil of France. It dislodged the enemy from the St. Mihiel salient, where he had entrenched himself for nearly four years, and threw him back beyond the foot of the hills of the Meuse. From the very first the American Army entered into glory. How many further laurels was it yet to win?

The St. Mihiel operation was nearly ended when the American Army attacked on a new front. On Sept. 25 it was engaged on the right wing of the vast allied offensive. The point of direction assigned to it was Mezières, on the Meuse. Deployed from the left bank of the Meuse to the eastern confines of Champagne, it had three army corps in line on a front of nearly forty kilometers. Before it stretched the region of the Argonne, formidable emplacement of the German defense, a wooded terrain, rugged, difficult in its very nature, and rendered more so by all the defensive organizations which had been accumulated there during the last four years.

Nothing could discourage or check your army. It threw itself with generous ardor into the immense mêlée. The task was a rude one, but it was carried out to a thorough finish. Fighting without respite night and day for a month, advancing in spite of the pitfalls and the counter-attacks of the enemy, it succeeded, by pure

force of tenacity and heroism, in liberating the wild region of the Argonne. After St. Mihiel, it could now inscribe proudly upon its banners the name of the Argonne!

On the 16th of October this great task was finished; it joined hands with the Fourth French Army in the defile of Grand Pré. In consequence of this, the enemy's resistance was severely shaken; the moment had arrived to give him the final blow.

On Nov. 1, just three years ago today, the First American Army again attacked and, in a splendid advance, reached Buzancy, penetrating the German line for more than ten kilometers. The enemy this time retired definitely; the Stars and Stripes at once took up the pursuit and, six days later, floated victoriously over the Meuse reconquered. After St. Mihiel, after the Argonne, the American banners now bore the name of Meuse! In a few months you had taken 45,000 prisoners and 1,400 cannon from the enemy.

Glory to the First American Army! Glory also to those of your divisions which, distributed among the French and British armies, contributed in great measure to the final success, whether with the Fifth French Army to the northwest of Rheims or with the Fourth French Army, in which they carried, in magnificent assault, the strong positions of Orfeulles; or,

again, with the British armies for the capture of the famous Hindenburg line, or with the group of armies of Flanders, pursuing the enemy on the road to Brussels.

During this time your Second Army impatiently waited to attack in its turn in the direction of Metz, which already was stretching her arms to us for deliverance; but, harassed and defeated, the enemy laid down his arms! A solemn hour, which compensated for all the sacrifices freely consented to for the cause of right.

It is you who have made these sacrifices. More than 75,000 of your countrymen were buried in the soil of France. May they rest in peace! Your French brothers in arms watch over them. Glory to you who survive them and who enjoy victorious peace! You may well be proud of your past exploits. Your country had asked of you to lay low a redoubtable enemy. You have placed him at your mercy, and, after having assured every guarantee for the liberty of our peoples, you have imposed upon him the peace which our Governments have dictated. Has not your task been completely fulfilled?

As for me, the great honor of my life will be to have guided along the road of victory the American Army of 1918, which was a real grand army, beginning with its commander.

ONE REASON WHY THE HAPSBURGS WISH FOR RESTORATION

A DISPATCH from Paris in September stated that an American syndicate had arranged with the Archduke Friedrich, Commander-in-Chief of the Austro-Hungarian Armies, for the recovery of his family's pre-war property from the succession States which have confiscated it. If the efforts of such a syndicate should be successful, it would mean much to the old Austrian and Hungarian aristocracy, whose properties, for the most part, are situated in Slovakia, where the people are demanding the speeding-up of the Land Reform measures which are intended to furnish full economic liberation from the old régime. The property involved had a direct bearing on the complete failure of ex-Emperor Charles to regain his throne.

Recent statistics issued by the Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture show how vast an amount of land was held by the aristocratic exiles. The following tables are illuminating. They show the percentage of the total land area held by the aristocracy and by other classes:

CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

	Land Holding Per Cent.
Aristocracy	55
Imperial estates	10
Catholic Church	8
People	15
Communities	12
BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, SILESIA	
Aristocracy	71
Imperial estates	5.5
Catholic Church	9
People	9
Communities	5.5

SLOVAKIA

Aristocracy	36
Imperial estates	16
Catholic Church	6
People and Communities	22

Thus it will be seen that the aristocrats and the former rulers of these countries held and are trying still to hold 65 per cent., 76.5 per cent. and 52 per cent. of all the lands. Thirty-three noblemen in Bohemia hold 846,000 hectares of the soil, which is one-sixth of all Bohemia. And it is the best and richest soil; the poorest soil is held by the people and the communities.

OUR PART IN THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD WAR

BY THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM

Captain United States Reserves

War effort of the United States defined by an expert as the furnishing of a reinforcement against a contained enemy at a well-defined crisis, thus adding a sudden definite element to the strength of the Entente—The task faced by our armies in France

ANY ONE attempting to estimate the influence of the United States upon the World War should first of all realize that America became a part of a military situation which differed from any that had gone before. In the history of the strategy of the war the United States will be given its place as providing a reinforcement against a contained enemy at a well-defined crisis. For this reason, in any true narrative of the war, the effort of America must be described as a separate strategic factor. That our nation's service should stand out in this way does not imply undue praise, nor any comparison with the continued efforts of the Entente Allies. It simply means that the function of the United States must be characterized as a thing apart, as will become evident in reviewing the strategy of the war.

In 1914 the supposedly infallible German superman was not long in showing ordinary human lack of understanding the initial strategic problem of Germany, and this soon neutralized the results of long years of German preparation. For Germany, at the outset, there existed an advantageous strategic situation that was thought to be a sure promise of victory. The Teutonic allies possessed a central and concentrated position against separated antagonists. This was the result of events in preceding years, as Russia had been shut off from Great Britain and France.

With this established condition—

that their enemies would be separated—the Germans were enabled to plan to attack the Entente Allies in detail—first France, then Russia. This was the strategy of the German General Staff, and it was to be carried out by the Schlieffen plan of war “on two fronts.” * This plan had been determined years in advance, and it had been elaborated with rigidly fixed details, to the exclusion of all other solutions. Its strategy obsessed the Germans. It was the product of the hierarchy of Clausewitz, Moltke, and Schlieffen—and that it would fail was thought impossible.

Of this German plan of war, it should be stated at once that it violated a fundamental of warfare, in that it was essentially a military plan and neglected to make full use of the navy arm. Admiral Tirpitz unqualifiedly says that the navy's plan of operations “had not been arranged in advance with the army.” For the Germans to allow themselves to be absorbed in this military plan was an error, but at the outbreak of war German strategy must be studied as restricted to the Schlieffen military plan—to overwhelm France by “forcing a speedy decision,” while Russia was to be contained.

The elaborate encircling movement through Belgium, to which the German General Staff had thus committed the powerful German armies, failed to produce the essential result of imposing these German armies in

*Bethmann Hollweg.

destructive contact upon the allied armies, until after the Allies had gathered sufficient force to fight an equal battle—and, in the words of Falkenhayn, "the intention of forcing a speedy decision, which had hitherto been the foundation of the German plan of campaign, had failed." At the same time the Central Powers had failed to contain the Russians.

SITUATION AFTER THE MARNE

Consequently the middle of September, 1914, saw the failure of German strategy to win decisive results with the great forces that had been prepared through so many years. The Moltke regime was ended, though this fact was kept secret to prevent "further ostensible proof of the completeness of the victory obtained on the Marne."* Then and there the decision was forced that the World War was not to be a quick, overwhelming victory won by Germany's long-prepared military strength. Not only had the perfected strategy of the Schlieffen school failed to win the victory which had been thought certain, but also great harm had been done to the prospects of Germany by the moral effect of the invasion of Belgium. Moral forces are of actual strategic value in war—and there is no question of the fact that the violation of Belgium† arrayed strong moral forces against Germany.

By this defeat of the German war plan of 1914 a complete change had been brought about in the strategic situation. The Central Powers had quickly lost the offensive, and military events had already shaped the war into a new form—a long, protracted struggle to gather strength enough for one side or the other to force a decision.

The initial blow of the carefully prepared strength of Germany had failed, but its great proportions had already fixed the scale of the war at

a magnitude undreamed before. There were about two million and a quarter men engaged in the Battle of the Marne. At the Battle of Leipsic, the "Battle of the Nations," the culmination of the forces evoked by the Napoleonic wars, the number of troops of all armies was 430,000. (Battle of Leipsic, Oct. 16-19, 1813.) It had taken many years devoted to the production of armies to furnish the numbers at Leipsic, and that was a decisive battle resulting in the overthrow of Napoleon. In 1914, a few short weeks formed armies of many times this number, facing one another with no possibility of an immediate decision.

From this time the war became an unending effort to maintain and strengthen these huge armies in the long struggle which followed, each side attempting to gain a superiority that would win a decision, and all the warring nations involved in expenditures that were unprecedented. As soon as the war reached this stage the influence of sea power began to have an effect. Armies on the battlefields maintain their positions by being replenished with men and supplied with material. Even where recruits do not have to be transported by sea, the sea is the one greatest means of moving supplies, and the nation cut off from the sea has always sooner or later felt the results of this deprivation.

This was the case with Germany in the World War. The Germans had failed to win the quick decision which they had thought would surely be obtained by their armies alone. After this failure, throughout the war, the central allies were to feel more and more the ill effects of the control of the sea by their enemies. The strategic situation brought about thus early in the war by sea power should always remain in the mind of the student of the history of the World War—and the foundation of this power lay in the British Navy. It meant that the Entente Allies possessed the waterways of the world as secure means of transporting men

*Falkenhayn.

†"Our greatest disaster: the German entry into Belgium"—Count Czernin, "In the World War."

and supplies, to maintain their armies, their peoples and their industries. It also meant that the Central Powers were shut off from the use of these invaluable means of carrying on the war.

GERMAN MILITARY STRENGTH

Yet, in spite of the relentless pressure of sea power upon the Central Powers, the military preparations of Germany had developed so great a strength that for three years the war remained a desperate struggle, with each of the great nations of the Entente suffering the constant strain of maintaining the contest. The year 1917 ended with Russia in military collapse, and the Italian armies so shattered that they had become a drain upon Britain and France, at a time when the British and French armies had been woefully depleted by the losses in the battles of 1917 on the western front.

It was true that the Central Powers had failed to win their expected decision through unrestricted submarine warfare, but the beginning of 1918 found them enabled to concentrate the full German strength upon the western front, without any danger of a diversion elsewhere, as Russia had been put out of the war and the Italians could not undertake an early offensive. This ability to move troops from the east gave the Germans an actual superiority in numbers,* as the British and French resources in man-power had been drained in the costly and unsuccessful battles of 1917 to such an extent that it had become a hard task to fill the ranks of the British and French armies. There was no hope of an increase to offset the German reinforcements from the east.†

Holding this assured superiority,‡

*"Numerically we had never been so strong in comparison with our enemies."—Ludendorff.

†"Allied resources in man-power at home were low and there was little prospect of increasing their armed strength."—General Pershing.

‡"When on March 21, 1918, the German army on the western front began its series of offensives, it was by far the most formidable force the world has ever seen."—General Pershing.

the Germans were able to plan their great offensive in 1918 without any danger of counterattacks. Ludendorff had become the controlling power in the German General Staff. His strategy was a return to the direct methods of concentration of forces against a chosen point of attack, and new tactics had been devised by which many divisions were grouped against the chosen point, insuring successive streams of troops which infiltrated the enemy positions and dislocated the defenders.

These new tactics were surprisingly effective against the Allies, and at the beginning of July, 1918, this formidable German offensive, in a series of overwhelming attacks, had so smashed and dislocated the allied armies, even after they had at last been united under the command of Foch, that it is difficult to see how the situation could have been saved except by a strong reinforcement for the Allies, and this could be furnished only by the American troops. To define this critical military situation explicitly, it is only necessary to quote the following statement of the Versailles Conference, June 12, 1918:

General Foch has presented to us a statement of the utmost gravity * * * as there is no possibility of the British and French increasing the numbers of their divisions * * * there is a great danger of the war being lost unless the numerical inferiority of the Allies can be remedied as rapidly as possible by the advent of American troops. * * * We are satisfied that General Foch * * * is not overestimating the needs of the case. * * *

D. LLOYD GEORGE.
CLEMENCEAU,
ORLANDO.

It is not often in history that a crisis has been put on record in such unmistakable terms by the highest authority, and it is a matter for thanksgiving that the United States was able to provide the reinforcement needed at this time.

TASK OF UNITED STATES

There is no longer any question of the fact that the German Headquarters made their calculation that it was utterly out of the question for

the United States to exert any physical force upon the war.* The German leaders had on occasions yielded to keep us out of the war—to avoid having our resources at the service of the Allies—but the Germans applied their own formulas to our nation, and, following these, it was held a military impossibility for an adequate American army to appear upon the fighting front. It must also be said that this was the prevailing opinion among European military experts of all countries† and from the European point of view a military impossibility was accomplished when our troops performed their part in the war.

Our strategic problem was an operation against a contained enemy with the great advantage for us of freedom from danger of being attacked. But it was complicated by the condition that transportation overseas, which would normally have been provided by allied shipping, had been impaired by the submarines to so great an extent that we were compelled to provide a large share of the transportation ourselves. The submarine menace, and its diversion of allied naval forces, also made it imperative for us to provide a great proportion of the necessary naval protection. There was the added urgent necessity of haste, or the war would be lost.‡

This crisis demanded an effort on

the part of the United States that would comprise: Raising and training an army; transporting a great part of that army overseas; providing supplies and transporting them overseas; giving naval protection; providing terminals and bases overseas to receive and handle the troops and supplies. All this must be done in haste, and at the outset on the vast scale set by the unprecedented demands of the World War. There was no time for the gradual development of forces.

This was the task which the United States must perform in a race with an emergency. It is needless to point out that this service of America necessarily implied intensive effort for a short time, and the function of the United States in the strategy of the war differed in this respect from that of any nation of the Entente. This service was accomplished by giving and taking material and munitions, but in a strategic sense the force exerted by America should be looked upon as a sudden definite element added to the strength of the Entente. Consequently the effort of the United States must be treated as an episode by itself in the strategy of the war.

As has been said, this condition implies that the account of the American effort must stand out, in a way, in any history of the strategy of the World War. On the other hand, the services of Great Britain and France comprise the history of the whole war, as they are intertwined with its events from the beginning to the end. The fact that America had its own important part, which must be told en bloc, does not mean any comparison with the long ordeals of effort which extended throughout the war.

*"Would she appear in time to snatch the victor's laurels from our brows? That, and that only, was the decisive question! I believed I could answer it in the negative."—Hindenburg.

†"Joffre, in an interview with the Secretary of War in May, 1917, said that 400,000 would be our limit, and that one French port would be sufficient to receive them."—Admiral Gleaves. "History of the Cruiser and Transport Force."

‡"The Allies are very weak and we must come to their aid this year, 1918. The year after may be too late."—General Pershing, 1917.

THE FUTURE OF POISON GAS

BY BRIG. GEN. AMOS A. FRIES, U. S. A.

Revolution in war methods due to the use of poison gas on the battlefields of France—How the nations now face a new set of problems in defensive warfare—A step toward world peace

Introductory Note by Carl W. Ackerman.

Contrary to the accepted view, Germany did not discover poison gas or "invent" chemical warfare. Although the German Army was the first to use poisonous and suffocating gases during the World War, history credits the Spartans with the discovery of this "new agency of warfare." More than 2,300 years ago they saturated wood with pitch and sulphur, and burned it under the walls of Plataea and Belium. Furthermore, in 1855, a British Admiral, Lord Dundonald, suggested to Lord Palmerston that the British use the fumes of sulphur from Sicily in attacking Sebastopol. The publication of Lord Dundonald's reports in 1908 is said to have given the German military leaders the idea of utilizing poisonous gases in a European war.

From the time of the first gas attack upon the Canadians until the close of the war, chemical warfare had progressed so rapidly that in the American Army alone 4,066 commissioned officers and 44,615 enlisted men were assigned to this branch of the service. Military experts state today that when the armistice was signed the war was 55 per cent. chemical. Twenty-eight different chemicals were being used by the belligerents and sixteen combinations of poisons, making a total of forty-four varieties of poisonous and suffocating gases. Of this number the Germans used seventeen, the French thirteen, the British six and our own army five different kinds of gases, not to mention TNT and "common smoke" used in smoke screens.

When it is recalled that in one night alone, late in the war, 50,000 gas shells were fired into Nieuport, some containing as much as three gallons of mustard gas, it is possible to realize the extent to which poisonous gases will be used in a future war. During the brief period we were in the war the United States manufactured 22,257,070 pounds of poison gas, including over 5,000,000 pounds of liquid chlorine and another 5,000,000 of chloropicrin. Of this amount we shipped in bulk 8,556,000 pounds to France, and among the 400,000 gas shells received by the Chemical Warfare Service in France from this country "not a single leaky shell" was found.

The United States is today experimenting on a large scale with poison gases. These experiments take in every phase of warfare,

because chemical warfare is the most universal of all methods of waging war.

England, Italy, France and Japan, all realizing the possibilities of future uses of gases obtained from coal-tar products, have protected their own chemical industries from German dumping, and are experimenting and studying on a large scale the "new agencies of warfare," which, as is pointed out in the following article by Brig. Gen. Fries, are revolutionizing armaments and methods of offense and defense in war.

Brig. Gen. Fries is the leading authority in the United States on poison gas. In August, 1917, he was made chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army in France. He made our chemical warfare service what it is today, and he is still directing this branch of the service for the War Department in Washington. He is the co-author with Major Clarence J. West of "Chemical Warfare," the first authoritative book on the subject of poison gas to be published in the United States.

WAR is today at the beginning of a complete change in armament. New forces discovered in coal-tar products and the application of these to military and naval strategy have produced new agencies of warfare which are causing a revolution in armaments.

Greater progress has been made since the close of the war in perfecting and developing poison gas bombs than any nation foresaw three years ago. Poison gas, in this very brief period of time, has become the biggest potential military and naval problem of the world, and some of its future possibilities were indicated by the recent bombing tests off the Atlantic coast. These tests demonstrated that our coasts are almost impregnable against a foreign enemy who has to cross the ocean. If bombs containing poison gases can be dropped from airplanes upon or

around enemy warships, if submarines can lay mines containing gases, and if gases in solid form, which will burn on water as well as on land, can be utilized to protect our coasts, chemical warfare is bound to have a great influence upon our methods of defense.

The most expensive forms of armament are those most readily visible. Thus battleships, huge guns carried on railroad mounts, permanent fortifications, submarines, airplanes and numbers of soldiers themselves, are items that cannot be maintained or developed secretly in peace. All are subject to easy inspection, which will at once reveal whether or not a nation is keeping its agreement. But limitation of armament is not disarmament, nor is it necessarily abolition of war. Expensive and easily visible items of armament may be kept down, but preparation, which is really a part of the peace life of a nation, can be neither successfully supervised nor repressed.

It is true that chemical warfare materials as well as high explosives, being so fundamentally bound up with the synthetic organic chemical industry, present at once the most difficult method of preparation to supervise, and the cheapest and most effective for defense. Indeed, the outstanding result of the bombing tests carried on during the last year has been the realization that the defense of the seacoast against an enemy that must cross the ocean has become immeasurably strengthened.

THE NEW WARFARE

For nearly forty years it has been realized that the battleship could not successfully cope with the gun on shore. In order to keep those battleships at a distance, fortifications were built on the most seaward points of land in order to keep ships from shelling harbors and cities. In those days fleets contemplated and practiced the "run-by." The "run-by" was simply what Farragut did at New Orleans when he steamed his vessels past the fortifications below

that city. Today such an attempt would be suicidal. With submarines and bombing planes inside harbors, the defender of a port could ask for nothing better than that enemy ships should come inside.

Prior to the World War the submarine had already made the old-fashioned blockade of a port impossible. Today and in the future, with the submarine augmented by the airplane and chemical warfare materials, fleets cannot approach a coast with safety at all unless they can carry sufficient airplanes to overcome the land air force. This means that war is today at the beginning of a great change in armament. The limitation of armaments will but hasten that change—a change which war would in time itself produce.

That the change will not take place at once is proved by the battle of the Monitor and Merrimac on March 8, 1862, which doomed at once and forever the wooden ship. The single gun of the Monitor, with its protection of steel and all-round fire from a turret, was more than a match for the 140 guns of the great wooden battleship of that day. And yet it was twenty-five years or more before the last of the wooden ships disappeared from the sea. The change in the present instance will come faster, but even then we shall probably have the mingling of the ancient and the modern for a decade and more to come.

The last year has seen also the absolute triumph of the most scientific nations over the savage, through the development of chemical warfare and aviation. No longer can an uprising in any country on the globe amount to anything unless those in control of it are supplied with the necessary aviation and chemical warfare materials.

It may now be said that the development of aviation and chemical warfare materials has made defense of the homeland cheaper and easier. Particularly is this true of a country separated from other powerful countries by water. With the realization of this power of defense has come also the realization that great mili-

tary power in the future will be measured far less by numbers of soldiers than in the past. The nation which has a coal supply sufficient to furnish power and coal tar products can make all the high explosives and war gases needed, or that can be used, by any nation. With the development of an air service she can with comparatively small numbers of men defend her shores against any enemy.

CHEMISTRY IN FUTURE WARS

The last year has been remarkable for the growth of understanding of the fundamental importance of chemistry in peace and war. With this has come a realization that the activities of peace and those of war are no longer capable of complete segregation.

The war of today and of the future will involve every activity of a nation and of every inhabitant of that nation. The development of sanitation and preventive medicine, which has made possible the continual growth of great cities, has made possible also the maintenance in the field of numbers of men limited only by the man power of nations.

Although some of the chemicals developed for use in war prior to the armistice have been made known to the world, a number of others have not. Every nation of first-class importance, moreover, has continued to pursue the study of chemical warfare. These studies will continue, and we must expect that new gases, new methods of turning them loose and new tactical uses will be developed. Gas is the only substance used in war which can be counted upon to do its work as efficiently at night as in the daytime. Chemical warfare has come to stay, and just in proportion as the United States gives chemical warfare its proper place in its military establishment, just in that proportion will the United States be ready to meet any or all comers in the future, for the United States has incomparable resources in the shape of crude materials that are necessary in the manufacture of gases.

So long as wars were carried on solely by men trained in peace for that purpose—in other words, by a standing army—definite rules of warfare could be enforced. In other words, so long as the numbers of each nation not engaged in a war were much larger than the forces engaged, there was a sufficient force to make armies live up more or less well to fixed rules of carrying on warfare. When, however, whole nations became involved in war, and the fate of the entire nation hung in the balance, it became evident to thoughtful men that no set rules of warfare could be guaranteed. In other words, a nation fighting for its life will use any means that offer a chance to win.

This must be accepted as fundamental and axiomatic, and all plans for future defense should be based thereon.* Thus, no method of warfare that promises results can be abolished by agreement, unless all warfare can be so abolished. The last year, however, has been remarkable for the growth of feeling that the burden of preparation for war is too great, and with the growth of that opinion has come the feeling that expensive forms of armament might safely be reduced by agreement.

War is like dueling. So long as it was a safe sport for Kings, noblemen and statesmen to engage in, dueling prospered. So long as the leaders of nations could carry on wars for years without harm to themselves, war was a sport. But today, with the development of chemical bombs and airplanes, no statesman or ruler is any more immune from attack than

*An English authority, Major Victor Lefebure, in a book called "The Riddle of the Rhine: Chemical Strategy in Peace and War," treats the same subject, and reaches practically the same conclusions. Poison gas as a powerful military weapon, he intimates, has come to stay, and will tend to revolutionize all future international warfare. He studies the use the Germans made of it in France, showing the advantage it gave them with the great chemical equipment which they had ready at hand, until the Allies, caught unprepared, were able to establish chemical plants for the same purpose. In the March offensive of 1918 German guns fired more than 50 per cent. of gas and war chemicals, which they got mainly from the great Essen works, still the world power in chemical enterprise.

a private soldier. The one thing that killed dueling in the United States was not public sentiment, but fear on the part of combatants. A gentleman who thought his honor was impeached challenged another to a duel. Being challenged, the second party had the right to choose weapons, time, place and conditions. He selected butcher knives, a dark room with all doors locked—and the duel was never fought. So it will be with chemical bombs. They have not only made coasts impregnable, but they have

vastly decreased the possibilities of another long war.

Every development of science that makes warfare more universal and more scientific makes for permanent peace by making war intolerable; and I, for one, believe that all nations should be given to understand that if we are forced into a war we shall use every known chemical method of warfare against hostile forces wherever they are located. That would be our permanent guarantee against attack.

COST OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

HOW much does the League of Nations cost? A recent report by Sir Rennell Rodd, an active member of the League Finance Committee, gives authoritative information on this subject.

The estimated cost of the League for 1922 was to have been 23,768,846 gold francs (21 gold francs equal £1 gold, or \$5). Of this sum Great Britain and France were to have paid 2,291,242 francs each. The estimated total was cut down subsequently to 20,758,945 gold francs, of which 6,135,610 go to the International Labor Bureau. Thus the quota of each member State was reduced by 18 per cent. This was tidings of great joy to some of the smaller States, on whom the cost of the League has weighed heavily; States like Poland, which complained that its quota was one-third of what it spends on its foreign office; or Salvador, which has paid nothing so far, on the plea of "Non possumus!" The delegates of various nations have further complained bitterly of the high cost of living in Geneva, which makes all Conference sojourns unreasonably expensive. Unfortunately, the League has

bought, not rented, the former Hotel National in Geneva, and the loss by sale and removed would be considerable.

There has also been criticism of the high salaries paid the League officials. These salaries were fixed on the basis of the British Civil Service. Italy has pointed out that there are secondary officials of the League who get more than the 25,000 lire which Signor Giolitti received as salary for governing Italy! The salary of Sir Eric Drummond, Permanent Secretary of the Council of the League, was cut from 84,000 gold francs—£4,000 plus £6,000 for representation expense—to £6,500 by reducing the representation expenses. A reduction in printing estimates was also made. The printing cost for 1921 was 250,000 gold francs; it was estimated at 415,000 for 1922, and was cut to 311,250 francs. Extra-expensive meetings at far distant points like Barcelona and San Sebastian will probably not occur again. The contemplated opening of a branch League Office in South America will also reduce the hitherto heavy cable costs.

GROWTH OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Remarkable results of the World War in creating a vast new business in the United States—Our manufacture of chemicals and dyes increased 247 per cent. in five years—How former German plants are contributing to American enterprise

GRANTING that Jonah's gourd grew as fast as has been alleged; its achievement must still seem tame when compared with the remarkable development of the American chemical industry in recent years. According to Census Bureau figures, the aggregate value of products manufactured by the chemical industry of the United States in 1919 was \$694,643,000 as compared with \$200,195,800 in 1914, an increase of 247 per cent. in five years.

Such statistics take a part of the sting out of memories of our late abject dependence on Germany for dyes and chemicals. It was only seven years ago that Germany's production of dyes, drugs and the like was more than twice that of all the rest of the world and more than twenty-one times that of the United States, a nation with a population approximately 50 per cent. larger than that of Germany. And it does help forget that dole of dyes condescendingly delivered by submarine

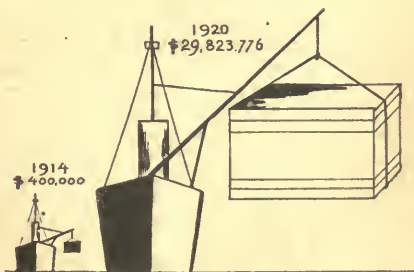
and accepted with due humility in 1916, to learn that our exports of dyes increased from a paltry \$400,000 in 1914 to \$29,823,591 in 1920, which was nearly double the 1919 figure.

While on the subject of dyes, the fact may be mentioned that in the calendar year 1920 eighty-two manufacturers reported a total production of 88,263,776 pounds of dyes valued at \$95,613,749. This quantity represents an increase of 40 per cent. over 1919 and exceeds the imports of 1914 by 92 per cent. The dyes used in large quantities were made in amounts sufficient to supply American needs. A number of these dyes were made in considerable excess of our needs and so were exported, as already related. An interesting feature of the year was the production of 18,178,231 pounds of indigo valued at \$13,497,981. This quantity exceeds by 105 per cent. the production of 1919 and is 116 per cent. greater than the importation in 1914.

Synthetic tanning materials pro-



The value of the chemical products of the United States in 1919 was nearly three and a half times that of 1914



The exports of dyes from the United States in 1920 were nearly seventy-five times as great as those of 1914

duced in 1920 totaled 3,142,861 pounds, a marked increase over 1919. Synthetic tans made by the condensation of certain coal-tar derivatives with formaldehyde in the presence of an acid are of recent development. The large expansion in this new branch of the coal-tar chemical industry is one of the conspicuous events of 1920.

The output of coal-tar medicinals in 1920 was 5,184,989 pounds valued at \$5,726,776. The production of coal-tar flavors and perfumes in 1920 was 99,740 pounds, valued at \$332,008, a gain of 138 per cent. over 1919, while the variety produced was increased from 24 to 41. Perhaps these figures may suffice to visualize the reality of the material development of our new chemical industry. Unfortunately, during 1921 the chemical industry slowed down in sympathy with other business.

PROGRESS IN RESEARCH

Still more gratifying is the discovery that growth has been scientific as well as financial, intellectual as much as material. Dr. John E. Teeple, Chairman of the New York Section of the American Chemical Society, in the course of an address at the sixty-second meeting of the society in September, said:

We are gradually mastering Nature. New products are coming so fast we can scarcely keep abreast even of the records of their discoveries. It is a very great privilege to have a part in this work of mastery. * * * Our brothers in science and its application, the physicists and the engineers, can do wonderful things in the erection of buildings, bridges, railroads, telegraphs and other means of locomotion and communication, but their hands fall to their sides unless chemists can furnish materials of construction necessary, the iron and steels of many kinds, the alloys and the other metals of various kinds. No one of these exists in Nature in a form suitable for use. In every case we must take something that Nature furnishes and transform it by chemical process into something else which is suitable for construction material.

Yet only two years ago Dr. J. R. Angell, then Chairman of the National Research Council, declared that

"Research in industry is astonishingly backward (in America) as compared with Germany and even with England." The good doctor spoke in the present tense probably because he did not have the heart to refer to the dark ages of American chemistry.

Although a few great corporations had signified their appreciation of the importance of chemistry by establishing laboratories for the control of processes and for research to improve their products before the war, the mobilization of two thousand American chemists at the Government experiment station in Washington by the Chemical Warfare Service when America entered the war may be said to have marked the real beginning of our chemical industry. The rate of progress now should satisfy even Dr. Angell.

Yale University, of which Dr. Angell is now the head, is building a chemical laboratory to cost \$3,500,000, which will be the "finest in the world," if that overworked superlative conveys any meaning. Yale is also establishing chairs of research which will be free from the labor of teaching. Harvard and Princeton are following suit by extending materially their activities in chemistry. Cornell has appropriated \$500,000 for a chemical laboratory. Altogether American universities in 1921 appropriated more than \$30,000,000 to promote the study of chemistry. Leland Stanford University has an endowment for research studies in the chemistry of food.

The Carnegie Foundation has made a grant of \$5,000,000 for a building and an endowment for the National Research Council. The Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant of \$500,000 to be expended within five years to promote fundamental research in physics and chemistry at educational institutions in the United States and to found fifteen or twenty research fellowships. A philanthropist as yet unnamed has announced his intention of establishing an institution to insure proper research in plant life.

On this showing the outlook for the future of the American chemical industry would appear to be encouraging.

To return to the present, the American Chemical Society has 15,000 members holding regular meetings in fifty-five local sections scattered throughout the country. The Chemists' Club, although a New York corporation, is national in scope. In 1898 it had 89 members; today it has 1,800. It is housed in a fine building of its own in a desirable location.

GERMANY'S UNWILLING AID

More potent for progress than any other organization is "The Chemical Foundation," through which Germany, however unwillingly, is making reparation to the United States. To understand this it is necessary again to refer to the war, from which everything in chemistry seems to date.

It seems that various investigating agencies of the American Government disclosed the fact that the chemical industry, being then in the hands of Germans, was a natural centre for espionage, propaganda and direct governmental activity during the early period of the war. To cite a single example, representatives of German dye houses working with representatives of their Government were completely successful for a time in efforts to prevent the use of American-made phenol in the manufacture of explosives.

The result of this discovery was the seizure by the Alien Property Custodian of all German dye and chemical patents, numbering approximately 4,500, and covering a very wide field, the classification including metallurgy, fertilizers, fixation of nitrogen, hydrogenization of oils and many other things.

At the suggestion of the Alien Property Custodian a Delaware corporation called "The Chemical Foundation" was formed by members of the American Dyes Institute, the American Manufacturing Chemists Association and others engaged in

various branches of the chemical industries, to buy from the Alien Property Custodian and hold for the chemical industries and the country at large the German-owned United States Chemical and allied patents which he had taken over under the Trading with the Enemy act. The foundation is capitalized at \$500,000, of which \$400,000 is preferred and \$100,000 common stock, only the latter having voting power. The preferred stock is to be redeemed at the pleasure of the Board of Directors whenever the accumulated surplus amounts to 100 per cent. of the issue. Dividends are limited to 6 per cent. The common stock is issued under an agreement to deposit it in a voting trust which is to continue to Jan. 1, 1936. In order to render it certain that the control of the foundation can never be vested in any small group of interested parties, the stock is being distributed as widely as possible among the chemical and allied industries, no one subscriber being allowed to hold more than two shares, or possibly only one.

Having taken all possible precautions against a monopoly under any of these former German patents, the foundation issues non-exclusive licenses under them on reasonable and equal terms to manufacturers whose Americanism and competence are unquestioned. It will also prosecute any who may attempt to import any infringing product. As many of the seized patents are for products, the foundation should be able to exclude infringing goods from any source whatever and should thus be able to give at least a partial protection to the young American dye industry.

CHEMICAL FOUNDATION'S WORK

In addition to the patents the enemy trademarks taken over have also been sold to the foundation; and American manufacturers will be licensed to use them, provided it shall appear upon examination by the foundation that the goods to which the trademarks are attached are equal or superior to those of the original

owner. Such trademarks thus become a guarantee of quality furnished by an impartial body, and thus give American manufacturers an important advantage over foreign competitors. The foundation also purchased from the Custodian the German copyrights covering some of the indispensable literature of science, thus rendering vastly more accessible than at present many of the necessary scientific publications. The foundation also has power under its charter to purchase new patents, a provision which should stimulate chemical invention. It will also be a feature valuable to the public at large, as all inventions purchased will be available for immediate use by any suitable manufacturer, and cannot be suppressed.

The chief usefulness of the Chemical Foundation is expected to be as a centre of research. After the preferred stock has been redeemed and the nominal dividend of 6 per cent. has been paid on the common stock, the free net earnings are to be devoted to the development and advancement of chemistry and allied sciences in the useful arts and manufactures of the United States. It is expected that a considerable income will thus become available for research. The foundation will be in a position to bring about in America the co-operation between the laboratories of the universities and those of the dye works as close as that which accomplished so much in Germany. By taking a laboratory census of the country, a thing never before attempted, the foundation will be able to create a bureau of information where any scientist at the start of an important research may be able to ascertain where the facilities he needs are obtainable and what institution has already made progress along similar lines. The bureau should also be able to bring together those who wish to undertake, and those who are interested, in such researches. These activities will furnish valuable aid in what is perhaps the most important work before the country, namely, the

advancement of chemical science in the industries, and particularly in medicine.

One of the most important events of 1921 in the chemical industry was the completion of a large plant at Syracuse for the fixation of nitrogen from the atmosphere by the Haber process, which was one of the patents referred to as having been seized by the Alien Property Custodian and sold to the Chemical Foundation.

GREAT CORPORATIONS

A significant development from conditions indicated in the foregoing was the formation early in the year of the Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation by the consolidation of five leading chemical corporations of the United States having an aggregate authorized capitalization of \$159,000,000, which is equivalent to 40 per cent. of the capitalization of the gigantic German cartel, embracing the entire chemical industry of the late unlamented empire, built up by many years of effort for the purpose of dominating the chemical trade of the world. The new combination, through its constituent companies, covers the entire field of coal-tar products from the mine to finished dyes, drugs and other chemicals. This combination being the first really big one in a field which has so recently won recognition, a few facts about its constituent companies may be of interest.

The Barrett Company of New Jersey has an authorized capitalization of \$37,500,000. It has 40 plants covering an area of 314 acres on which there are 574 buildings, giving employment to 7,000. Its products include roofing and building paper, roofing and paving pitch, tarvia, carbolic acid, benzol, naphtha and all coal-tar derivatives.

The General Chemical Company, with an authorized capitalization of \$40,000,000, manufactures heavy chemicals and groceries in a number of plants scattered from Bayonne, N. J., to Bay Point, Cal.

The National Aniline and Chemical

Company, with an authorized capitalization of \$25,500,000, in numerous plants from Brooklyn to Buffalo—one of which is the largest aniline factory in the country—covers the entire process of converting coal into dyes and drugs. The Semet-Solvay Company, with an authorized capitalization of \$20,000,000, manufactures—in addition to gas—acids, explosives and chemicals, iron, steel, coke, copper and lumber.

The Solvay Process Company, with a capital of \$36,000,000, makes soda and alkalis and their by-products, and operates by-product coke ovens. One feature not without interest in connection with these big chemical corporations is that they have become addicted to the dividend-paying habit, rates in some instances being 20 per cent. To forestall misunderstanding the fact should be mentioned that the five concerns named, comprising the first big combination, are by no means the only important ones among the 1,274 chemical establishments listed by the Census Bureau in 1919. There are many big concerns—such as the Newport Chemical Works, with an enormous plant near Milwaukee—of which the public never hears, but which play an important part in the industry.

PRACTICAL USES OF CHEMISTRY

Chemistry, which is the science of the transformation of matter, plays a part in the industrial life of today so important as to be beyond the comprehension of all but those whose business it is to be informed on the subject. Chemistry is principally applied to the control of industrial processes; but it is being applied to such a vast extent that it may be said to touch almost every stage in manufacturing. Chemistry makes possible the scientific control of such widely diversified industries as agriculture and steel making. It governs the transformation of elements of the soil into wheat, corn, vegetables and fruits as well as the transformation of iron ore, coke and limestone into steel of any degree of hardness, elas-

ticity or strength that may be desired. In exactly the same way it governs the various processes in the transformation of cotton, silk and other fibres into textiles, and so on throughout the interminable list of manufactures. It is to chemistry, by the way, that the farmers of the South look for help in overcoming the boll weevil, which now threatens the total destruction of the cotton crop in the near future.

OUR ARMY OF CHEMISTS

Some five hundred of the larger manufacturing corporations of the United States maintain laboratories, partly for the control of industrial processes and partly for research for the further development of their products. In these five hundred laboratories are employed a total of five thousand chemists, physicists, other scientific specialists and their assistants, the total outlay for salaries, materials and maintenance being between fifteen and twenty million dollars a year.

One of the finest examples of corporation research laboratories is that maintained for a number of years by the General Electric Company at Schenectady, at the head of which is Dr. Willis R. Whitney, who rendered such distinguished service in the war, and who was the 1921 recipient of the Perkin medal, awarded for distinguished achievement in chemistry. Here 225 men are employed. As another example, the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company maintains four laboratories employing a total of 1,189 men on problems relating to the manufacturing operations of the company, including miscellaneous chemical dyes and intermediates, explosives, coated fabric, plastics, pyroxylin solutions, lacquers, paints, varnish, mineral acid, nitrates of soda and miscellaneous products.

Chemists play a vital part in the live stock industry, although the stockman may never have met a chemist in his life. It was the chemist who made it possible for the packer actually to pay more for a

steer than he can sell the beef from that steer for. Less than thirty years ago there was no such thing as a chemical laboratory at the stockyards. When the first one was established the venturesome Chicago packer who did it was the subject of patronizing derision by his competitors. His own faith was so weak that the solitary chemist employed found it expedient to put in a vacuum pan for making beef extract, though that was not a laboratory process, to cover his intrusion upon the pay-roll until he could have an opportunity to demonstrate his true worth. Now that same packer employs nearly a hundred chemists in his laboratory, while his skeptical competitors have followed his example.

It was the collective work of the chemists which long ago gave rise to that venerable witticism about utilizing everything about the hog but his squeal. The work of their chemists has not only led the packers into practically every branch of the food-preserving industry, but it has also ventured far into pharmacy and medicine. At first pepsin was the only pharmaceutical product of the packing house; now thirty-five different pharmaceutical and medicinal products are manufactured by the packers. Practically every gland in the animals slaughtered is collected and its active principle segregated and purified. Extracts of all the ductless glands, all the digestive

ferments and enzymes, hemoglobin and the like are prepared. In addition to all this the chemist now draws specifications for every operation and for every department of the industry. Chemists draw specifications for the purchase of all raw materials, from brass journal bearings for refrigerator cars to the strength of the attar of roses for the finest grades of soap.

The field of chemical industries embraces sugar making and refining, the manufacture and proper application of fertilizers, the manufacture of cement, paints, varnishes, leather, textiles, bleaching and dyeing, paper and pulp manufacture, rubber, metals, oils, soaps, extracts, glass, food preparation, and a great many other things in addition to the enormous output of chemicals and acids themselves. In all these things the processes are necessarily under the direction and control of chemists, whose work in turning out the finished product is constantly being developed and improved by the great experimental and research army working in technical schools and in industrial plant laboratories.

So large a part of our natural resources has been wasted by ignorance and recklessness in the past that henceforth the chemist will be obliged to find the means of existence for the nation. And, judging by his past performances, the chemist is quite equal to the task.

THE TRADE COURT IDEA

THE first Court of Commercial Arbitration established in the United States is in full swing at Chicago; in the last four months it has heard and decided some forty cases. This court, functioning as an arm of the Chicago Association of Commerce, and headed by J. Kent Greene as Manager and Judge, was founded, after strenuous opposition by certain elements of the bar and the established courts of law, with the object of settling by direct and specific

action all commercial disputes of a given State or locality. The work done has been so valuable in taking from the regular courts a mass of litigation which interfered with important criminal cases, and in securing quick decisions, that it is now planned to extend this innovation throughout the country. One of the departments at Washington is studying the feasibility of such a step in co-operation with the Chicago Association of Commerce.

EDUCATION IN THE ARMY

BY ELBRIDGE COLBY

Captain of Infantry, United States Army

Little-known facts about the vast new system of instruction by which the United States Army is not only training men to be soldiers, but is educating them to be successful in any walk of life—Creating strength of character

Behind the gun is the schoolbook.—ELIHU ROOT

THE Army of the United States has embarked upon a huge educational project which few people understand or appreciate. It is doing three things: It is training troops, training officers, training men. These three kinds of training are necessary to the success of the army as a military organization, and all fit together into a well-rounded educational program that will have very valuable results, not only for national defense, but also for the furtherance of national ideals and national economic strength.

The United States Army not only trains men as efficient fighting units, but also develops their bodies and directs their morals. It creates a morale and makes loyal Americans of men who never before knew the meaning of the ideal of service. It also trains civilians, through the National Guard, the Organized Reserves, the Citizens' Military Training Camps and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps units, so that when the next war comes those called into service can be converted into brigades and divisions with a rapidity and an efficiency that will put to shame our best efforts of 1917-18. Nor is this training merely mechanical; it does more than create the habit of prompt response to set commands.

There was a time when an army was a machine directed by a single brain. In Civil War days, a colonel

led his regiment into battle and even gave the commands for loading and firing, thus directing the entire unit in person. Now it is different. When the officers of the army were asked to state, from their experience in the recent war, what was the largest number of troops that could be directly controlled by one man under modern conditions, 87 per cent replied: "Eight men." This contrast merely emphasizes the change that has come to pass—a change evidenced by the altered drill regulations. A colonel used to command his regiment by word of mouth for the simultaneous execution of movements; later it was the major and his battalion; and now the captain with a company is the highest officer who gives such commands. With this decrease in the size of units that can be handled efficiently by one man a new method of military training has been instituted.

Our army now trains its soldiers to think as well as to do. They have to learn the manual of arms and troop marching, for purposes of control and order and ease in moving bodies of men. They have to learn the mechanism and the manipulation of their weapons, which are nowadays neither simple nor few. But this is all preliminary. They must next appreciate the characteristics of these weapons, the possibilities of their power and the limitations of their

use. A soldier is taught how a machine gun works; he is taught to fire it accurately and steadily, making repairs and readjustments instantaneously; and he is trained to use his weapon in co-operation with other soldiers for the furtherance of the common plan. The real purpose is to teach him how to think in a military way, along sound tactical lines. A purely mechanical mind is of small value in the army. The army man must learn how to use his judgment when handling his military *materiel*. In many respects our training of troops is similar, in its principles and methods, to the education of the schools; indeed, it has been laid down as doctrine by the Infantry School that above all things an army officer must be a teacher and trainer of men.

There are certain facts to be learned. Then the mind must be taught to think on the basis of those facts. It must be trained to remember details, to seek information, to evaluate conflicting factors, to arrive at a decision, and finally to act with force and vigor. This is the method for all army men, down to the lowest private, who must in time of peace be trained to become a corporal and lead his eight-man squad himself in time of war. According to the latest tables of organization we shall need non-commissioned officers and specialists in such numbers as to require an intelligence of "above average" or better in 37.9 per cent of our enlisted personnel. These men must have intelligence, but they must also have instruction that will give them—in addition to a purely military knowledge—something real and tangible in the way of character, initiative, decisiveness, aggressiveness and a sense of responsibility. This is the true military training. The *materiel* is military; but, since the conditions prescribed by modern weapons have changed warfare from the old frontal clash of long lines of solid masses into the co-operation of separated units, the *essence* is the development of sound thinking and individual responsibility. This is our army edu-

cation. It is a type which builds men.

TRAINING OFFICERS

The army trains officers not as it did this during the war, hurriedly, frantically, and insufficiently, in three-months camps. It is now done much more thoroughly and in a manner more worthy of the seriousness and dignity of the profession of arms. When an officer is commissioned, he has just begun his education. There is a complete system of higher education through which all officers have to go. Each branch of the army has its special service school, as, for instance, the Infantry School at Camp Benning, Ga., the Cavalry School at Fort Riley, Kan., and the Field Artillery School at Camp Knox, Ky. Each of these gives three full-year courses which all officers of each branch have to take when their turns come. Then there are the General Service Schools, each comprising a full-year course: the School of the Line and the Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, and the Staff College at Washington. Six years! This is higher education with a vengeance. And our officers are trained not only in military technique, but as leaders of men, particularly as instructors who shall in turn train our next National Army. Further than that, these schools train not only officers of the Regular Army, but also National Guardsmen and Reserve officers. And, not by any means to be overlooked, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps schools and colleges train those youths who will be the platoon and company commanders in our next war.

What, then, is the nature of this training? It is not merely military, with only drills and ceremonies, as the laymen seem to imagine, any more than is our training of troops. We teach military history, modern diplomatic history, international law, educational psychology, and a clear-cut, practical form of logical thinking. In our officer schools, in our non-commissioned officer schools,

and in our garrison schools we inculcate the spirit of discipline, and discipline does not mean punishment, nor are its symbols the guard-house and a court-martial. Discipline is a state of mind, a loyalty, a habit of action which enables leaders to obtain orderly and efficient results even without the giving of commands. Rigid attention to detail, careful exchange of military courtesies, upright bearing, and uncomplaining obedience to instructions are required of every officer and every soldier. "The ultimate aim of disciplinary training," says the War Department, "is to enable a man in battle, under heavy fire, when separated by wide intervals from his comrades on either side, to stick to his task, to utilize intelligently the weapons with which he has been trained, and to obey such orders as may be signaled or otherwise transmitted to him by his superiors, or in their absence properly to carry on his mission in the light of his own judgment." This is army training, based on the development of sound leadership, beginning with the squad and going on to the higher units. This is more than military mechanics. It is education of a high order.

THE TRAINING OF MEN

The army trains men. In the educational and vocational schools for enlisted men it offers courses on a par with, if not superior to, those offered by trade schools, business colleges, and municipal night schools. Such subjects as the following are taught:

Arithmetic.	English for illiterates.
Algebra.	Tractor driving.
Geometry.	Auto and truck repairing.
Trigonometry.	Tractor repairing.
General history.	Motorcycle repairing.
United States history.	Locomotive engineering.
Geography.	Storage batteries.
Pennmanship.	Motion-picture operation.
Spelling.	Music.
Automobile driving.	Clerical work.
Motorcycle driving.	Stenography.
English grammar.	Typewriting.

There were, before the army was reduced by Congressional resolution,

120,000 men taking courses such as these.*

Here the lad who has been forced by family circumstances or by economic pressure to leave the day schools can continue to improve himself while solving the problem of self-support. He can learn grammar and history and mathematics, or he can learn a trade. He can also work his way through school, earning his living while he learns. And let no one imagine that this educational and vocational system is Federal philanthropy, or Federal competition with the public schools of our cities, or a mere trick of the peace-time army to get recruits. This system is of immense value to the individuals who take the courses, to be sure, and we must not forget that in a group in the Second Corps Area, where "no attempt was made to 'sell' vocational training to the men," 90 per cent of the recruits elected courses "of their own free will and accord." This system is of value to the country as a whole in increasing educational facilities, reducing illiteracy, and providing skilled labor of a well disciplined and patriotic mind; and we must not forget that 24.9 per cent of the young citizens enlisted and inducted during the last war were actually illiterate. But this system is likewise of great utility to the army itself in a purely military sense.

During the recent war we had to hold schools to teach our privates the English language, and finally, pressed for time, we organized various "foreign legion" units at Camp Gordon. We had to start courses to develop specialists in subjects which the men might have learned before enlistment, and we taught 1,250,000 men in this way. It is now being planned to give many of these courses in correspondence work to members of the National Guard and Organized Reserves. This is considered an urgent matter, in a military sense. It has been found

*This list is from the courses given at one of our smaller posts, and thus is thoroughly representative. A still greater variety of subjects is offered at the larger camps.

that, though we require 37.9 per cent of our enlisted men to demonstrate intelligence "above average" or better, we have only 34.8 per cent with that intelligence, and that the proportion of that intelligence in the civilian population, according to all estimates, is even less. This has recently been pointed out by Professor McDougall in his book, "Is America Safe for Democracy?" The others must be developed, and this is being done through our military schools. "Intelligence" is an innate quality, but it can and must be developed by means of education. The education is being provided. Though this is being done for purely military purposes, the country at large must recognize that the army is at the same time educating the uneducated, developing the intelligence of the nation and making better citizens.

METHODS AND RESULTS

Every man who has worn the uniform in our present-day army is now a more useful citizen when he gets his discharge than he was the day he enlisted. He is able to take up the rifle and bayonet in time of war for the execution of the primary mission of our army—national defense; but he is also better educated in a general way and better trained to work at a trade.

The army teaches by what is called the "applicatory method," which was developed by the School of the Line and is designed to train the type of soldier required in modern warfare. In the words of C. R. Mann, "Since every soldier in battle is almost certain at some time to be placed in a position requiring independent action and qualities of leadership, it is essential that the training system of the army should develop in every man, as far as possible, independence, initiative, resourcefulness, and powers of quick and sound judgment. There are two fundamental principles underlying the applicatory method. The first is that the best method of training men to think is

to place them in real situations which challenge their abilities and make thinking necessary. The second is that progress is best measured by objective standards which reveal what a man can actually do." The army teachers begin with an explanation; then they have a demonstration; then an application. All the psychological aids of the laws of association are utilized; both oral and visual means of presentation are employed. The principles taught are then put to immediate practice, forcing the mind of the man under instruction to work immediately in and around the facts taught—thus fixing the instruction practically and indelibly.

The army instructor meets many of the same problems that are met by civilian educators. Indeed, we feel that in a few particulars we have answered questions which the civilians have not been able to answer; we have new methods which they might well study, for we as well as they have on our hands the vital issue of national education. We teach illiterates, for instance, how to read and write by having them study and copy out such sentences as these:

It is a big job to learn to read and write.
A good American soldier likes a big job.
We are American soldiers.
Theodore Roosevelt wrote letters to his children and his children wrote letters to him.

My sergeant can read, write and use a gun.

My sergeant is a good soldier.

I have learned to brush my teeth, to keep my head and shoulders up, and to keep my uniform neat and clean.

The army is a good place for any man.

I learned what our flag means.

Uncle Sam is good to us.

They read of the lives of great Americans, and every biography emphasizes the value of education to Washington, Jefferson, Grant, Franklin, Roosevelt, Lincoln. They are always taught patriotism, whatever the subject of instruction. They are taught self-reliance, obedience to duty, self-respect. After their service, they can intelligently function as

citizens to the best interests of the nation in social, economic, and political affairs, just as in a military sense they have been trained to act on the field of battle, with or without orders, for the success of the army as a whole. That is the army's aim—to turn out good citizens. We are trying to develop in this country skilled labor, minds that do not run to radicalism and the red flag, educated men who can work at their specific business with the interests of

the nation at heart, fine upstanding youths who are a credit to the army and the nation. Nor should we ever forget, whether we are dressed in khaki uniform or in academic cap and gown, or in the sack suit of the man-in-the-street, that, as Steinmetz says: "When God holds His assizes and hurls the nations against one another in battle, there is no single element of physical, moral, or intellectual worth which does not weigh in the balance."

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

BY FRANCIS HAFFKINE SNOW

The situation with respect to a growing evil and to the medieval laws that still exist with regard to it—What Great Britain and the United States are doing to remedy the injustice of the ages—Russia's radical change in regard to children born out of wedlock

DOWN through the ages the long procession of "unmarried mothers" has come—a pale and spectral line of figures whose faces are stamped with suffering. Behind them come their children—born out of wedlock—a wan and ghostly pageant, on whose pinched features are reflected the agony and bitterness of their mothers. Little martyrs are these, whose wistful eyes are too big for the thin faces, and whose narrow temples, like those of the child Saint Dmitri, are stained with the crimson wounds of their martyrdom.

Among all races, among all peoples, from the time, many thousands of years ago, when marriage was established as an institution, and the bride was brought to the house of the bridegroom amid the music of hymeneal feasts, the problem of birth outside of marriage has been always present: A problem, like a stream flowing to the sea, that ever widened and deepened, and, like the sea, ever a waste of salt bitterness. For mar-

riage, from being merely a protection to woman, grew into a legal device to perpetuate private property and inheritance rights. When this stage was reached, the stigma on the child not born in wedlock became greater, and greater also became the dangers to which the offspring were subjected.

But the stream never ceased flowing. Down through the dark years of the Middle Ages it came, a gloom-wrapped, tortuous current, flowing mostly underground, unseen and unrealized by the multitudes of happy mothers who could look in the eyes of their newborn children without shame or self-reproach. The solemn lawgivers realized that it existed, when they had to punish, often with death, the guilty mothers brought before them for the crime of infanticide. The Church also knew it as well as, if not better than, the civil authorities, and when the State deprived the proscribed children of their civil rights, the Church took

from them also their ecclesiastical rights. Theirs not the joy of absolution or of burial in consecrated ground. Those that survived were branded for all their span of life—branded even before they were born, by the agonies suffered by the mother when she knew her disgrace; branded by all her nervous reactions and dread, her pain and humiliation. One of the most pathetic figures in literature—Marguerite in Goethe's "Faust"—will remain immortal as a picture painted by the hand of genius of the mental, moral and physical agonies endured by such unwedded mothers.

If this were all there was to it—if it were merely a question of suffering—the self-righteous and pitiless world would have no immediate concern. On the contrary, as the social history of the world has demonstrated, it would allow the process of suffering to go on forever, strong in its entrenched belief that sin must find its punishment. "As ye have made your bed—!" The moral castigation of the community is necessary, for otherwise sin would be encouraged; the illicit mother, far from being helped, must be cast out forever, as a warning to all those who refuse to accept the convention and who refuse to recognize the sanctity of the marriage code. Furthermore, the rights of the legal child over the illegal child must be maintained. A curious state of affairs it would be, have thought the men who gave the world its social legislation, if the child born out of wedlock were admitted to have rights on an equality with the child born in wedlock!

The result of this attitude toward the unmarried mother has been that the laws relating to this subject are stamped with an inherent cruelty which has done nothing to mitigate the evil, while adding to the sufferings of the transgressing women and their offspring, and hence ultimately to the aggregate of the sufferings of humanity. If the erring woman, driven to desperation by shame and poverty, committed infanticide—and

infanticides have been frequent from the medieval to the modern epoch—she was tried by the inexorable majesty of the law, and duly punished without regard to psychological complexities or relative judgments. And the father of her child has remained immune from all responsibility. All the anguish and disgrace have fallen upon the mother. An inevitable result has been that the children have suffered by reaction. They have been born in large ratio abnormal, the victims of nervous and psychological disorders; the mortality among them has been twice that of legitimate offspring, and of those that survived, the social records existing indicate that many were defectives, tending to become burdens on the community or to drift on the easy stream leading down to criminality.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

What is the world situation in our modern times? Study of an authoritative source—the *Annuaire International de Statistique*, published by the permanent Bureau of the International Institute of Statistics at The Hague, 1917—shows that the great underground stream is still flowing. The table on the following page giving the number of unlegalized births in the various countries of Europe is based almost wholly upon figures from that source. (This and the two tables near the end of the article are taken from the study published by the United States Department of Labor referred to on Page 436.) Blanks indicate that no figures are available for the periods shown.

It will be noted from this table that the average for the period 1910-14 shows almost everywhere an increase over the preceding period tabulated, and that the figures given for 1915, 1916 and even 1917, where available, show a similar increase.

That there is a great evil here which the world has tolerated for too many hundreds of years there can be no question. An average of 9 per cent. of fatherless children in the world's population equals an enormous

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGAL BIRTHS IN EUROPE

Country.	Illegitimate Live Births, 1914.		Per Cent of Live Births Illegitimate.				
	Number.	Per Cent. of Total Live Births.	Annual Average, 1906-1909.	Annual Average, 1910-1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Austria-Hungary:							
Austria	102,845	11.9	12.3	11.9	...	...	...
Hungary	63,301	8.5	9.4	9.0	9.5	...	...
Belgium	10,975	6.4	6.3	6.3	...	...	...
Denmark	8,395	11.5	11.0	11.3	11.7	11.7	...
Finland	6,846	7.8	6.9	7.7	8.0	...	...
France	66,000	8.8	8.9	8.7	...	...	...
German Empire	176,270	9.7	8.7	9.4	...	...	...
Bavaria	25,180	12.6	12.2	12.4	...	...	...
Prussia	99,172	8.5	7.4	8.1	...	...	...
Saxony	18,803	16.0	14.1	15.5	...	...	...
Württemberg	5,737	8.6	8.3	8.6	...	...	...
Great Britain and Ireland:							
England and Wales...	37,329	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.8	5.6
Ireland	2,943	3.0	2.6	2.8	3.1	3.0	3.1
Scotland	8,879	7.2	7.0	7.3	6.9	7.1	7.5
Italy	52,813	4.7	5.1	4.8	4.3	...	...
Norway	4,406	7.1	6.8	6.9	7.3	7.0	7.1
Portugal	20,601	11.0	11.3	...	...	...	...
Rumania	25,367	8.1	9.2	...	...	...	...
Russia in Europe	118,159	2.3	2.3	...	...	...	...
Spain	28,858	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.0	5.3	...
Sweden	20,481	15.8	13.3	15.1	...	...	...
Switzerland	4,341	5.0	4.4	4.7	4.6	4.4	...
The Netherlands	3,728	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	...

aggregate of human misery. A certain element of earnest men and women who have awakened to the evil, and sought its remedy, have banded together in various countries to work for better legislation. Efforts have been made in a number of countries to fasten responsibility on the father, to help the mother, to care for the child; but the ponderous inertia of the law has made most of these efforts as futile as the impact of a pebble on a granite cliff. It has taken the frightful consequences of the World War, in respect of depopulation, to bring the problem home to the legislators of Europe.

A bill to protect and aid the unmarried mother and her child—the second of its kind—is now pending in England. France, in co-operation with the International Child Welfare Association, is seeking to fix legal responsibility upon the father—a far cry from the provision in Napoleon's famous code which prohibited any inquiry into the paternity of such a child. The Scandinavian countries are legislating to assure the child's

future. Soviet Russia has made the rights of the non-legal child equal with those of the legitimate. A number of States in our own country have enacted similar legislation.

The child—the world's most enlightened thought revolves around this centre. For the child is the future man or woman, and whatever may be the sins of the parents, it is innocent. This conclusion, simple and obvious to all high-minded people to-day, has been accepted as axiomatic only within the last few decades; but the great majority of communities, even if they accept this conclusion when it is brought to their attention, rarely, if at all, think of the problem and of what shall be done to solve it. They scarcely, indeed, realize that it is serious. The statistics of European nations, so far as available, are eloquent.

THE NEW LAW IN RUSSIA

One country for which statistics have failed for a number of years is Russia. The 2.3 per cent. recorded up to 1909, however, is far below the

facts. Any one who has lived in Russia knows this. Here, where the so-called "grazhdanski brak" or "civil marriage" was an institution no less recognized than legal marriage, and where thousands of men and women were living together outside the institution of marriage, all over the vast empire, the percentage of illegitimate issue was enormous. The Bolsheviks, whatever crimes may be laid at their door politically or otherwise, must be given credit for the passage of enlightened legislation on this subject. It has remained for Soviet Russia to make the rights of the child born out of wedlock absolutely equal to those of the child born in wedlock; to compel the mother to reveal the name of the father three months before her confinement, and to force the father to recognize and support the offspring. In cases where the prospective mother's relations have been such as to make the paternity of the child doubtful, all those named are held to proportionate contributions for support. Ten clauses of the new marriage law of Soviet Russia embody this new legislation. The two introductory paragraphs ring like a clarion of challenge to the still medievalized legislation of the Western World. This is what they say:

The basis of the family shall be actual parentage; no distinction shall be established between natural parentage and legitimate parentage.

Children not born in matrimony shall have the same rights as children born to persons whose marriage has been registered.

It is easy for those entrenched within the puritan moral code to point to the statement made by Karl Kautsky, the German Socialist leader, "the complete equality of rights between all children, without distinction of parentage, is a measure of social psychology preparing the way for applying the care of the community to all children, removing the last foundations of bourgeois marriage," as ground for the assumption that this new legislation of the Soviets is intended to do away with marriage as

an institution, and to realize the Socialist dream of breaking up the family as a social unit. To those who have studied the grinding of the pitiless laws of Western nations, notably of Great Britain—and not excluding the United States—the few simple words quoted above have in them that sublimity found everywhere in Russian life and Russian literature, and crystallized in Tolstoy's "Resurrection." Here, if anywhere, is the spirit of "the great White Christ who comes out of Russia."

ENGLISH REFORM MEASURES

Coming more closely to our own sins of omission and commission, the bare statement of the situation as regards unmarried mothers in the two great English-speaking countries of the world—Great Britain and the United States—will serve to show how necessary it is for the so-called Anglo-Saxon nations to take heed, not only of the present, but of the future. Mrs. C. Gasquoine-Hartley in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1921 (pp. 511-520), makes the following statement, based on official statistics:

The births registered in Great Britain in 1919 (the last year for which the complete figures had been published) include 41,876 illegitimate births, an increase of 424 upon the numbers of 1918. In one year nearly 42,000 children born out of wedlock in this land of ours! Try to realize what these figures mean. In the course of a single generation of twenty-five years, 1,000,000 shame-branded little ones are born—branded because their parents have acted illegitimately.

The situation in the United States is scarcely less serious. An estimate made in the same year by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor ["Illegitimacy As a Child-Welfare Problem." By Emma C. Lundberg and Katharine F. Lenroot] makes it certain that at least 32,000 white children are born out of wedlock each year. If this indicates a percentage a little lower than that for Great Britain, it should be remembered that the proportion of unregistered illegitimate births here is much

greater than that of unregistered legitimate births, as many of our States and cities fail to compile separate statistics for the first category. From all the figures obtainable, the problem is as serious here as in Europe.

What is being done to lighten this gigantic burden of suffering, both of the thousands of unwilling mothers and of their unwanted, socially handicapped and unhappy children?

In England, Mrs. Gasquoine-Hartley tells us, a National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child was formed in London on Feb. 14, 1918. This council "is composed of representatives appointed by public authorities, as well as representatives of national voluntary organizations, and to these are added individual members. In this way the co-ordination of efforts so greatly needed is gained. Much admirable work has been done, especially in educating public opinion." English public opinion is generally awakening to the peril of this growing evil. The actual percentage of illegitimate births is much greater than the available figures show. "In England, unfortunately," says Mrs. Gasquoine-Hartley, "still-born births need not be registered; were they recorded the illegitimate birth rate would be much higher. In those countries where the records are kept the number of still-born illegitimate births is always very high—sometimes twice as high as it is for children born under the protection of marriage." The most enlightened British public opinion is uniting in believing that the laws known by that old and opprobrious term of insult and reproach, the "Bastardy Laws," must be so amended as to protect the child, to help the mother, and to fasten responsibility upon the father.

This awakening of public opinion has crystallized in an attempt to introduce new legislation. In May, 1920, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, representing the National Council, presented to the House of Commons a bill devised to give every child born out of wedlock two parents instead of

one. It encountered great opposition, especially to the provision aimed to settle the question of paternity from the outset, and also to the provision seeking to protect the children by placing them under public guardianship as wards of court under the Children's Act of 1902. Pruned and amended to the point where its own sponsor could scarcely recognize it, this bill, "the most rational and thoroughgoing attack on irresponsible parenthood that has ever been attempted in this country" [ibid. p. 514], was finally successfully shelved, but the English workers would not be silenced. This year another bill was brought forward by Captain Bowyer, based on the uncontested clauses of the Chamberlain bill, and it has passed both readings in the House without opposition. Its title, "Children of Unmarried Parents bill," shows the revolution that has taken place in the English attitude. If this bill is finally made law, it will compel the father to support his child. It will further do away with that monstrous feature of (English) law which says that a child born out of wedlock must remain so for all time, even though the parents marry in order to give the child legitimacy. In Scotland this brutal injustice has never been perpetrated by the law.

The position of unmarried mothers, always bad, has been made worse by the conditions arising from the war. The unwilling mothers, usually very young, often weak-minded, of poor physique, untrained, and hence low wage-earners, struggle against heavy odds. Their bitter cry is: "Help me to get rid of my baby!" Forced to go out to work, they must necessarily neglect their offspring, a fact which helps to explain the high mortality among these children. Defective nutrition, bad home conditions and lack of care combine to lessen the child's chances of survival; but for these conditions, implies Mrs. Gasquoine-Hartley, the criminal negligence and indifference of the social order is primarily responsible, not the unwedded

mother. It is all very well for society to say that the mother must be punished for her sin, but in saying this, and in dealing with the girl-mother harshly, as it has done in the past, society has lost sight of the fact that it is penalizing itself in wastage of child life, to say nothing of the embitterment and anti-social instincts which such treatment develops in those that survive. It all comes down to this: the mother must be helped, not pushed lower; her child must be put under the guardianship of the State, and its physical, mental and moral well-being, so far as possible, secured.

IN THE UNITED STATES

The figures available show that the conditions observable in Great Britain are duplicated on this side of the Atlantic. The estimate of 32,000 unsanctioned yearly births has been already referred to. The figures given on the opposite page are drawn with but one exception from information furnished by State departments of health and bureaus of vital statistics. That the table covers only sixteen States is explained by the difficulty of obtaining differentiated data, special registration laws, &c. Figures for the negro population of the country, which are very high, are excluded, as representing a special problem in themselves. The situation is shown in certain States and cities.

Incomplete and unsatisfactory as are these figures, they are serious when weighed as a whole, and especially when one considers the uncounted and unknown percentages of the States not recorded. Equally unrepresentative of the country as a whole and equally serious in its implications is the tabulation for cities of over 100,000 population where figures are available. For some cities, the percentage runs up to 4 or 5 per cent.

The official records show that the majority of the mothers are young, irresponsible morally and often men-

tally weak and of bad heredity. The rate of mortality among the illegitimate issue, large numbers of which are already under the care of social agencies, is alarmingly high. In Baltimore, in 1915, white children of legitimate birth died at a rate of 95.9 per thousand, says Katharine F. Lenroot (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 3, 1921), while the infant mortality rate for white children of illegitimate birth was 315.5, or 3.3 times as great. In Milwaukee, during the two-year period, 1916-17, the death rate was 236.8 per thousand, or 2.25 times greater than for children of legitimate birth. In Boston, in 1914, the rate was 95 for legitimate, 281 for illegitimate births—nearly three times greater. Miss Lenroot says in this connection:

Early separation of the mother and child, and the consequent difficulties in feeding, undoubtedly accounted in large part for this excessive rate, though the rate for diseases of early infancy, closely associated with pre-natal and natal conditions, was in Boston nearly three times as high as the corresponding rate for children of legitimate birth. * * * Recognizing the relation between separation from the mother and infant mortality, the laws of two States (Maryland and North Carolina) forbid the separation of mothers and babies under 6 months of age, while in another State (Minnesota) and in the largest city of a fourth (Milwaukee), the same purpose is attempted through regulation by official bodies.

Other figures show that a majority of the children born in this country out of wedlock receive no financial support by the fathers. Boston records show that of 2,178 such children cared for by social agencies, only 674—not quite one-third—received any assistance. Philadelphia records show two-fifths as an average for 629 children, Milwaukee a three-tenths average for 271, and this only for partial and inadequate support. In most States, up to the present time, it has been found incompatible with the interests of the legal family to place the child of illegitimate birth upon an equality—as regards his claims upon the father—with the child born in wedlock. North Dakota, by legis-

UNLEGALIZED BIRTHS IN CERTAIN STATES

State.	Live Births in 1915.			Per Cent. of Live Births Reported as Illegitimate.			
	Total.	Reported as Ille- gitimate.		Annual Average, 1910-1914.	1916.	1917.	1918.
		Number.	Per Cent.				
Alabama:							
White	31,424	302	1.0	...	0.9	0.9	...
Negro	17,340	2,448	14.1	...	13.7	12.8	...
Connecticut	31,910	356	1.1	1.0	...	...	...
Indiana	61,850	881	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.4	...
Maryland:							
White	26,126	622	2.4	2.3	...	...	...
Negro	6,241	1,295	20.7	15.2	...	...	...
Massachusetts	93,394	2,108	2.3	...	...	...	...
Michigan	81,100	1,363	1.7	1.6	...	...	...
Minnesota	55,233	1,117	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	...
Missouri	71,543	1,504	2.1	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.3
Nevada	1,290	12	.9	.8	1.9	1.0	.3
New Hampshire	10,003	84	.8	1.0	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	219,061	4,448	2.0	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island	13,987	215	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.2	...
South Dakota	13,650	107	.8	.8	.9	.9	...
Utah	12,983	109	.8	.7	.7	.7	...
Vermont	7,875	140	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.8	...
Wisconsin	58,014	840	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5	...

ILLEGITIMACY FIGURES IN CERTAIN AMERICAN CITIES

City.	Live Births in 1915.			Per Cent. of Live Births Reported as Illegitimate.			
	Total.	Reported as Ille- gitimate.		Annual Average, 1910-1914.	1916.	1917.	1918.
		Number.	Per Cent.				
Baltimore	11,460	359	3.1	3.8	2.6	2.1	...
Boston	19,725	800	4.6	4.1	...	...	...
Buffalo	12,683	263	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.5	1.8
Cincinnati	7,804	299	3.8	3.7	...	...	...
Cleveland	16,623	386	2.3	2.3	...	...	1.2
Denver	3,703	105	2.8	3.0	2.9	3.6	...
Detroit	21,088	547	2.6	2.7	...	...	...
Grand Rapids	3,157	117	3.7	2.7	...	...	...
Kansas City	5,418	329	6.1	6.1	6.2	7.9	8.2
Milwaukee	11,278	292	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.6	...
Minneapolis	8,529	365	4.3	4.4	4.0	4.0	3.8
Newark	10,955	152	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.1	...
New York	141,256	1,703	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.0	...
Philadelphia	40,849	1,122	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.3	...
Pittsburgh	16,139	490	3.0	3.6	...	...	...
Providence	5,835	123	2.1	2.2	1.7	2.1	...
St. Louis	14,143	529	3.7	4.3	3.9	3.6	3.6
St. Paul	5,291	272	5.1	4.5	4.5	5.0	...
Toledo	4,495	118	2.6	2.5	1.7	1.8	...
Washington	4,872	110	2.3	2.1	1.6	2.3	...

lation passed in 1917, and Arizona in 1921, became exceptions. Iowa, Wisconsin and Missouri give rights of limited inheritance from a father whose paternity has been proved during his lifetime. In some States special legislation has decreed a share of support so small as to be ludicrous. There is a tendency in some States toward liberalization. The obligation of the father was increased in Massachusetts in 1913. The Minnesota law of 1917 is one of the most liberal laws on the statute books of any State.

Best of all in the hope it brings of amelioration of the modern world's greatest social injustice was the for-

mation of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor established to deal with this whole problem. At the request of the Intercity Conference on Illegitimacy, this bureau in 1920 held two regional conferences, one in New York, the other in Chicago, for the purpose of securing a standard of legal protection for children born out of wedlock. A report which included a first tentative draft of a uniform illegitimacy act was drawn up by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in 1920; as a direct result of the action of the Children's Bureau, this was presented to the

National Conference in 1921, and was laid over for one year for consideration. If this bill eventually goes through, it will be no less effective than the English bill now pending in fixing the father's responsibility for support. Thus far, however, the situation is far from satisfactory, and calls for action devised to safeguard the rights of the unwedded mother, of her child, and of society. The ex-

isting legislation on this subject in most of the so-called civilized countries is virtually medieval. The innocent child is still penalized at its mother's breast, and for all its life, if it survives. As to the parents, the whole punishment still falls upon the head of only one of the guilty parties. This, from the standpoint of our Anglo-Saxon principles, is not "fair play."

IS THE RADIUM SUPPLY VANISHING

BY THOMAS C. JEFFERIES

THERE is little or no warrant for statements that have recently been made declaring that the supply of the world's radium is vanishing; that the supply is now alarmingly small, and that no new deposits of radium-bearing ore have been discovered for several years. An investigation recently made shows that about seventy-five new radium claims are discovered every year, and that this average has been maintained for the past five or six years. About fifty of these annual locations are made in Colorado, the rest in Utah. One of the leading scientific representatives of radium interests—John I. Mullen—in charge of the radium operations for the Standard Chemical Company in Colorado and Utah, has definitely stated that there will never be a shortage of radium in the world, although the cost may increase because of the higher cost of mining. "God Almighty," he added, "jeweled the works of Nature with this precious substance in such a way that individuals cannot control it, and human beings cannot dig it out in a short period. The pockets are scarce and far between, but as long as capital is willing to spend the money for moving rock, so long can capital produce radium."

Among other theories that have been exploded by the scientific and exploratory operations conducted by the Standard Chemical Company is the so-called "rim theory." Certain Government geologists and others were of the opinion that carnotite ore could be found only on the rims of deep canyons of the carnotite areas, and that such ore would extend into the hill

but a few feet. When this theory was generally accepted throughout the world, great alarm resulted; in America, hearings were held before certain Congressional committees. In the Fall of 1917, however, it was definitely proved that the largest bodies of carnotite ore were to be found some distance back from the rims, generally from half a mile to a mile.

Large bodies of ore have been found with even twenty to seventy-five feet of over-burden. This discovery has led to a greater feeling of optimism regarding the supply of radium that may be expected from future mining operations.

Of especial interest in this connection is the Yellow Jacket Flat in Hieroglyphic Camp Canyon in Montrose County, Colorado. A few years ago there was opened up in this section a claim which at first appeared to be merely an outcropping of carnotite ore, and quarrying operations yielded a satisfactory production of good quality ore. At that time it was expected that probably the usual average number of 100, 200 or 300 sacks of ore might be extracted from the claim, but up to July 1, 1921, 18,000 tons of good ore had been mined from this flat, and mining operations are continuing to produce about 800 tons a month.

Some large bodies of ore are being mined half a mile from the rim, and the ore has an over-burden of about forty feet. The Standard Chemical Company, capitalized at half a million dollars, produced approximately ten times the value of its capital in radium. At the present time it has 240 men working, and continues to produce.

THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS HISTORY MOVEMENT

BY JOHN B. KENNEDY

Editor of *Columbia*, a publication devoted to Knights of Columbus matters

An official explanation of the reasons for the new organization to revise United States history and of the objects to be attained

THE Knights of Columbus movement to revive interest in the origins and progress of American history constitutes, by itself, no unimportant item of current history. Launched at the San Francisco international convention, it was there officially announced that the aim of the movement was not to rewrite American history, but "to encourage investigation into the origins, the achievements and the problems of the United States; to interpret and perpetuate the American principles of liberty, popular sovereignty and government by consent of the governed; to promote American solidarity and to exalt the American ideal."

A broad program, an ambitious program, but one not incapable of fulfillment by an organization of 800,000 men that proved its title to public confidence by the successful fulfillment of an amazingly large and detailed program of welfare and reconstruction work during the war. To have managed an organization of 5,000 workers and to have provided creature comforts and recreation for 5,000,000 embattled men during the war, on a fund of \$40,000,000, and yet to have had a balance of sufficient size to operate employment bureaus that placed approximately 400,000 veterans in jobs, provided for the college education of more than 400 others and created a chain of 130 evening trade schools by which 250,000 others have benefited and still are benefiting, besides maintaining an intensive welfare service in all Government and military and marine hospitals—that is achievement.

When, therefore, the Knights of Columbus state that their history movement is non-religious, non-racial, simply and purely pro-American, they can rely on close national acquaintance with their record to credit them. They do not, as some have held, seek to impose a Knights of Columbus history, or a Catholic history, upon America. An American history is all that Americans need, and American history is all that the Knights of Columbus seek to promote.

There has been increasing evidence, especially since this country's entry into the war, of aims, some of them arising from unquestionably honest motives, to set the War of the Revolution in a new light before the youth of America, who must accept their history as it is given to them. The War of 1812, the Monroe Doctrine, and, in fact, the entire range of American foreign relations has been subjected by several well-known authors to a revision in conflict with previously written stories of incidents and personages concerned with these great landmarks of American history. Henry Clay has been set down in revised history as a "gambler" and a "bluffer," Polk as a "blusterer," Blaine as "superficial" and "a blatant hawker after votes," Cleveland as "guilty of unpardonable rudeness" and Knox as "a dollar diplomat." These and similar expressions contain a partisan flavor. Unquestionably the men using them are entitled to their opinions, and it is equally unquestionable that opinion does not constitute history. A com-

parison of the editions of Barnes's history used in our schools forty years ago with the new editions in use today will reveal the discrepancies between the old and new estimates of important events and personages that explain the necessity of the Knights of Columbus movement. Epithets exchanged between the partisans of statesmen in the heat of campaigning are no fair estimate of such statesmen's contribution to national development; yet these estimates are now finding record in many textbooks.

But the object of the Knights of Columbus American history movement is not so much negative—the opposing of errors in history, and their correction—as the positive promotion of research into original sources of American history and the analysis of the results of this research distributed in millions of pamphlets throughout the country. The Knights have offered \$7,500 in prizes to stimulate interest in the movement—\$3,000 for professors of history, \$2,000 for school superintendents and school teachers, \$1,000 each for students in Mexico, Central and South America, and overseas, who have facilities for studying archives and American history relations, and \$500 for students in colleges in the United States. It is estimated that with the completion and distribution of a cycle of some score of monographs, with the vast clerical and expert work involved, the movement will involve an expenditure of approximately \$1,000,000.

Edward F. McSweeney of Boston is Chairman of the Knights of Columbus Commission, and serving with him are Rear Admiral William S. Benson, former Chief of Naval Operations and Chairman of the United States Shipping Board; Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University; Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, former United States Minister to Denmark; Hon. Hannis Taylor, former United States Minister to Spain; Professor Charles S. McCarthy of the Catholic University of

America, and Professor Hermann Derry of Union College. The Board of Judges in the American history contest comprises Gaillard Hunt, Chief Archivist of the United States Department of State, Chairman; Pro-



EDWARD F. MCSWEENEY
Chairman of the Knights of Columbus History Commission

fessor David A. McCabe of Princeton University; Professor William Cleveland of Boston University, and Frank I. Cobb, a well-known New York editor.

Headquarters for the commission have been established at 199 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, where the campaign is directed to enroll 100,000 teachers and students in the movement, behind which the Knights of Columbus have thrown their organized strength.

The breadth of the subjects to be studied, embracing the period from the discovery to the Pilgrim settlement, from the origin of Colonial Charters to the Arms Conference, indicates the possibilities of the movement as a stimulant to interest in the history of the Republic's strides to international greatness. The promi-

nence and acknowledged scholarship of the men serving on the commission and the board of judges are a guarantee that every monograph judged by them and published by the organization will be authoritative.

In their citizenship promotion work, carried on, not only in the chain of Knights of Columbus evening schools or the innumerable open forums on social questions maintained by the Knights every Fall and Winter, and supplied by them with expert sociological lecturers, but through each of the 2,000 Knights of Columbus councils in the United States, the Knights have learned how comparatively small is the knowledge of American history possessed by those seeking citizenship here and how ignominiously inaccurate, as a rule,

is the information of native citizens regarding vital events of the story of America.

As in their opposition to the anti-Jewish campaign and in their support of the anti-tuberculosis fight, both of which have been acclaimed as vital and enduring factors for the national benefit by authorities in no way affiliated with our organization, so the Knights of Columbus intend that their fostering of this new movement to stimulate interest in accurate American history shall be no ephemeral activity, but a steady, persistent endeavor to aid in supplying that background of correct and complete knowledge of the national genesis and evolution without which citizenship must ever remain spiritually imperfect.

THE FATE OF RUSSIA'S WAR PRISONERS

AN article published by the Japan Weekly Chronicle on Sept. 15, 1921, not only shatters optimism regarding the chance of repatriation of the war prisoners still remaining in Russia, but paints a picture of the treatment meted out by imperial Russia to all her war prisoners so tragic as to transcend anything laid at the door of Germany. According to Dr. Kerner, a Hungarian who held a responsible position in Budapest before the war, and who was taken prisoner and sent to Siberia soon after the conflict started, there are still about 50,000 war prisoners left in Russia. All these unfortunates must resign themselves to spending a third Winter on alien soil, and their chances of survival, under the famine conditions prevailing, are extremely slim. The record given by Dr. Kerner from authoritative figures of the fate of the 2,406,000 unfortunate soldiers taken prisoners by the Russian Army during the war is justly characterized by the editor of the Japan Chronicle as "appalling." The following figures are eloquent:

The number of war prisoners taken up to 1917 approximated 2,406,000 men, divided as follows: Austro-Hungarians, 2,000,000; Germans, 200,000; Turks, 200,000; Bulgarians, 6,000. Of all these prisoners, inclusive of the nationalities mentioned, and others, there died in prison up to the end of 1917 no fewer than 128,000 Turks,

or 80 per cent. of the total; 50,000 Germans, 112,500 Austro-Germans, 90,000 Hungarians, 166,500 Jews, Armenians and Persians; 183,838 Slavs, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, etc., and 183,838 Bulgaro-Rumanians. The total number killed off by starvation and disease was 768,838.

Many of these prisoners were captured in 1914 and 1915. They were sent to Siberia, where "they were herded into concentration camps, insufficiently supplied with food and clothing, and subjected to the control of heartless Czarist military officers." Dr. Kerner calls the terrific mortality that resulted "wanton destruction . . . because it could not, did not, serve any purpose whatever, save the pure desire to kill. About 40 per cent. of all the prisoners perished in captivity."

A considerable number of the starving, half insane remainder escaped during the February revolution. A trifle over 681,000 remained in the concentration camps in May, 1918. Red Guard and other recruitments took a few thousand. Since the beginning of 1919 about 100,000 have been repatriated by the German, Austro-Hungarian and Red Cross missions.

Exiled, abandoned by the world, scattered, dispersed, forgotten, facing death by starvation and disease, these men stare drearily up at the gray, inexorable Russian skies, "pod Bogom," in the Russian phrase ("under God," at the mercy of fate), and ponder the cruelty of nations and Governments, dreaming meanwhile of home and kindred, which most of them, in every probability, are destined never to see again.



(Times Wide World Photo)

Birdseye view of the Gatun Lock, Panama Canal, showing, in the middle west chamber, the United States dreadnought Tennessee, one of the newest and largest battle units of the American Navy.

PANAMA CANAL FINANCES

By JOHN K. BAXTER

Latest figures for the great waterway, showing how its income, though encouraging, is still insufficient to pay interest on the capital invested—Why the exemption of American shipping from the payment of tolls is a financial mistake

THE revenues of the Panama Canal from Aug. 15, 1914, when it was opened to navigation, to June 30, 1921, were \$46,466,791.98, and the expenses of operation and maintenance during the same period were \$45,986,067.03, leaving net revenues of \$480,724.95. The operation of the canal to date, therefore, has cost the United States nothing. In 1915 income and expense nearly balanced; there was a deficit in 1916 and 1917; in 1918 there was a surplus of income over expense; and this surplus has increased annually. For the fiscal year 1921 it amounted to \$2,711,816.56.

The canal has not for the last four years, and should never again, require maintenance appropriations to

supplement its own current revenues; it should, on the contrary, turn an annually increasing surplus into the United States Treasury. It is not yet, however, on a paying basis, since the surplus revenue does not suffice to pay interest on the capital invested or to provide for its amortization. If the canal were a commercial enterprise, it could not pay a stock dividend, nor could it, if bonded for the cost of construction, meet the interest on the bonds even at the minimum rate of 3 per cent.

An estimate of the revenue needed to make the canal self-supporting was made in 1915 by Professor Emery R. Johnson, in a paper presented by him to the International Engineering Congress at San Fran-

cisco. The estimate was worked out as follows:

Operation, maintenance, sanitation and Government	\$5,000,000
Annuity payable to the Republic of Panama	250,000
Interest at 3 per cent. on the cost of the canal	12,000,000
Amortization of the investment ($\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent.)	3,000,000
Total	\$20,250,000

The revenue for 1921 (\$12,040,-116.70) fell short of the required minimum, as estimated by Professor Johnson, by more than \$8,000,000; and although revenues are increasing rapidly, it will be some years before they attain to \$20,250,000. In the meantime the estimate itself requires revision.

Professor Johnson assumed the capital cost of the canal to be \$400,-000,000, and estimated the annual cost of operation and maintenance at \$5,000,000. This latter figure was based on pre-war wages and material prices. The actual expenses of operation and maintenance for the fiscal year 1921, when wages were at their highest and the supplies used were purchased at the peak of the market, aggregated \$9,328,300.14. The average for seven years was \$6,569,-438.14. It is certain that future costs will be lower than those of 1921, but it is not probable that we shall get back again to pre-war conditions. A reasonable estimate of future expenses of operation and maintenance would be \$7,000,000. As to the capital cost, the auditor of the Panama Canal in a memorandum submitted to the Special Panama Canal Commission in June, 1921, offered the following figures:

Net cost of Panama Canal to June 30, 1920	\$357,175,822.86
Interest on above	114,038,607.27
Total	\$471,214,430.13

These figures do not include fortifications, the cost of municipal improvements in the cities of Panama and Colon—a charge which is now being repaid with interest by the Republic of Panama—or the value of the plant transferred to the Army and the Alaskan Railroad Commission, all items which are not properly

chargeable to the canal as a commercial enterprise. The figures also do not include certain auxiliary equipment. The auditor estimates the total capital cost of the canal with equipment up to June 30, 1920, at \$485,000,000.

Professor Johnson's estimate of the revenues required to put the canal on a commercially sound basis may, therefore, be revised as follows:

Operation, maintenance, sanitation and government	\$7,000,000
Annuity payable to the Republic of Panama	250,000
Interest at 3 per cent. on the cost of the canal	14,550,000
Amortization of the investment ($\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent.)	3,637,500
Total	\$25,437,500

SOURCES OF REVENUE

Although the revenues for 1921 were less than half of the required total, the canal can undoubtedly be made to pay, if it is administered with that end in view.

It was estimated, after a very careful study of the normal growth of maritime trade, that the traffic through the canal would increase at the rate of 60 per cent. per decade. In spite of the war and post-war conditions, the traffic to date has exceeded that rate of increase. The tolls, if they are maintained, will eventually yield the required revenue.

Apart from tolls, which are the main source of revenue, the canal derives some income from auxiliary business operations, notably repair shops, dry docks, fuel oil plants, ship chandlery stores, fresh water supply, hotels and restaurants. The net income from these sources, included in the total revenue for 1921 of \$12,040,-116.70, was \$778,197.39.

The net profits of the Panama Railroad Company might also logically be added to the revenues derived from the operation of the canal, although this has never been done, and the company, so far as its finances are concerned, has been treated as an entirely separate entity. The railroad and steamship line were purchased from the French Canal Company in 1904, together with that company's other

plant and franchises, for which the United States paid a lump sum of \$40,000,000, charged against the construction cost of the canal. The net income of the Panama Railroad Company from 1904 to 1920, after paying all charges, was \$27,400,151.03. This has been invested in the development of the property. The capital assets, consisting of steamships, rolling stock, other plant and real estate, increased from \$12,669,821.62 in 1904 to \$34,365,170.32 in 1920. The net income on capital invested has been at the rate of 7.5 per cent. per annum.

The activities of the Panama Railroad Company are inextricably involved with those of the Panama Canal, and there is no clear division of functions. Though the fuel oil plants are operated by the canal, the coaling plants are operated by the railroad. The canal supplies ships with marine hardware, cordage, paints, &c., and the railroad furnishes ships with provisions. All but one of the docks at the Cristobal terminal were built with railroad funds, and all but one of the docks at the Balboa terminal with canal funds. The Hotel Tivoli at Ancon is operated by the canal, and the Hotel Washington at Colon by the railroad. The Governor of the Panama Canal is President of the Panama Railroad Company. The Panama Railroad Company is, in fact, an auxiliary of the Panama Canal, or a subsidiary corporation, and its net income might properly be included in the revenues of the canal. If this income does not fall below the average of the last seventeen years, it will amount to \$2,000,000 per annum.

TOLL RATE LOSSES

If all its sources of revenue are developed, as they would be under corporation management, it is fairly obvious that the canal can attain to a financially sound position at an early date. But this presupposes that Congress will administer the canal as a national investment, and not sacrifice its earnings to provide an indirect subsidy for American shipping.

Congressional action, or rather Congressional neglect, has already deprived the canal of 14 per cent. of its legitimate income from tolls. The facts are these:

Prior to the opening of the canal the assessment of tolls was the subject of an exhaustive study by Professor Emory R. Johnson, acting under the instructions of the Secretary of War. The actual earning capacity of vessels, as reflected in net tonnage, was universally accepted as the logical basis for tolls; but the measurement rules of the different maritime nations, including the United States, were found to be fundamentally at fault, in that net tonnage derived from them represented in a degree the manipulative skill of steamship owners and builders. Therefore the Panama Canal Rules of Measurement were formulated, which, according to the testimony of Mr. E. T. Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, "are recognized by the most competent authorities the world over as the most exact application of the scientific principles which should govern the subject yet prepared."

Section 5 of the Panama Canal act (Aug. 24, 1912) provides that "Tolls shall not exceed \$1.25 per net registered ton," it being assumed with reason by all concerned that the net registered tonnage referred to was that derived from the Panama Canal Rules. The canal accordingly began business on that satisfactory basis.

Article VII. of the Panama Canal Rules of Measurement provided that all tolls payable on a vessel's net tonnage should be increased by the tonnage of the goods carried on the vessel's deck. A concerted agitation was at once started and persistently maintained by the West Coast lumber interests in protest against the payment of tolls for deck cargo, as provided under this article, on the ground that this was contrary to the law limiting the maximum tolls to \$1.25 per net ton. This led to an unexpected result of far more extended scope.

The whole matter was referred to



United States battleship Missouri passing through the Culebra Cut, the portion of the Panama Canal which has presented some of the most difficult engineering problems

the Attorney General, who rendered an opinion that net registered tonnage did not mean that derived from the special rules provided for the Panama Canal, but rather the equivalent of the net tonnage derived under the United States rules of measurement. Accordingly, supplementary instructions pursuant to this opinion were issued by the President, stating that "when the amount obtained by multiplying \$1.25 by the net tonnage, in accordance with the Panama Canal rules, is greater than the amount obtained by multiplying \$1.25 by the net tonnage as determined by the United States rules of measurement, the excess amount is uncollectible."

This ruling made necessary two certificates of measurement for each ship, one in accordance with the Panama Canal rules and one in accordance with the United States rules. The assessment of tolls was needlessly and ridiculously complicated, and made to depend, in the end, not on the scientific and equitable measurement rules prepared after exhaustive study especially for the canal, but on rules which by comparison are obsolete, arbitrary and

unfair. As far as canal revenues are concerned, the result has been equivalent to a 14 per cent. reduction in the toll rate. Since the original rates were not burdensome, and the canal was not on a paying basis, this in itself was objectionable, but the reduction was not even uniform. Complete statistics covering the period since the canal opened show that the ratio of savings distributed among vessels of all nationalities is incontrovertibly in favor of foreign vessels. For the calendar year 1920, American vessels paid 87 per cent. of their tolls reckoned on the basis of Panama Canal net tonnage, and foreign vessels only 84 per cent. Year after year efforts have been made to restore by legislation the original Panama Canal measurement rules, but Congress has declined to act.

EXEMPTING AMERICAN SHIPS

It is now proposed to exempt American vessels engaged in the coastwise trade from the payment of tolls. If the bill having this object, which is now before Congress, is enacted into law, it will reduce canal revenues from

tolls by 12 per cent. The coastwise trade has not the least need of subsidy or legislative encouragement. It is already an American monopoly from which all foreign ships are excluded, and after being neglected during the war, when all available tonnage was diverted to the North Atlantic, it is now growing with amazing rapidity. For example, the coastwise tonnage through the Panama Canal during the first eight months of 1921 exceeded that of the entire year 1920.

It is said that the advocates of this measure, though admitting that the coastwise trade needs no subsidy, design their bill as the entering wedge leading to the exemption of all American shipping. Without discussing the policy of such an exemption, as a partial subsidy of benefit to a fraction only of the American merchant marine, or the interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, wherein it is provided that "the canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations * * * on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects," it is pertinent to state that this wider exemption would have the effect of cutting 40 per cent. from the income from tolls, and postpone to the Greek Calends the day when the canal will begin to earn legitimate interest on the capital invested.

Professor Emory R. Johnson, in the paper already referred to, laid down as follows the principles which, if adopted, would make for a sound business policy:

In the long run the management of the Panama Canal will probably test the Government as fully as did the construction of the waterway. * * * During the period of construction, * * * the President, having been given by Congress unrestricted power to build the canal, was able to construct the waterway with efficiency and with great credit to the country. Business methods prevailed and succeeded. In the

management of the canal there should be the same strict adherence to business principles.

Tolls have been fixed to be paid by all vessels using the canal. * * * Doubtless pressure will be brought from time to time upon Congress and on the President to lower the rate of tolls. The Government should resist this pressure until the revenues derived from the canal cover the annual operation and maintenance expenses and the interest on what it cost to build the waterway. * * *

If the rate of tolls which has been established is maintained for ten years, and if subsequent reductions in the rate of tolls are conservatively made, it will be possible for the American people to secure from the Panama Canal revenues that will cover out-of-pocket expenses and return to the United States Treasury the sum that has been invested in the waterway. This can be done without restricting the usefulness of the canal; and if this policy is followed out, it will be possible for the United States, with less burden to the taxpayers of the country, to construct other needed public works.

A scientific code of tonnage rules has been formulated and put into force for the measurement of all vessels used in the Panama Canal. Those who have to pay tolls naturally desire and seek to have the tonnage rules so changed as to lessen the amount paid by vessel owners. It is to be hoped that the President and the Secretary of War, who are in charge of the administration of the canal, will resolutely maintain the tonnage rules as they now stand, or will make only such modifications in the rules as may be required to give them greater definiteness.

Among the economic aspects of the Panama Canal to which especial attention should be given is that of managing the canal in a businesslike manner. It is now being wisely managed. The present policy of charging reasonable tolls upon all vessels, and of applying impartially to all types of merchant vessels a code of tonnage rules so framed as to determine and express the actual capacity available for carrying cargo and for accommodating passengers, should be zealously maintained. If this be done the United States will demonstrate to the world that a great Government enterprise can be managed in accordance with sound economic principles.

This prophetic advice is as sound today as it was six years ago, when it was first published.

CHILE'S CONFLICT WITH BOLIVIA AND PERU

By F. NIETO DEL RIO

Correspondent of El Diario, Santiago, Chile

Genesis of the three-cornered dispute over possession of the rich nitrate beds South of Tacna-Arica—How Peru linked herself with Bolivia and how both were defeated by Chile—The recent attempt to revise the treaty terms through the League of Nations

TO understand clearly the appeal made recently by Bolivia before the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, it is necessary to review the causes and consequences of the war waged by Chile against both Bolivia and Peru from 1879 to 1883. This war originally started with Bolivia. Chile had had an old territorial controversy with that country over a part of the province known today as Antofagasta. The great majority of the settlers of that mining desert were Chileans. To secure South American solidarity prior to the war against Spain, Chile had finally pushed through a settlement of this dispute by a treaty signed in 1866. Under this treaty, Chile renounced her claims to territorial possession in exchange for certain advantages, including the protection of Chilean interests in Bolivia. As difficulties arose in the application of the clauses providing for Bolivia's participation in the customs duties, Chile proposed a new treaty in 1874, under which she renounced her right to control the customs offices in the boundary zone, forgave Bolivia the sums not paid for participation since 1866, and left to the latter free dominion over the territory, with the sole exception of the following restrictions in favor of the Chilean interests established there:

Article 4—The export duties to be imposed on the minerals derived from the region mentioned in the foregoing articles will not exceed the quota collected at present, and Chilean nationals, industries and

capital will not be subject to further contributions of any kind whatever, except those existing at present. The stipulation contained in this article will last for a period of twenty-five years.

Shortly after having pledged itself to this effect, the Bolivian Congress passed a law fixing a minimum duty of 10 centavos per quintal of nitrate exported. This violation of the treaty and other violations of a similar nature made it necessary for Chile to solicit, through diplomatic channels, the withdrawal of these new tax laws which affected the Chilean industries. The Chilean Government stated "that the refusal of Bolivia to grant such a just request would force Chile to declare the border treaty void, and the consequences of this painful declaration would be to the exclusive responsibility of the party that had failed to comply with the treaty." (Instructions of the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile to his representative in Bolivia.)

Nevertheless, the Government of Bolivia went ahead with the law and proceeded to collect the tax by force from the Compañia de Chilena de Salitres and the Railroad of Antofagasta, as from Feb. 14, 1878. The company refused to pay, invoking the treaty. Then their property was seized and the manager of the company was placed in prison.

As the treaty called for arbitration, Chile proposed this upon condition that the application of the tax law

be suspended. Bolivia, having proposed, on the contrary, that the tax be collected meanwhile, did not reply to the Chilean proposition. Instead, on Feb. 1, 1879, the Bolivians issued a decree confiscating all the property of the Salitrera Company. As there was no telegraph at that time, Chile knew nothing of this last act, and, on the 5th of the same month, the Chilean Government instructed its charge d'Affaires in Bolivia as follows:

Feb. 5, 1879—Guided by a sincere spirit of conciliation, and taking into account that Bolivia is relatively a weak country, we believe that if the tax is suspended we could open and continue the discussion interrupted by that Government and reach by your influence a friendly agreement, and, if this is not possible, to constitute arbitration in conformity with the protocol annexed to the pact. In this way we will eloquently manifest that Chile, whenever dignity permits, prefers pacific solutions and is disposed to fulfill with noble loyalty her international obligations.

As Bolivia did not accept this proposal, Chile allowed forty-eight hours for a reply as to whether the law would be suspended. This time having expired, the Chilean diplomat asked for his passports, and declared to the Bolivian Government that inasmuch as the treaty of 1874 had been broken, the Chilean rights to the territory claimed in the treaty of 1866 were again in effect. On Feb. 14, 1879, Chile ordered the occupation of the Port of Antofagasta and of the "territories which she possessed before making with Bolivia those treaties which the latter has just broken." Chile could not abandon either the rights or the interests of her citizens. It was not Bolivian territory Chile was occupying, but Chilean territory, which she had ceded to Bolivia by the treaties in question.

PERU JOINS BOLIVIA

Notwithstanding the fact that in 1873 Peru had induced Bolivia to sign a pact of alliance tacitly directed against Chile, the Peruvian Government offered its mediation in the Bo-

livian-Chilean conflict, the origin of which was nothing more than Peru's monopolistic nitrate policy, which had instigated Bolivia to dispossess the Chilean industries. The mediation of Peru was accompanied by three suspicious circumstances: (1) The denial on the part of the mediating Minister of the existence of the secret treaty of which Chile had lately become aware; (2) Previous Peruvian demands compatible only with the pretensions of Bolivia; (3) Hurried war preparations of Peru, the Peruvian Government meanwhile showing a desire to gain time. These circumstances, with the fact that Bolivia did not manifest the slightest desire to facilitate an amicable adjustment, indicated to Chile that Peru was not working "bona fide," but only with the intention of strengthening the alliance. Chile then asked Peru for a pledge of confidence and for her declaration of neutrality. To this Peru replied that such a declaration would be premature, inasmuch as a state of war did not yet exist between Chile and Bolivia.

A few days later Bolivia declared war on Chile. The Chilean Government then demanded a declaration of neutrality from Peru. The Peruvian President, Senor Pardo, then confirmed the secret agreement with Bolivia, in accordance with which it would be impossible for Peru to remain neutral.

The Peruvian mediator, Senor Lavalle, upon receiving his passports in Santiago, Chile, was also given a note by the Chilean Government, stating: "My Government was surprised to learn that the Peruvian Government had drawn up and signed this secret pact at a time when Peru was demonstrating to Chile sentiments of cordial friendship. To this mysterious act and one in which the most absolute reserve was agreed upon, the Government of Chile answers by frankly declaring the relations with the Peruvian Government broken."

The Chilean plenipotentiary, on leaving Peru, dispatched a note to the Peruvian Government in which he

gave the reasons for his departure. In this note, he pointed out Peru's moral obligation to observe neutrality, especially in view of that country's attempt to undertake the delicate role of mediator.

This is how the war between Chile and her two allied neighbors was started. Let us see how it ended.

The war of Chile with Bolivia and Peru was concluded by separate treaties. With Peru the Treaty of Ancon of 1883 was signed, and with Bolivia, the truce pact of the same year. Peru unconditionally surrendered to Chile the Province of Tarapaca and ceded, also, conditional on the holding of a plebiscite, the Provinces of Tacna and Arica. This plebiscite did not take place in 1894, nor has it taken place to this day, for the reason that it has been impossible to come to an agreement with Peru with regard to the protocol indicated in the treaty.

The divergence of opinion has been fundamentally over the rules of procedure, not over the obligation of conducting the plebiscite. Peru has demanded that only the natives—that is to say, the Peruvians—should be allowed to vote; Chile wants the right extended to all the inhabitants, whether they be foreigners or citizens. Chile has never refused to hold the plebiscite, but has only discussed with Peru through diplomatic channels the form the plebiscite protocol should take. The idea that Chile objects to the plebiscite reveals ignorance of the diplomatic history of the question.

Chile rejected the proposal of the Peruvian President Billinghurst to postpone the plebiscite for twenty-one years, a period that Chile considered exaggerated and one that delayed the solution of the problem more than was expedient.

The American Minister to Peru, Leslie Combe, reported to the State Department on Nov. 17, 1909: "While Mr. Leguia [the President] made patriotism the keynote of his conversation, he confirmed the opinion I have expressed in former dispatches,

that political use is being made of the controversy [with Chile] by his Administration to bid for popularity, or at least to distract the people from thought of revolution." This report confirms the well-known fact that Peru's politicians and chieftains would lose their prestige as soon as the Tacna-Arica question was solved.

PEACE WITH BOLIVIA

I have said that in 1883 a truce with Bolivia was signed. In 1895 a final treaty of peace was drawn up. In this treaty it was stated that if Chile triumphed in the plebiscite of Tacna and Arica, a seaport of the province would be given to Bolivia. This treaty, however, was not ratified. In 1904, twenty years after the truce pact had been signed, another treaty was formulated, discussed and signed without any pressure whatever on the part of the victor. On the contrary, this new pact was drawn up in the most friendly spirit, and devised to bring about closer economic ties between the two countries. Its spirit was both moderate and conservative. The Bolivian Minister, Senor Gutierrez Guerra, said of it in 1904:

It is clear that the treaty with Chile has strengthened our international prestige and brought us close to that country to which we now bind ourselves in practical and lasting terms of friendship.

Bolivia, after signing this treaty of 1904, in which the definite cession of the Province of Antofagasta to Chile was confirmed, lived peacefully, developing her vast natural resources with Chilean and European capital. A pacific people, industrious and well governed, the Bolivians had forgotten the wounds of the war in which they had fought valiantly, and were no longer closely bound to Peru.

The treaty was put into effect under the most harmonious circumstances, Chile paying various credits against the Bolivian Government for which she had made herself responsible. Mutual confidence and friendship having been born again in the two

countries, the old idea of satisfying Bolivia in her aspirations to a port of her own on the Pacific was voiced anew in Chile. Recognizing Bolivia's need of an outlet, while awaiting the plebiscite in Tacna and Arica, Chile began the construction of a railroad from Arica to La Paz at her own expense and at a total cost of \$25,000,000. This railroad was completed in 1913, and its inauguration was made the occasion of great international celebrations emphasizing the sentiment of Chilean-Bolivian fraternity, which gave rise to favorable comments through all Latin America, with the exception of Peru—the only country that had protested against the construction of this line, on the ground that it was to cross Tacna, part of the territory still subject to a plebiscite decision.

PERU'S REVERSIVE POLICY

The diplomatic relations between Peru and Chile have been suspended since 1910, and since then the international Peruvian policy has been directed toward Bolivia. The efforts of this policy met with little success in Bolivia until the wrongly understood results of the European war inspired the idea that the "reconquest" of Alsace-Lorraine was the signal for territorial "revindications" throughout the entire world. Peru supposed that the League of Nations would annul the Treaty of Ancon, returning to Peru all that she had lost in the war of '79, and Peruvian sympathizers spread enthusiasm in Bolivia over the possibility of the League's annulling the treaty of 1904 with Chile.

This policy tended toward influencing Bolivia against the Chilean project of making a Bolivian port in Tacna and Arica, and instead presented to the Bolivians the expectation of reconquering without effort the rich littoral of Antofagasta.

The movement was resisted by the Bolivian Government presided over by Senor Gutierrez Guerra, who desired to keep the national faith

pledged by the treaty of friendship with Chile. This cost the Bolivian Government its life. The revolutionaries, instruments of Peru, came into power, exiling from the country all men of merit, just as Mr. Leguia has done to this day in Peru. The new Government came into power by promising the people the "reconquest" of Antofagasta, with all its nitrate wealth, within a short time. Peru, on its part, applauded and agitated the "revindication" of Tacna, Arica and Tarapaca, and Dictator Leguia's constituent Congress declared null and void the Ancon Treaty. There was a moment when a crisis seemed imminent in the presence of the concerted action of Peru and Bolivia to provoke Chile in 1919.

BEFORE THE LEAGUE

At last year's session Peru brought up the question of the Pacific before the League of Nations, but, as this Assembly was inclined to postpone the discussion, Peru withdrew her request at the last hour. In September this year Bolivia renewed the attempt, asking that the treaty of 1904 with Chile be revised, that is to say, asking that the territory of Antofagasta be returned to her, which in truth Bolivia never had under her control, and the eventual dominion of which she ceded definitely and irrevocably by means of this treaty, signed of her own free will.

Chile opposed the League's taking up this matter, and the Assembly postponed its discussion in a way that was equivalent to a peremptory rejection of the Bolivian claims. Its action amounted to a confirmation of the legal and moral judgment that the treaty of 1904 was a valid treaty of peace, signed with the fullest liberty of conscience. The President of the League Assembly declared: "The Assembly could not place itself in the dangerous position of going on record as being competent to revise treaties. * * * Such a course would establish a precedent for possible revision of the Versailles Treaty, and would



SHADED AREA INDICATES THE TACNA-ARICA DISTRICT, THE CRUX OF THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE THAT HAS LONG DISTURBED THE RELATIONS OF CHILE, BOLIVIA AND PERU

cause grave alarm in France and other allied countries." It may be added that, if this precedent were allowed, no defeated country would fail to ask for a revision of its agreements: Mexico and Spain would claim this right against the United States, China would invoke the precedent against Japan, Panama would set fire to the discussion in Central America, and so on. Bolivia has now withdrawn her request, but says she reserves the right to bring up the matter in another form before the League.

It must not be forgotten that Bolivia enjoys in practice all the advantages of having seaports. By the treaty Chile granted her the right to have her own Custom Houses in the Chilean ports, and at present there are Bolivian Custom Houses in both Arica and Antofagasta.

"SHEER PLEASURE FINE ARTS PAVILION"

ON a high hill in Tokio, which looks down on the bay and also gives a magnificent view of Fujiyama, there stands a great board which bears the inscription, "Kyoraku Bijutso Kwan," meaning "Sheer Pleasure Fine Arts Pavilion." On this site is to be built the most princely gift in the history of modern art. The donor, Mr. K. Matsukata, the celebrated shipbuilder of Kobe, and the son of the Marquis Matsukata, one of the few remaining Genro, or Elder Statesmen of Japan, has conceived the project of erecting here a monument of Western Art for the edification of his fellow countrymen. The working out of the architectural and other details of a magnificent gallery, in which the work of the greatest Western painters and sculptors will be exhibited, has been confided by Mr. Matsukata to Mr. Frank Brangwyn, R. A., an English painter of high merit.

Besides some thousand paintings, etchings and sculptures from Europe and America, representing the best artists of

the last fifty years, there will be famous period furniture and tapestries. Japanese art will be represented by an unrivaled collection of Japanese prints and a collection of Chinese bronzes known throughout the East as priceless and unique. All the best work of Rodin will be exhibited in bronze, and some 70 of the best works of Mr. Brangwyn in oil and water color will be represented. An inner courtyard is planned, with loggias, and a beautiful garden and a fountain in the centre are to be important features. This new gallery will be one of the beauty spots of Tokio.

The donor, Mr. Matsukata, who wishes to broaden his country's artistic education, comes of one of the oldest and most aristocratic families of Japan. His father, the venerable Marquis Matsukata, has a number of sons, whom he has sent abroad to be educated. Once a year they all return to Japan and gather around the ancestral board to relate their experiences. Otohiko Matsukata, a younger son, was a student for several years at Harvard.



(© Central News)

Members of the Imperial Conference, held in London, July, 1921, where many momentous problems were discussed. Front row, seated, left to right: Sir Edward Montagu, Arthur Balfour, Mr. Srinivasa-Sastri, Mr. Massey, Premier of New Zealand; Mr. Meighen, Premier of Canada; Premier Lloyd George, W. M. Hughes, Premier of Australia; Jan C. Smuts, Premier of South Africa; Lord Curzon and the Maharaja of Cutch.

THE NEW BRITISH EMPIRE

BY J. ELLIS BARKER

How the idea of imperial consolidation first arose, and how it developed—Influence of the World War in showing both the dominions and the mother country the need of union—Momentous results of the Imperial Conference

FUTURE generations may see in the British Imperial Conference, which came to an end on Aug. 5, 1921, one of the most momentous events in the history of the English-speaking people and of the world. The supreme importance of that very prolonged meeting lies not so much in the resolutions which were passed as in the fact that it created highly significant precedents and marked a complete change in the character of the British Empire. Only very gradually is the public beginning to realize that a new chapter in British and in Anglo-Saxon history has begun, that the old British traditions have been abandoned. Future historians may compare the Imperial Conference of 1921 to the signing of Magna Charta.

All the great sea empires of the past since the time of the Phoenicians and Carthagenians were created for the promotion of commerce and trade. They were created mainly for the advantage of the motherland. Following the example which the nations of antiquity and the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch colonizers had set in the past, England established all over the world trading stations, which were administered and controlled from London. Plantations were added. England followed the precedent set by its forerunners, although the English treated their colonists with greater consideration and the natives with more humanity than had been done by other nations.

A new spirit has arisen in England. The desire to give to the British do-

minions and colonies full self-government, and to replace the highly centralized empire of the past by a free imperial partnership concluded by a number of independent nations, has become stronger and ever stronger. The change in England's attitude and policy is ascribed by some to the influence of men such as Lord Rosebery and the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; others attribute it to the revolt of the American Colonies. In reality there have been in England two schools of thought since the beginning of England's colonial career, one favoring the subordination of the colonies to the motherland, and the other advocating the utmost liberality toward the overseas possessions.

OLD VIEW AND NEW

Many Englishmen of the eighteenth century were cold-blooded utilitarians. In the words of Bancroft, the great American historian, "They regarded colonies, even when settled by

men from their own land, only as sources of emoluments to the mother-country, and colonists as an inferior caste." The Hon. George Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, cynically proclaimed, "Colonies are only settlements in distant parts of the world for the improvement of trade." Adam Smith taught about that time: "If any of the provinces of the British Empire cannot be made to contribute toward the support of the whole empire, it is surely time that Great Britain should free herself from the expense of defending those provinces in time of war, and of supporting any part of their civil or military establishments in time of peace." Many Englishmen desired to get rid of the American Colonies, because they thought such a step would be monetarily profitable.

At the same time there were far-sighted men, both in England and in the American Colonies, who wished to create a united empire on the basis



King John of England setting his royal seal to the Magna Charta at Runnymede, June 15, 1215. Behind him, on his left, is Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose efforts this foundation charter of English and American liberty was largely due. The picture, based on historical data, was drawn by a British artist for *The Illustrated London News*.

of a partnership concluded between the motherland and the self-governing settlements overseas. Adam Smith, though supposed to be a strict utilitarian, wrote in his "Wealth of Nations," which was published a century and a half ago:

There is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain and her colonies. That Constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it. * * * The principal difficulties perhaps arise, not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people both on this and on the other side of the Atlantic.

The attitude of the elder Pitt and of many other eminent Englishmen of the time is so well known that it need not be mentioned. Leading men in the American Colonies also advocated the conclusion of an empire partnership and the creation of an Imperial Parliament which should include representatives sent by the colonies. Twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin sent to Governor Shirley a weighty memoir "On the Subject of Uniting the Colonies More Intimately with Great Britain by Allowing Them Representatives in Parliament." In this article he wrote:

I should hope that, by such a union, the people of Great Britain and the people of the colonies would learn to consider themselves as not belonging to different communities, with different interests, but to one community with one interest, which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole and greatly lessen the danger of future separation. * * * The colonies are all included in the British Empire, and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole. What imports it to the general State whether a merchant, smith or hatter grow rich in Old or New England? And if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge Great Britain's empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth and the numbers of her people at the risk of their own lives and private fortunes in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference. * * *

GROWTH OF NEW IDEA

Such enlightened views as these and others expressed by some of the most eminent Englishmen and Americans toward the middle of the eighteenth century have, in the course of ages, become predominant among the English people. Not only great liberal statesmen, but the leaders of the conservative party as well, have become more and more strongly convinced of the necessity of placing the British Empire upon a new basis. The great conservative leader, Disraeli, declared in 1876 that he could not see "how our distant colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of an imperial consolidation." It should, he thought, have been accompanied by an imperial tariff, by guarantees, and by a definition of mutual responsibilities of support in case of war, above all by the creation of a representative council embracing all the empire. That eminent Liberal Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, made a similar proposal in his "Recollections." Lord Rosebery declared that it was a question of tightening the bonds of union, or facing the prospect of losing the colonies altogether. Professor Seely, the historian of imperialism, in his "Expansion of England," pointed out the fundamental analogy with the United States, the success of whose system of State federalism proved that Federal union over vast spaces and territories could be maintained.

Leading Englishmen not only pronounced themselves in favor of reorganizing the British Empire on a modern basis, benefiting by the experience of the United States, which had solved the problem of combining a centralized government of the whole State with full self-government on the part of the member States through the creation of a Federal Union, but they prepared the ground for such a new departure by vigorous spade work. It was obviously impossible to unite

a large number of independent States for common action. Even the ablest statesman cannot negotiate with a crowd. The indispensable preliminary step toward bringing about the unification of the empire and the creation of an imperial authority representative of the whole empire consisted in effecting preliminary unions among the various independent States of Canada, Australia and South Africa, thus forming a small number of important groups of States, each of which would then be able to speak with a single voice and act with a single mind and will.

Owing to the farsightedness and ability of the late Lord Durham and of other men, the separate States of Canada came together and formed in 1867 the Dominion Government, representative of all the individual parts. Owing to the activities of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and others the Australian States acted in a similar manner and created the Commonwealth Government of Australia in 1900, while in 1909 the States of South Africa created the Union Government. There was friction at first between the States thus united, exactly as there had been friction between the United States of North America in the early days of the Union. However, the differences existing have disappeared in the course of time, and the consolidations effected have become stronger and stronger, and seem likely to last. A most important step toward organizing the States of the British Empire on the model of the United States had been taken.

THE WORLD WAR'S INFLUENCE

There was, however, a great difficulty in the way. Though the statesmen and people of the United Kingdom ardently desired the creation of a great empire union on a democratic basis, and were willing to make considerable sacrifices for that ideal, their feelings were not unreservedly reciprocated by the statesmen and peoples of the dominions and colonies. The parochial

spirit was stronger in the outlying portions of the empire than in the motherland. The inhabitants of the faraway colonies, like the people of the Western States of North America, were completely absorbed in their local problems. Economic questions filled their horizon. They talked and thought wheat, meat, minerals, fish, transport, labor, &c. They had no foreign policy. They had no local history. They did not realize that at any moment they might be carried into the maelstrom of foreign politics and of world politics. Europe seemed as far away as the moon. They felt absolutely secure where they lived. The World War and the rise of Japan suddenly opened their eyes. Events showed the wisdom of the old country in having attached the colonies to herself by silken bonds of affection. Innumerable eminent Germans had stated that the British dominions would secede in time of danger, that they would inevitably follow the precedent set by the United States, that in case of a great European war England could at the utmost throw 150,000 soldiers on the Continent, but that in all probability military intervention would be impossible because England's small army would be needed to suppress risings in all the overseas possessions.

German and other Continental observers had proclaimed so frequently that England was played out that many Englishmen and colonials had come to believe it. To the surprise of all, England and her colonies flew to arms in 1914, and instead of mobilizing 150,000 soldiers the empire mobilized 10,000,000. Little New Zealand alone raised as many troops as, according to the calculations of the German General Staff, the United Kingdom would send to the Continent. The war vastly strengthened the imperial spirit throughout the empire. Men throughout the motherland and the British dominions at last realized the absolute necessity of all the citizens of the empire standing together in the hour of danger.

Besides, all Englishmen began to feel a pride in the old country and the daughter States. Events had clearly shown that motherland and colonies were neither effete nor besotted with selfishness and money-making. Even the most parochially inclined realized the necessity of preparing for united defense and of building against future danger by placing the direction of imperial policy upon a new basis. The great dominions could obviously not be expected to bring great sacrifices in blood and treasure unless they had been given some influence over foreign policy. Otherwise they might have to suffer for mistakes made by the Government in London, in which had hitherto been vested the control of foreign policies. Hence the cry of the colonies, "Call us to your councils" found the readiest response.

Previous to the war the nucleus of an imperial organization had been formed by a number of imperial conferences, the importance of which grew steadily greater, and by the creation of an Imperial General Staff and of an Imperial War Council, these last-mentioned bodies being devoted to the study of imperial defense and to the harmonizing of the defensive forces of the whole empire. Thus a beginning had been made in uniting motherland and daughter States for common action.

FIRST IMPERIAL CABINET

Soon after the outbreak of the war the British War Cabinet was expanded and became an Imperial War Cabinet by the inclusion of eminent representatives from the British overseas lands. The work begun in the middle of the eighteenth century was crowned by the recent Imperial Conference, which not only marks one of the most important events in the history of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, but should prove of far-reaching importance also to the United States of America.

On Aug. 5, the date when the final sitting of the Imperial Conference was held, there was published an of-

ficial report of the proceedings, in which we read the highly significant sentences:

The discussions, which covered the whole area of foreign policy and extended over many days, proved most fruitful in all these respects. They revealed a unanimous opinion as to the main lines to be followed by British policy, and a deep conviction that the whole weight of the empire should be concentrated behind a united understanding and common action in foreign affairs. In this context, very careful consideration was given to the means of circulating information to the dominion Governments and keeping them in continuous touch with the conduct of foreign relations by the British Government. It was unanimously felt that the policy of the British Empire could not be adequately representative of democratic opinion throughout its peoples unless representatives of the dominions and of India were frequently associated with those of the United Kingdom in considering and determining the course to be pursued. All members of the conference expressed a vivid sense of the value of this year's meeting in that respect, and a desire that similar meetings should be held as frequently as possible.

Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, one of the most outspoken men living, stated in an interview on Aug. 21:

It has been a memorable conference, and, on the whole, I am satisfied with the work that has been done. The conference has confirmed the practice set up during the war—indeed, rendered necessary—whereby the policy of the empire was to be decided by the empire as a whole, and not by any one part of it. * * * We have firmly established * * * a great principle which must be regarded as the very foundation stone of this splendid edifice of the British Empire. We are a commonwealth of free nations, each dowered with full powers of self-government, but all united in matters relating to the outside world. We are many, and yet we are one, and this Imperial Conference has crystallized this vital doctrine of empire. As we proceeded to run the gamut of the great questions that were presented for our consideration, each one of us became more and more convinced that our interests, and indeed our safety, depended upon unity, and that this unity in regard to foreign and inter-empire affairs was to be obtained only by a frank recognition of the right of all the members of all the great dominions, as well as the motherland, to have an equal voice in the formulation of foreign and empire policy. The conference which has just terminated its labors differs widely from those Imperial Conferences that were held at inter-

vals of three years before the war. The war, which has changed many things, has given to the dominions a new status, and it was as full partners of the empire that the representatives of the dominions sat around the council table of empire.

Among the numerous resolutions which were passed there is one of outstanding importance, because from it should flow the organization of the British Empire on a federal basis. That most important resolution was worded as follows:

The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the dominions, having carefully considered the recommendation of the Imperial War Conference of 1917 that a special Imperial Conference should be summoned as soon as possible after the war to consider the constitutional relation of the component parts of the empire, have reached the following conclusions:

(a) Continuous consultation, to which the Prime Ministers attach no less importance than the Imperial War Conference of 1917, can only be secured by a substantial improvement in the communication between the component parts of the empire. Having regard to the constitutional developments since 1917, no advantage is to be gained by holding a constitutional conference.

(b) The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the dominions and the representatives of India should aim at meeting annually, or at such longer intervals as may prove feasible.

(c) The existing practice of direct communication between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, as well as the right of the latter to nominate Cabinet Ministers to represent them in consultation with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, are maintained.

A PRESENT REALITY

The activities of the Imperial Conference were not solely devoted to the future. The most excellent resolutions with regard to future action may be disregarded in course of time and ultimately be forgotten. The planned empire partnership was wisely made operative at once. The statesmen from overseas, who had been called together to discuss the future organization of the empire, were immediately taken into the confidence of the British Cabinet, and all the great foreign and imperial questions which arose during the presence of the most eminent representatives

from overseas were not discussed and decided by the British Cabinet, as had been the custom in the past; but the overseas statesmen were invited to join the British Cabinet, and decisions of the very greatest moment were made for the first time by a Cabinet representative of the whole empire.

The official report of the Imperial Conference states:

The Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the representatives of India present in London this year were invited to meetings with members of the British Cabinet called to deal with imperial and foreign questions of immediate urgency which arose in the course of the sittings.

Among these urgent foreign and imperial questions were the allocation of Upper Silesia, the question whether the Anglo-Japanese agreement should be renewed, the problem of the future of China, the problem of the policy of the empire toward the United States, and many others. All these questions, of course, hang together. No imperial statesmen can discuss the problems of the Far East without discussing the attitude of the United States. Mr. Lloyd George stated on July 11 in the House of Commons, after discussing the Anglo-Japanese agreement:

The broader discussion of Far Eastern and Pacific policy, to which we then turned, showed a general agreement on the main lines of the course which the Imperial Cabinet desired to pursue. I have already explained that the first principle of our policy was friendly co-operation with the United States. We are all convinced that upon this, more than any single factor, depends the peace and wellbeing of the world. We also desire, as I have stated, to maintain our close friendship and co-operation with Japan.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

It will be noticed that Mr. Lloyd George spoke, not in the name of the British Cabinet, but in that of the Imperial Cabinet. During the presence of the most distinguished overseas statesmen the foundation of the Imperial Cabinet was laid, and it was made to function forthwith.

Cabinet government arose in England after the revolution of 1688. It

was modeled on the government of the Venetian oligarchy. A narrow oligarchy of statesmen has endeavored to direct the affairs of the British Empire ever since, although in course of time considerable changes were made whereby Cabinet government was modernized. These changes, however, were trifling compared with the fundamental alteration just effected. The time seems near when the government of the British Empire will no longer be the prerogative of Englishmen, when the British Empire may have an empire Cabinet in the fullest sense of the word, presided over by a Canadian or an Australian, an Afrikaner or a New Zealander. In addition there ought to arise an Imperial House of Representatives or, perhaps, two Houses comparable to those sitting at Washington. Last, but not least, it will be possible to transfer the seat of government of the British Empire from London to some town overseas. The time may come when Canada or Australia will be found more important than the United Kingdom as regards number of inhabitants, power and wealth. An Imperial Cabinet might conceivably determine to make Montreal or Ottawa, Sydney or Melbourne, the empire capital. Thus it will be possible to avoid friction and to rejuvenate the ancient fabric. Exactly as the Phoenicians transferred their capital to Carthage and as the Romans abandoned Rome for Constantinople, the increasing importance of overseas States may place Canada or Australia at the head of the British Empire. Great visions are open to colonial statesmen who hitherto were immersed in narrow local politics, and the glamour of the empire should vastly increase their affection for it.

The reorganization of the empire will, of course, be of the greatest benefit from the economic point of view. The development of the British overseas States has lagged behind largely because the energies of the empire States were frittered away. A firm imperial union should lead to the rap-

id development of the imperial resources. The empire lacks railways. Although its territory is more than four times as large as that of the United States, it has only about half as large a railway mileage. A great impetus to imperial development will doubtless ensue.

Men habitually speak of the ancient empire created by Great Britain. In reality it dates only from yesterday. Up to the Revolution of the American Colonies, the only important possessions of England were those which threw off their allegiance. Since their secession Great Britain has created a new empire. At the beginning of the last century Canada had only 240,000 inhabitants, and Australia was a desert which contained 6,500 whites. Since then England has acquired an empire inhabited by nearly 20,000,000 white people. During the coming century the British overseas dominions may become great powers in the fullest sense of the word. A British federal union may arise which will not be inferior to the United States in power, wealth and promise.

The coming development of the British Empire upon those lines which have proved so successful in the United States should be of interest and of advantage to all English-speaking nations and to the world. Peace is the greatest asset of all the nations which have sprung from the narrow islands in the North Sea. The strongest guarantee of a world peace would lie in the cordial co-operation of the British Empire and the United States. The dominions are more democratic than England. The form of government of the British Empire promises to resemble closely that of the United States. The two great federal creations and the two great English-speaking nations seem bound to draw together. Their co-operation is the hope of the world. Each of the two can learn much from the other. England and the British Empire have opened a new chapter in their own history and in the history of the world.

CANADA AS A NATION

BY J. VERNON MCKENZIE
Editor of Maclean's Magazine, Toronto

The Dominion's national status at the Arms Conference—Need of a permanent Canadian Ambassador at Washington, and the explanation of delay in appointing such a plenipotentiary

THE fact that at the Washington disarmament conference Canada is represented, not directly, but through a Canadian member of the British delegation, gives food for thought. As a Pacific power, with more than a thousand miles of seaboard and three important Pacific ports, Canada had a powerful claim to independent representation. In a recent article, Grattan O'Leary, an unusually well-informed correspondent, who accompanied the present Premier, Mr. Meighen, to London, pointed out an even stronger claim. "In any important conflict in that part of the world," he said, "Canada would be a probable theatre of war." The same writer, still more recently, has revealed some secret history which shows that the idea of a Pacific Conference originated with the leader of the Canadian Government at the Imperial Conference. Before he had been many hours in London, Premier Meighen came out strongly in opposition to a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. How he got the support of General Smuts and ultimately of Lloyd George and the majority of the Imperial Conference is now a matter of history. He won his point, but his suggestion that a Pacific Conference be held by Great Britain, Japan and the United States to clear up Pacific problems was rejected by Great Britain on the ground that such a conference would not meet with the approval of Australia. This decision, it should be pointed out, was made without consulting Australia, which was believed to be strongly in favor of the renewal of the alliance.

Canada's right to be heard in the Washington conference has been acknowledged by the appointment of Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian ex-Premier, as a member of the British delegation. Canada, however, received no official invitation to attend the conference as an independent nation. This fact has a direct bearing upon the whole question of Canada's status as a nation. There was a strong feeling in Canada that the Dominion should have separate representation at the conference, and also a feeling that it was Premier Meighen's own fault that no direct invitation from President Harding was received at Ottawa. It was felt that if Canada had had her own plenipotentiary at Washington, representing her as a distinct nation, the result would have been quite different.

An effort to have a Canadian Ambassador sent to Washington was begun about three years ago, but no action has yet been taken, though the Ottawa Government has declared at intervals that an appointment would be made. Premier Meighen has stated unofficially, since his return from London, that the Dominion will before long be represented at the United States capital. Why has the appointment been so long delayed?

This is a difficult question to answer definitely. In the first place, it is generally understood that the appointment was offered to Sir Robert Borden and to the Hon. Newton W. Rowell, but rejected by both. The scope of the position was not definitely described until this question was taken up by Mr. Meighen recently with the authorities in Downing

Street. When the appointment was first announced it was stated that the Canadian plenipotentiary would be accommodated at the British Embassy, and that he would be a "second in command," who would act as British Ambassador in the latter's absence. Premier Meighen has received assurance that no other dominion will regard direct Canadian diplomatic representation at Washington as any slight upon itself.

If the right man could be got for the position, Premier Meighen would almost certainly make an early appointment to the post. Viscount Bryce, who was British Ambassador at Washington from 1907 to 1913, has been quoted to the effect that 90 per cent. of the business transacted at the Washington Embassy appertained to Canada. This emphasizes Canada's dominant importance, and not only indicates why opposition to the appointment was withdrawn by representatives of the other dominions, but also proves the importance of securing the very best talent in Canada for the post. The man who takes this position must not only be a diplomat—in the broadest sense of the word—but he must have a definite grasp of commercial problems. Perhaps if the position were now offered to Mr. Rowell or Sir Robert Borden, one or the other might accept; it is indisputably true that there are literally scores of men who feel themselves qualified for the job, and from whom ready acceptances could be obtained.

One thing is clear—the relations between Canada and the United States are becoming closer and closer. Ten years are a comparatively short time in the history of a nation, but certain changes have taken place in this decade which would make impossible today the success of any such slogan as "No truck or trade with the Yankees," which was current in 1911 when the Reciprocity Treaty was rejected by Canada. Canadians have recognized that there must be "truck and trade" with the Yankees; the import figures

each month for several years have driven this home. The fact that the Canadian dollar is worth only 85 or 90 cents in New York has further emphasized this. Closer commercial relations, despite tariff bars, appear inevitable.

One of the ties which bound Canada to Great Britain in pre-war years was a financial bond: hundreds of millions of pounds were borrowed by Canada to aid in the upbuilding of Canadian industries. The Dominion's borrowings in London have dwindled to petty dribbles, and the money needed is now being obtained in New York.

These are potent commercial and financial reasons for a closer relationship between Canada and the United States, but politically and sentimentally there does not appear to be any cleavage with Great Britain developing. Nor does there appear to be public opinion of importance looking toward separate nationality. It is true that there are certain elements which have been preaching for years even more radical doctrines than those enunciated by Mr. Meighen in London. There was for two years in existence a paper called *The Canadian Nation*, which advocated a more complete national entity for Canada. This paper, ably edited and backed by John S. Ewart, K. C., attained a circulation of about 2,000. It suspended publication a few months ago.

There are influential newspapers in Canada today which advocate more complete Canadian autonomy—such dailies as *The Manitoba Free Press* and *The Toronto Star*. But even the editors of these papers, and citizens who think along their lines, are very definitely autonomists—not separatists. It would be difficult to find in Canada any potential public opinion of importance seeking a separate nationality.

The attitude of French-speaking Canada toward the British Empire can be expressed very briefly. The French Canadians say in effect: "We have no desire for a change. We are satisfied with our treatment under the

British flag. Our language and our civil and religious rights are adequately safeguarded under existing conditions. Any change might make us worse off; it is not readily conceivable that we would be any better off."

Since the passing of Goldwin Smith, nearly ten years ago there has been no voiced plea for annexation. Goldwin Smith and certain other Canadians of a past generation believed that the lines of communication must inevitably run north and south on this continent, and made the deduction that Canada's logical destiny was as an integral part of the United States. While traveling throughout certain portions of Western Canada, where the influx of American settlers (chiefly agricultural) has been very heavy during the past ten or fifteen years, one may occasionally hear a discussion as to the value to Canada—and to the United States—of annexation, but such discussions do not usually go very far. During the last twelve months the writer has traveled between 15,000 and 20,000 miles in Canada, visiting such far-separated cities as Halifax and Prince Rupert, and not once has the question of annexation cropped up.

Just exactly what the extent of Canada's participation in empire councils should be it would be difficult to ascertain by consulting an average Canadian. Many would undoubtedly reply that things are going along quite well now; why worry? The question of Imperial Federation had arisen before the war, but the war dragged forth into a glaring light the question of future imperial relationship. In a letter to the writer, in 1919, Viscount Bryce discussed this point as follows:

It seems to me that the position of Canada and the other great dominions will

be worked out more clearly in practice than can now be laid down by any theory. The British Empire, or British Union of Commonwealths, whichever we may call it, has been worked out in practice, like so many institutions of our race, and if it had been attempted to prescribe future developments by means of formulas, we should not have had the results which have been so happily attained hitherto.

The value of an imperial council seems to reside in the fact that it would not interfere in any way with Canadian self-government, but would provide ample opportunities for an exchange of views between the Government of the mother country and its public opinion, and the Government and public opinion of the dominions, so that each would understand one another more perfectly than they do now, and that it should be made more certain that their joint action should represent the common will and purpose of both.

We in Britain ought to know all that the dominions feel about foreign policy, and the representatives of the dominions ought to have the fullest opportunity for expressing their views. Similarly, the British members would communicate our ideas to the Governments of the dominions and their peoples, so that the action to be ultimately taken should, so far as possible, represent that which is common to both.

Canada is content—and very content—to remain as an integral part of the British Empire, a dominion on a status of equality with the mother country and the other dominions. Thus she will fulfill her destiny—a destiny which Sir Auckland Geddes described as that of an interpreter between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Again using the words of the British Ambassador at Washington, Canada's task is to build the bridge of understanding between England and the United States. Canadians are divided upon many topics, but on this they think, speak and act practically as one; Canada desires to remain a British dominion. What this means Canadians do not ponder very deeply; the fact itself is sufficient.

CANADA'S ORIENTAL PROBLEM

BY JOHN NELSON

Former Managing Editor and part owner of The Vancouver World

How the Chinese and Japanese have swarmed into British Columbia and forced out the Canadians—Percentage of Orientals five times as great in Canada as in the United States

THE United States, according to census figures given out at Washington Sept. 26, 1921, had a population of approximately 105,000,000, which included 171,649 Chinese and Japanese. Canada, with a population which the recent census is expected to show at not more than 8,500,000, has a Chinese and Japanese population estimated at 65,000—about 40,000 Chinese and approximately 25,000 Japanese.

The United States (particularly that portion of it which is known as California and Washington) has for some time considered that it has an Oriental problem on its hands. Yet, in proportion to the population, the Dominion of Canada has nearly five times as many Orientals as has her great neighbor to the south.

Of the Orientals resident in Canada, British Columbia has probably 90 per cent. of the Chinese and Japanese, and practically 100 per cent. of the Hindus—or about 63,000 in all. As the present census may give British Columbia in the neighborhood of 500,000 people, this means that one-eighth of the population of Canada's Pacific province is already Oriental—and growing! That in itself is serious, whether this population remains a quiescent entity, abstaining from all claim to political or civil rights, or whether it bestirs itself actively to obtain these rights. California became hysterical in 1919 when it found every thirteenth child of its population to be a Japanese.

Historically the development of

Oriental immigration to Canada differs sharply from the trek of Europeans to this dominion. The Government frankly sought and paid for Slav and Swede and Mennonite. From 1901 to 1905 Canada spent \$1,445,000 on United Kingdom immigrants. On the contrary, a head tax of \$50 was imposed on Chinese in 1885. This was increased to \$100 in 1901 and to \$500 in 1904. In the period from 1886 to 1919, inclusive, Canada derived from this tax the enormous sum of \$20,537,961. The year before last more than \$2,000,000 was taken, and last year \$500,000.

Despite this head tax, the influx of Chinese into Canada during the last twenty years has far exceeded that of the other two Oriental elements, Japanese and Hindus. From 1900 to 1907 it ceased temporarily, but it began anew and reached its peak between 1910 and 1914, when more than 30,000 Chinese came to Canada. The war again interrupted it, but from 1918 to 1919 about 4,300 entered. The total for the twenty years mentioned was 37,913. This total, however, is much larger than it seems, for many of these belonged to the exempt class—merchants and their wives and children, consular agents and their families and staffs, teachers and men of science. Many also were Chinese returning from visits to China under what are known departmentally as C-19 registrations. None the less, as I shall show, the Chinese problem in Canada is serious.

Of the other races involved the

Hinduelement is negligible; it is about 5,000, and is hardly likely to increase in the near future, in view of transportation difficulties and of Section 38 of the Canadian Immigration Act, which provides that such immigrants must come by continuous passage on through tickets purchased in the home land.

The problem with regard to the Japanese is second in seriousness only to that presented by the Chinese. Contrary to general belief, Canada's immigration relations with Japan are conditioned not by the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, but by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Japan signed in London on April 3, 1911. This treaty provides for reciprocal rights of travel, residence, the carrying on of business between the two countries, the owning or leasing of property, exemption from military service, &c. It has been modified only in so far as the voluntary undertaking of Japan to the Hon. Mr. Lemieux to restrict Japanese immigration into Canada to 300 yearly constitutes a limitation to its provisions. Nevertheless, the number of Japanese in Canada today is considerable, and they are only inferior to the Chinese in the acquisition of land and in their growing competition in fruit producing and other lines.

Go down the Okanagan Valley, fairest of all Canadian vales, in blossom and harvest time. It is still a land of lovely homes, of people of station, of culture and means; above all, of those qualities of loyalty most difficult for any nation to secure in settlers and yet indispensable to any nation's permanency. From one end to the other of Okanagan Lake, a distance of eighty miles, there are perhaps 20,000 souls. Of that number 3,300 went to the war without hesitation and without counting the cost. Whole hamlets were deserted. While they were away a danger which had long menaced became acute. Labor was lacking, crops had to be harvested. In many instances payments had to be met; in others the strain

proved too heavy and lands had to be sold.

The ready cash buyer and the available hired hand were almost invariably the Chinaman and the Japanese. Today the situation is painfully acute. In towns like Kelowna it is of first concern. Public sentiment is alert and vigilant, but gold talks. The ability of Orientals to secure money shows that many of their colony not only have ample means, but are willing to lend it to their countrymen (doubtless with ample security).

Across the lake at Summerland there is a considerable colony of Asiatics, headed by such prominent Japanese as George Tada and Frank Agno, who now own considerable fruit acres. In the Mission-Hatzic district and other valley communities a comparison of the land holdings in the last five years shows how rapidly the process of penetration is going on. In 1915 there were 115 small fruit growers in this district, of whom 10 were Japanese. In 1920 the total had grown to 250, and 55 were Japanese. The change is even more marked in the Pitt Meadows-Haney district. The Japanese in 1915, out of 42 growers, numbered only 16; in 1920, out of a total of 248, they numbered 120. On that basis, with a very high birth rate and the expulsive effect of Japanese influx on white settlement, the small fruit industry in the Lower Frazer Valley must soon pass into alien hands.

In British Columbia there is a whole fishing community—Steveston—which is controlled by the Japanese. The children in the schools are Japanese and the instruction Japanese. The white fishing population has been forced out, and the whole salmon fishing industry on the Frazer River, once the most famous of all salmon streams, within a quarter of a century has passed completely into Japanese hands. The clumsy, inefficient yellow men who came twenty-five years ago learned how to handle the boats, taught their wives, and later became naturalized when Canadian labor stormed and protested

against fishing licenses for the Orientals; little by little the Indians and whites alike were driven out by race pressure, and this fishing town of 20,000 souls is now thoroughly Orientalized. Of a total of 1,376 Canadian gill-net licenses, including those for the Skeena, the Naas and Vancouver Island, the Japanese now receive 873, Canadians only 133, and English and Scotch 37 and 28 respectively. Canada cannot regard this situation with equanimity. The economic folly of allowing an industry worth \$25,000,000 annually to fall into non-Canadian, especially Asiatic, hands need not be emphasized.

But, as has already been stated, the Chinese problem is the more serious. Immediately about Vancouver the Chinese have acquired under ownership about 1,000 acres, every foot of which is devoted to intensive truck gardening. More than 3,600 acres are held under lease, for which the Orientals pay only \$40 per acre annually. On Vancouver Island, in the vicinity of Victoria, the Chinese own about 700 acres and lease more than 800. The Japanese in the same district lease about 100 acres and own practically none. At Enderby and Armstrong, where the finest celery in Canada is grown, the Chinese own 2,500 acres and lease 763. The Japanese lease sixty acres in this valley. In the Okanagan the

Chinese own about 100 acres and lease about 1,230. The Japanese hold about 250 acres freehold and 600 leasehold. The largest holdings in the interior by Chinese are at Ashcroft where title to 2,500 acres has passed to them and where they operate another 2,000. Ashcroft is almost another Steveston.

The whole land situation in British Columbia spells danger. Hon. E. D. Barrow, the Provincial Minister of Agriculture, stated recently that 90 per cent. of the Vancouver produce came from Chinese. Only two greenhouses in Victoria remain outside of Mongolian control. A recent survey made by the Department of Agriculture for the province shows that there are 1,080 Asiatics controlling 26,918 acres. This includes 367 orchard lands, 2,341 fruit lands, 10,659 truck farms, 515 dairy farms, 3,677 acres for mixed farming. Japanese logging camps are also multiplying. Legislative action, drastic and thorough, has protected the metalliferous mining of the province from the penetration which is proceeding in the case of agriculture, fishing and lumber.

The Oriental problem is as serious and menacing for Canada as for any other nation represented in the present Pacific conference at Washington.

FIRST GERMAN LINER IN SEVEN YEARS

THE new German steamship Bayern arrived at New York from Hamburg on Oct. 2, 1921. It was the first German passenger vessel to enter an American port since August, 1914. It brought nine cabin and 594 steerage passengers, of whom 175 were American citizens. The ship was met at Quarantine by a Reception Committee designated by Mayor Hylan; the commit-

tee went out in a steamer gayly decked with flags and having on board a German society band, which played popular tunes. From Quarantine to the pier of landing the Bayern made a triumphant progress. Thus was international communication between Germany and the United States resumed under the separate peace treaty recently signed at Berlin.

INDIA'S MOVEMENT AGAINST BRITISH RULE

BY V. B. METTA*

The Indian side of the non-co-operation movement and its causes—Grievances that have led many of the people to support Mr. Gandhi's boycott—Why the Moslems have joined the Hindus in hostile demonstrations against everything British in India

The message of Non-Co-operation is self-purification, self-sacrifice, courage and hope.—M. K. Gandhi.

THE political situation in India is of absorbing interest, because the popular movement against British government, known as the Non-Co-operation Movement, is headed by Mr. Gandhi, a strange mixture of a saint, a statesman and a radical reformer. He is as clear-sighted and practical in some matters as any other leader of men in any other country on the face of the earth, and as tragically though charmingly unpractical as Ruskin and Tolstoy in some other matters. He is more loved in India than any other political leader has ever been since the British Government was established there. Older Indian politicians like Sir P. M. Mehta and Mr. Gokhale were semi-aliens in their own country, because they spoke always in English, and therefore they addressed only those Indians who had received an English education. Their ideals and aspirations, their mode of dressing and living were considerably influenced by those of the West, and therefore they made hardly any appeal to the majority of their countrymen. But Mr. Gandhi dresses like the humblest of them, addresses them in Hindi, and preaches and practices those ideals which have been in their life-blood for thousands of years, and which, therefore, they instinctively comprehend and admire. He talks to them not about Mill and Macaulay, but of the moral, spiritual and po-

litical ideals which are expressed in the Vedas, the Epics, and early Indian history. And they feel that he is their real spokesman, because, like a true Indian, he puts character and conduct above mere knowledge.

It would not be correct to say that Mr. Gandhi hates Britishers as Britishers. He hates them for the kind of government which they have established in India, a government which unduly favors British interests and does not take sufficient notice of Indian interests, protests and aspirations. From the days when the East India Company was firmly established, until about forty years ago, the British Government went on suppressing or destroying Indian industries and commerce for the sake of promoting British industries and commerce in the country. There were indignant protests now and then against this heartless policy from some of the ablest and noblest Britishers themselves, but they were not heeded, because self-interest with most human individuals as well as groups of men shapes their actions more than moral principles do. Then Indians like Dr. Naoroji, Mr. Dutt and Mr. Ranade wrote and showed clearly in their works how unfair, how un-British, such a policy was

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toward India. They were instrumental in sowing the seeds of the Swadeshi movement—the movement in favor of buying home-made goods and boycotting foreign goods—which was born in 1906, and which spread like wildfire all over the country before the end of 1908. The Morley-Minto reforms then followed, but Indians soon found out that they were substantially no better off under them than before. After that followed the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of two years ago, which, though considerably more liberal than the older scheme of a decade ago, have disappointed many Indians, because they do not enable them yet to regulate the financial policy of their country, legislate for themselves, and make British officials in India responsible to the Indian public.

CAUSES OF HOSTILE SPIRIT

What are the remote as well as the immediate causes and grievances of Indians underlying this Non-Cooperation Movement? First of all, there is the great, great wrong of Amritsar of 1919 to be righted. There was no reason for Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab, to suspect that any large conspiracy was organized to upset the British *raj* in India then. It was simply a little local trouble. And even if the use of force was considered to be necessary at the time, there was no reason why General Dyer, after putting down the rising, should have given "crawling" and such other orders to the "offenders" as would degrade any self-respecting human beings in any part of the world. And yet Sir Michael, the instigator of the massacre, has got off without any punishment, while Dyer, the man of blood, is taught by the British House of Lords and a newspaper like *The Morning Post* to regard himself as a hero and savior of his countrymen in India. This naturally hurts the pride of all Indians, and therefore Mr. Gandhi and his followers insist that both men be adequately punished.

Then there is the Khalifate agitation. While the war was going on and the British Government wanted Indian soldiers (many of whom are Mohammedans) to fight for England against their co-religionists, the Turks in Mesopotamia and Palestine, it promised Indians that the Turkish Empire would not be dismembered by the Allies at the end of the war. But that promise has unfortunately not been kept, since Great Britain has practically taken possession of Palestine and Mesopotamia, while France has seized Syria.

How does the dismemberment of Turkey affect Indian Mohammedans?—the readers of this impartial periodical might ask. Well, it is this way: The Turkish Sultan has a double rôle to play. He is at once the temporal head of all those people who live within his empire and the spiritual head (called Khalifa) of all Sunni Mohammedans in the world,



V. B. METTA

Hindu lawyer and journalist, who is now visiting the United States

whether Turkish, Egyptian, Syrian, Arab, or Indian. The first Turkish Sultan to assume the title of Khalifa

Turkish Sultan be regarded as Khalifa any longer?

This is what the Mohammedans of India are asking, and this is why they are agitating to have Mesopotamia and Arabia restored to Turkey. They are willing to agree that in the government of these two countries the Turkish Sultan might take the advice of able and high-souled Europeans and Americans on certain occasions, but they insist that he should remain thoroughly independent of them as before. The Hindus have joined their Mohammedan compatriots in this agitation, because they feel sorry for the dismemberment of Turkey; though they are not Mohammedans, they feel as other Asiatic peoples, such as the Japanese or Chinese, do. It is not their religious but their continental pride that is hurt by the Treaty of Sevres as it stands today.



M. K. GANDHI

Leader of the movement in India to boycott everything British, and to abolish all machinery. The Gandhi cap, which he and his followers wear, is made of hand-woven cloth

FINANCIAL ABUSES

Without being able to control the financial policy of their country a people cannot become au-

tonomous in any way. They remain slaves of the power that has it. British colonies, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, have got the right to decide how their money is to be spent, to what extent, and why; but India has no such right. She tried all she could to get it before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were formulated, but she did not succeed. She is poor, and therefore she cannot afford to go on paying money for Great Britain's military adventures and exploits in countries which are situated beyond her borders. Had the Indian Army

(Caliph) was Selim I. in the sixteenth century, and since then all his successors have remained and acted as Khalifas. And among the necessary qualifications to be the Khalifa of Islam are: (1) That he should be absolute and undisputed lord of Arabia and of a greater part of Mesopotamia also; (2) that he should be the protector of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. If the British take Mesopotamia and set up a protege of theirs (that is how Indian Mohammedans regard King Feisal) on its throne, and make Arabia independent, how can the

been maintained for defending only India, the British Government would have been justified in asking Indians to pay for its maintenance. But it has been sent to fight in Egypt, South Africa, China, and other countries for helping "the cause of the empire," as British statesmen put it; and yet, India alone has always had to pay for all those wars! This is hardly fair to her. Why should Great Britain not pay at least a portion of the annual expenditure for its upkeep, especially if she means to employ it for wars outside of India? There are large bodies of Indian troops in Persia and Mesopotamia still.

Then, again, there is a huge annual drain on the slender resources of the country in the shape of pensions, "on leave" salaries, &c., which are paid to British officials, all of whom, it may be mentioned, are paid much higher salaries than those that are paid to the majority of Indians. A few good posts in the Government of India, which are now offered to Indians, do not make any material difference to India from the economic point of view. What she wants is full financial autonomy, which means the power to spend her money for her own pressing needs first.

FAULTS OF SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Educational Department is another which Indians want to control. The school system of the country was established some eighty years ago by Lord Macaulay, who knew nothing of the temperament and traditions of its people. The result has been disastrous in the extreme. Men turned out by Government schools and colleges in India are pseudo-Englishmen rather than good Indians. They do not learn their own languages properly. Instead, they fritter away their energies in trying to master an alien tongue. They learn more of Shakespeare and Tennyson than of Kalidas and Kabir, their national poets. They are not taught to look at their own history with the eyes of their own temperament, so to say, but with the eyes of the temperament of

Britishers, who naturally do not feel much disposed to admire it. In spite of all that may be said on the other side, history is an art, and is therefore mostly subjective. It is not facts that make us look at our own past or that of any other people with favor or disfavor, but the way in which those facts are handled or arranged by historians. Therefore no people can feel proud of themselves and achieve anything great, so long as they read their own history through other people's glasses—as Indians are made to do at present. The present educational system in India not only destroys the sense of patriotism and self-respect, but initiative, independent thinking and originality in Indian students. It is for these reasons that Mr. Gandhi is opposed to it heart and soul. The national schools and colleges which he has established all over the country recently are by no means ideal institutions, their curricula are very defective from the point of view of intellectual breadth, but they are at least trying to make the Indian student throw off his "slave psychology" and become more patriotic in his outlook on life.

A country cannot ever become happy or contented if it cannot make its own laws. And India is one of those unfortunate countries. During the war Indians were praised and promised many good things for their loyalty to England. They were told again and again that but for their help in France and Flanders, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt and East Africa, Great Britain could not do what had to be done. But immediately the war was over, the Press act was more strictly enforced and the Rowlatt act was passed. Indian editors still cannot write what they consider to be truth in the interests of their own country. Is it not strange that a paper like *The Bombay Chronicle*, edited by broad-minded Britishers like Mr. Horniman and Mr. Pickthall, should still be on the blacklist of the Government of Bombay? And how many editors of other papers in India have been recently prosecuted

by the Government of India, for reasons which in England or the United States would be considered trivial! It cannot be denied that there were some small groups of people in India who conspired during the war against the British Government, but that certainly does not mean that the majority of Indians were or are disloyal to the British Crown. Therefore the passing of the Rowlatt act, which enables the Government to act high-handedly whenever it likes, raised a storm of protest all over the country—from Moderates, from Extremists and from some Britishers also. If India had the power of legislating for herself, or even of preventing the passing of obnoxious and unfair laws, it is certain that these acts would never have been passed.

MR. GANDHI'S IDEALS

Mr. Gandhi is an idealist of the ascetic rather than of the socio-economic type, and therefore he turns his eyes backward with a great soul-hunger. The past shines goldenly for him. Such a man cannot always understand or handle the economic problems of his country with common sense. He is totally opposed to the industrial type of civilization which dominates the world today. He wants his countrymen to have nothing to do with modern machinery, which he believes has been instrumental in making the lives of its operators unspeakably miserable. "Let us have handwoven cloth and agricultural life as in the old days," he says to his followers. It is a noble ideal, but thoroughly impracticable in these days. Nations are not self-sufficient and isolated from each other to the same extent now as they were in the sixteenth century, or even at the beginning of the last century. Steam, electricity and the telegraph have brought them closer to each other than ever before in history. The last war and its results have shown how dependent they all are upon each other. How, then, can India return to wholly agricultural life, when the rest of the world is developing along

industrial lines? And it would be suicidal if she did succeed in doing so, for other countries would sell her the goods that she needs, such as iron, steel, glass, oils, at much cheaper rates than she can ever hope for if she produces them by manual work and primitive machinery.

It is, of course, a good thing for the economic welfare of the peoples that Mr. Gandhi has started the hand-weaving industry on a large scale there. If India succeeds in producing all the cloth that she requires, she will be saving some \$200,000,000 annually that she has to pay to England for imported textiles. But cloth is not the only article that she needs. Without modern machinery, how can she produce iron, steel, chemicals and dyes in quantities large enough for her present-day requirements? Modern industrialism really reached India only at the beginning of this century, and if Mr. Gandhi strikes at its root at this stage, it will be a great misfortune for the country.

IF THE BRITISH WITHDREW

There are many people, both friendly and unfriendly toward India, who have asked me what I think would happen to the country if the Britishers were to withdraw from it just now? It is, I confess, a question very difficult to answer. On the one hand, you can be very pessimistic and foresee nothing but internecine warfare or conquest by some other power, either Russia or Japan, neither of which would treat India with even as much liberalism as England has done. On the other hand, you can be optimistic and say that the state of continuous warfare which existed in India in the eighteenth century need not necessarily come back to her now. The times have changed, and with them the minds of Indians as of other peoples in the world. The past is often a great foe of the future of a country, because the enemies of that country always prophesy the return of the dark side of its past. It is a fact that Indians are more patriotic now than they ever were before in their history,

and so they would present a united front to a foreign invader. As for civil warfare, it is not probable in these times; and even if little wars were being waged in the country, it would not prevent the growth of civilization in India—of its art, its literature, its philosophy and its science—as the past fully proves. Indian society is based upon castes; therefore, in spite of wars going on in the country, more than half its inhabitants, who do not belong to the fighting castes, would go on dreaming, writing, observing, manufacturing, and selling as usual. For that reason India was not disorganized by any of her old wars half as much

as Europe has been by the last war. To come back from future conjectures to present facts, Mr. Gandhi, as I have stated, is not fighting England, but only England's present policy in India. He has no desire whatever to sever political connection with England. The following words, which he himself wrote in *Young India* on Feb. 16 of this year, testify to this fact: "Nobody, so far as I am aware, wants to end British connection for the sake of ending it." He also does not disregard British interests in India, for in the same newspaper he wrote: "European interests in India will be as safe in a self-governing India as they are today."

THE TINY KINGDOM OF LIECHTENSTEIN

THE miniature nation that lives in the "sweet valley" of the Alps, between Austria and Switzerland, has survived the war, and is now preparing for a new democratic régime under Prince John II. of Liechtenstein, its reigning monarch, scion of the noble family from which the little principality takes its name. Prince John, who ascended the throne in 1858, and who on Oct. 5, 1921, celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday, is the dean of all reigning sovereigns today. Blushing unseen, the world forgetting, by the world forgot, the tiny kingdom for many generations has remained to the outside nations little more than a name. It covers sixty-five square miles of territory, and has a population of 10,716. After Monaco and San Marino, it is the smallest State in the world.

Its history as an independent principality dates back to 1434, when two small principalities, Schellenberg and Vaduz (the latter known as the "sweet valley"), were united under the Counts of Werdenberg. It was sold by them to the Counts of Sulz in 1508, and passed from them by marriage to the Counts of Hohenema in 1613. It was bought by Prince Hans Adam of Liechtenstein in 1699 and 1712 and the Liechtenstein dynasty was by him inaugurated. The Liechtensteins favored Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which

ended the German Bund. Forgotten by Bismarck at the Peace of Prague, Liechtenstein became an independent State, and since 1868 has not even had the ridiculously small army of scarcely 100 men which had valiantly marched to defend Austria against her enemies.

In the World War of 1914 Liechtenstein took no sides, and, like Switzerland, its neighbor, insisted on maintaining neutrality. Its sympathy for the Allies, however, was seen in its refusal to grant Austria her demand for the extradition of Austrian army deserters and allied prisoners who had escaped from Austrian territory, and in its allowing these refugees to depart to Switzerland. The insertion of Article 27 of the Versailles Treaty, recognizing it as a sovereign State, was its reward. The League of Nations, however, has so far refused it admission. Since the war Liechtenstein has drawn even further away from Austria and closer to Switzerland, whose currency and postal telegraph and telephone administration it has accepted, and with which it is now negotiating a commercial treaty. It still issues its own stamps, and preserves at least the boast of independence. It has refused to become a second Monte Carlo, and its new Constitution, approved by Prince John last August, is a model of democratic ideals.

SLESVIG'S REUNION WITH DENMARK

BY MARIUS HANSOME

Story of the loyal Danes who were torn from their mother country and annexed to Prussia in 1866, and whose hope of repatriation, cherished through more than half a century, was fulfilled by the Treaty of Versailles and the plebiscite of last year

ONE of the important results of the World War was the reunion of the northern zone of Slesvig with Denmark. Originally a Danish duchy, North Slesvig was torn from Denmark by the Prussians after the unjustified war of 1864, and became the victim of a rigid system of Prussianization. The Danes of the conquered territory, however, clung obstinately to their language, their religion, their culture and their traditions, hoping that the time would come when the Treaty of Prague, which marked the end of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, would be fully carried out in so far as the clause providing for the self-determination of Northern Slesvig was concerned. That time did not come until 1918, when Germany, battered and broken, was already looking to America to aid in bringing about peace. The Danish nationalists at once grew active in the German Reichstag, demanding the long-deferred plebiscite and sending Denmark's ablest annexationist leaders to the Paris Conference to plead Slesvig's cause. Many long months dragged by. The completed Treaty of Versailles, however, contained the provision for a plebiscite in Slesvig. This plebiscite was held in the Spring of 1920. The Northern zone went Danish; the Southern zone, largely populated by Germans, voted to remain with Germany. So the old sore was healed, and the Danes of Slesvig, wildly rejoicing, were reunited with the mother country.

The story of how Danish Slesvig obtained its liberty is one which proves beyond controversy the historical axiom that a liberty-loving people cannot be crushed by a political system of repression, even though that system be applied by a great and powerful nation of alien race.

Through half a century of German rule North Slesvig kept alive the Danish mother tongue, Danish ideals, and an unshakable belief that "some day" it would know the joy of reunion with Denmark. The hope of the expatriated Danes was based at first upon the Prusso-Austrian Peace Treaty of 1866, which promised them a plebiscite. The French Emperor, Napoleon III., had inserted into that Treaty Paragraph V., which read:

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria transfers to His Majesty the King of Prussia all the rights acquired by him in the peace of Vienna, Oct. 30, 1864, to the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, with the reservation that the inhabitants of the northern district of Slesvig shall be reunited to Denmark if, by a free plebiscite, they express the wish therefor.

This provision remained to the Slesvig Danes the lone star of hope to which their collective gaze was upturned. It voiced the principle of self-determination. The Danes will always associate the first enunciation of that principle with Napoleon III. Strange as it may seem, Mr. Wilson, who gave popularity to the phrase "self-determination" on this side of the Atlantic, forgot to mention its application to North Slesvig among his famous Fourteen Points.

From the early fifteenth century Slesvig and Holstein were duchies, politically governed by a single ruler, a Duke, the King of Denmark. There was no change down to the civil war of 1848, as a result of which the Eider River defined the southern limit of Danish influence. Then followed the war with Germany in 1864. Denmark lost all of North Slesvig. The inhabitants were torn by violence from their mother country, from their own people, to whom they were bound in language, customs and memories of more than a thousand years of honorable history.

The Prussianization policy began in earnest with the Peace of Vienna in 1864. Paragraph XIX. gave the Danes the option of becoming permanently either Prussian or Danish within six years. If they chose to remain Danish, then they would be treated as Danish immigrants settled in Prussia, but not naturalized.

In the meantime Prussia and Austria went to war over the spoils, and Prussia was victorious. When the Treaty of Prague was formulated in 1866, and when, at the suggestion of Napoleon III., the paragraph was inserted providing for the retrocession of North Slesvig to Denmark, the idea was generally regarded as visionary. The South Jutlanders, however, clung to the illusion through all the years, and their faith was rewarded when the Treaty of Versailles restored the amputated province to Denmark.

Drunk with power through the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, Imperial Germany began those forty years of war preparations which were destined to end in disaster. Little did she dream that the ruthless treatment of her subject peoples on the western, northern and eastern frontiers would mean her eventual undoing. Without consulting any one but Austria, she decided to rescind the promise in Paragraph V. of the Prague Treaty.

During the interim of six years allowed the Slesvigers to choose be-

tween Prussian or Danish citizenship, many Danes, rather than submit to the Prussian yoke, had crossed into Denmark to await there the promised plebiscite. After the abrogation of Paragraph V. in 1878 they returned to their homes and estates in Slesvig only to find themselves outlawed. They had lost all citizenship, both in Denmark and in Prussia. They were homeless, people without a country, treated as a herd of cattle, beaten and driven under the cruel lash of official Prussia.

THE PRUSSIAN YOKE

To blot out every vestige of Danish national feeling was the aim and order of the day. To this end, the notorious von Koller was imported as Governor of Slesvig-Holstein. During his rule 1,000 poor families were expelled. As a boy, I attended school for several years in North Slesvig, and I recall with horror how the work of oppression proceeded. Brutal teachers were imported. Military discipline ruled in the schools. Sometimes gendarmes were called in to scare refractory pupils. All Danish speech was forbidden, even on the playgrounds. Only one hour of religion was allowed in Danish. Danish colors, songs, books were taboo. Danes were muzzled. To sing a Danish song at a party might cause the singer to be reported by spies who infested the province and result in his being expelled from house and home. Many Danes were told brutally to quit the country within twenty-four hours.

The Prussians knew the value of Bismarck's remark: "What you would have appear in the life of the nation, put that into the schools." The force of song has ever been one of the means to psychologize the "common herd." Children were compelled to commit to memory German songs: "Ich bin ein Preusse," "Deutschland uber Alles," "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," "Schleswig-Holstein Meerumschlungen," &c. German school readers, especially designed to make good Prussians, were printed and dis-

tributed. German histories were only recitals of camp and court, of princes and potentates, war and conquest, and always in the name of "Gott und das Vaterland." "Vaterland!" What mockery to the conquered Danes, who might be driven out at any moment on one pretext or another! The iron fist ruled alike in civil, political and religious life. Every school had a life-sized picture of that moral coward and fugitive who is now hiding behind the petticoats of Queen Wilhelmina. I visited some of the schools down there last Spring. The teachers told me that Kaiser Wilhelm's pictures had been burned.

But though a foreign overlord may rend a people with civil feuds and tear asunder all that has material form, he cannot rob a people of its soul, strike down its ideals, erase its memories, or permanently hinder the realization of its purposes. The words of Georg Brandes, in an address to the South Jutlanders in 1902, deserve citation here:

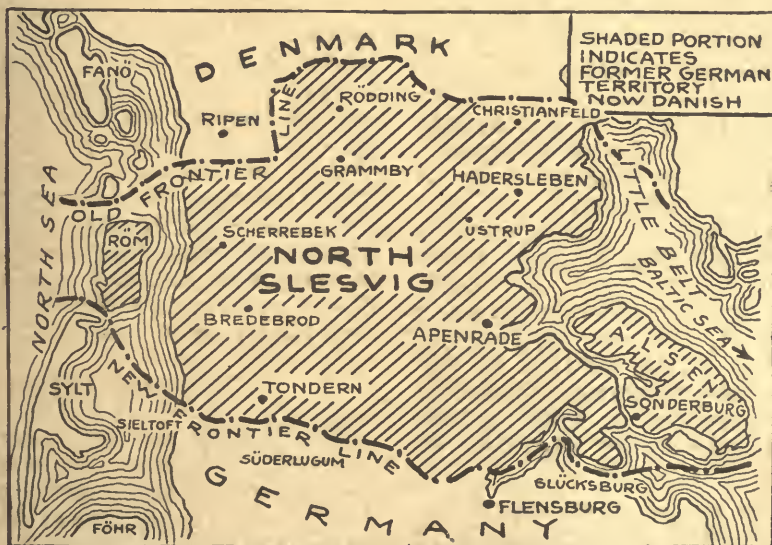
It is humiliating to be weak [said Brandes], so weak that you can't even make your rights count, but submit to fate without protest. It is a misfortune to be small, so small that one's presence remains unacted upon and little noticed by the big world. But it is stimulating and uplifting to be the one who, despite weakness and

littleness, does not give up and does not fall into spiritual sleep or death.

It is good to be big, but only when the objective bigness reflects a subjective bigness, not when it is expressed in conceit of presumptuous advantages. A people is not big when it is arrogant and ignoble. It is good to be strong, but only when that power is applied to common welfare. To live for self is not enough. To live and share of one's inner riches is better.

HANSSEN'S WORK FOR FREEDOM

One of the dominant personalities in the South Jutland question, a man who realized that if the Danish language and ideals were to endure, forces must be set in motion to combat the heavy inroads of the Prussian compulsion-rule, is H. P. Hanssen of Aabenraa. He was during many years a member of the Reichstag, elected by the Danish votes in Slesvig. In 1893, he purchased the daily paper, *Hejmdal*, through whose columns he has kept the North Slesvig issue before the people as far as the rigid censorship would permit. He, more than any other man, was the guiding light in the fight against the Prussian aggression. He has been ably assisted by Nis Nissen and Kloppeborg-Skrumsager, also members of the Landtag from North Slesvig. All three men were members of the



ZONE OF NORTH SLESVIG, WHICH WAS TAKEN FROM GERMANY AND RETURNED TO DENMARK BY THE PLEBISCITE OF 1920.

German Government until the close of the plebiscite.

Mr. Hanssen was particularly active in the language and cultural societies. Through his efforts a large circulating library was built up. Those books were a powerful influence for the preservation of Danish. A Danish book was a treasure during Prussian times, a friend, a solace, a welcome visitor to old and young. The old folksongs were still sung; the lullabies were chanted beside the cradle, fables and folklore were repeated, the adventures of dwarfs and giants were not forgotten.

So, at last, the will to freedom of a small ethnic group triumphed over the will to power of a strong alien rule. "Now the times of the sword are ended and plow time has begun. I feel as if I had one foot in Denmark already," rejoiced H. P. Hanssen, still a member of the Reichstag from North Slesvig, when world peace was declared. After a quarter of a century of activity in the Reichstag and through his daily paper in behalf of his people, he saw now imminent the crowning of his work—the reunion of Danish North Slesvig with the motherland. There was, however, much work and campaigning ahead before the solution could be reached. There was the question of boundary to be determined, on which there was sure to develop a fight even within Denmark. Some wanted the "Clausen Line" (named after Magister H. V. Clausen, the Danish historian); the annexationists raised the cry of the old "Eiderpolitikken."

Hanssen therefore appealed to the North Slesvig Voting Society—a well disciplined organization. A resolution with an overwhelming majority of the voters was sent to Hanssen, praying for a just solution of this aged and trouble-brewing question. With this resolution in hand, he rose in the Reichstag on Oct. 23, 1918, and said:

I demand as representative of the Danish inhabitants in North Slesvig, in the name of justice and righteousness, that Paragraph V. of the Prague Treaty be executed,

and thus through the coming peace program that a final solution of this problem be reached on the basis of the principle of self-determination.

Practically the same resolution was passed by the Danish Rigsdag on the same day, unknown to Hanssen. On the following day, Oct. 24, Dr. Solf, speaking for the German Government in the Reichstag, acknowledged Hanssen's resolution and replied: "When we have received Wilson's program as a basis for world peace, we will in all directions and upon all points fulfill the demands loyally and in the spirit of righteousness." Hanssen was overjoyed, and Slesvig and Denmark rejoiced with him.

Having been thus favorably recognized in the German Reichstag, the Voting Society of North Slesvig solicited the Danish Government to appeal to the Allies to take the necessary steps in order to secure recognition of the rights of the Danish North Slesvigers at the peace table. Simultaneously the Society met in convention at Aabenraa, North Slesvig, and passed a resolution which expressed the views of the Danish Government and of North Slesvig relative to the boundary and plebiscite questions.

A delegation was appointed by the Danish Government to press the North Slesvig issue in Paris. The members were: Ambassador Bernhoft, assisted by the historical expert, H. V. Clausen; one representative of each of the four political parties, viz., Dr. P. Munch, N. Neergaard, Alex Foss and C. Bramnaes. The four South Jutlanders who were members of the Reichstag also participated: H. P. Hanssen, Nis Nissen, Kloppenborg-Skrumsager, and P. Grau.

A BITTER STRUGGLE

The delegation was harmonious upon the Aabenraa resolution. Unfortunately, to use Hegel's epigram: "Men learn from history that men learn nothing from history." In contrast with the harmony and serenity

that characterized the delegation, stood a few fanatical nationalists and annexationists at home who wanted Slesvig annexed as far south as the Eider River, regardless of the free plebiscite. Failing this plan, they wanted a third zone established in South Slesvig to vote for reunion. Now, South Slesvig had become thoroughly Germanized. Few well-informed persons entertained the least hope of restoring even the second zone, containing the Baltic port Flensburg, with an adult population of 40,000. Of this number only 1,500 voted for restoration, and those were not wholly of pure Danish origin. Had Hanssen not foreseen the necessity of dividing Slesvig into three zones, the case would have been lost, as Middle and South Slesvig could easily have outvoted the Danes in the first zone.

When the treaty was finally prepared, it provided for a popular vote on linguistic lines, by zones, under an international commission, in the Spring of 1920. The result was the return of Northern Slesvig, first zone, to Denmark.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

This result of the plebiscite brought to Denmark an area of 1,505 square miles, or territory a little larger than Rhode Island. Its population numbers 170,000. Of this number approximately 10 per cent. are Germans. The province is largely rich marshland, diked in, as in Holland. Thousands of acres of mud flats can be reclaimed on the west coast, joining the islands of Romo and Mano to the mainland. The flats

here run dry at half ebb tide. The sea does not always encroach on coastal lands. The topographical history of the west coast of the province shows continual accretion. In the 16th century large ships could sail into the harbor of Tonder, and the town of Ribe was the headquarters for the Greenland whaling expeditions. Those towns are now far inland, the former being twenty kilometers removed from the coast. Like Holland, North Slesvig is a land of grass and cows, mud and manure.

This new acquisition to Denmark is not all velvet. A provision in the Peace Treaty called for recompense to Germany for railroad property and all State buildings. Then there was the problem of restitution to Danish citizens for the loss in exchange in crowns, known as the "Valuta" question. Denmark must also be responsible for pensioning the widowed and orphaned and the disabled soldiers.

Improvement of railroads and schools is badly needed. I visited many schools and found them in a dilapidated condition, without equipment, without even decent seats. Jacob Appel, the new Minister of Education, has already won State aid to rehabilitate these schools. Conservative estimates have been made by the Danish Ministry, placing the cost of the province in the neighborhood of 400 million crowns. While many smiled at escaping from the heavy tax burden imposed by Germany, some will frown when the tax schedule is announced to meet the aforementioned cost. The land, however, is fertile and the inhabitants are industrious and frugal.

LATVIA, THE GATEWAY TO RUSSIA

BY FRANCES A. BLANCHARD

Interesting facts that show why the Lettish Republic is comparatively prosperous while Soviet Russia is starving—Latvian representative in the United States tells why he thinks his country can keep its independence—Treaty with Russia

AS an independent republic, Latvia is but little known to the ordinary Westerner. As a part of the "Baltic States," which for centuries have been the gateway to European Russia, it is more or less known to be the home of a peasant race descended from Indo-European ancestors of thirty-five centuries ago. Accordingly, the average American is amazed to discover that as one of the new, independent nations which have separated themselves from Soviet Russia it is a third larger than Switzerland and nearly twice the size of the Netherlands; that it has established a permanent Government with a Constituent Assembly consisting of 150 members; that this Government has already been recognized by twenty-two nations of the world, and that the leaders of this Government are a progressive, educated, capable body of men, ambitious that their country shall excel politically, industrially and intellectually.

The representative from Latvia to the United States, Charles Louis Seya, with his Secretary, Arved L. Kundzin, is now in Washington, D. C., where he is seeking official recognition for his Government from the State Department. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and Switzerland, together with fifteen other powers, have already granted such recognition.

One interesting development which encourages us to have faith in the future of such a republic is the intense earnestness with which the

rulers have decreed that the people shall not "spend money for that which is not bread." Only those commodities may be imported which will assist in building up industry and providing necessary supplies. No frivolous perfumery, no pleasure automobiles, no silk and velvet dresses, no mechanical musical instruments, playing cards, precious jewels or confectionery may be admitted into the country, nor any alcoholic beverages. Such things are classed as luxuries,



CHARLES LOUIS SEYA

Latvian representative to the United States; formerly Professor of French in the University of Riga and a member of the Foreign Office staff

for which the hard-earned Lettish ruble may not be recklessly spent.

Instead of these gewgaws there is a demand for American plows, American harvesters, American textile machinery and American tractors. At the present time farm machinery which was seized and has been returned badly worn by the Germans is being repaired to do whatever service it can. According to a recent number of the *Baltic Review* (published in London) the Government has seven Fordson tractor plows, which are lent to the ruined districts to facilitate reconstruction of fields. It has ordered from America 2,000 grass mowers, Spring harrows, and horse rakes, and 250 reaping machines.

We have to visualize the fact that this whole country was as war-swept as Belgium, not only suffering from German invasion and pillage, but also being compelled to hand over many of its possessions to Russia; hence the call for work horses, breeding cattle, tools for wood and metal working industries, power machinery, steam

boilers and other appliances that were plentiful before 1915.

PLANS TO DEVELOP TRADE

In order to stimulate trade and industry an agreement has been drawn up by which:

1. For five years, beginning Jan. 1, 1921, Latvia permits, duty free, the import of machinery, apparatus and appliances to build up new industries.
2. For three years, beginning Jan. 1, 1921, Latvia will admit, duty free, raw materials, half-manufactured and manufactured articles required by Section 1.
3. Industrial undertakings in Section 1 are exempted from income tax, trade and industrial tax, real estate tax, and duty on increased value until they commence to earn profit, but not exceeding five years.

The economic policy of the new Government includes a study of all the country's natural resources. Agricultural pursuits have always been the principal occupation of the Lettish people, about 85 per cent. of whom are peasants. There are abundant forests. Because of its position on the Baltic Sea, Latvia has large fishing and shipping interests.

The Minister of Trade and Industry early in 1921 sanctioned the forming of a company called "Isstade," capitalized at a million rubles, for organizing an international exhibition, beginning Aug. 1 at Riga, the capital—a huge exhibition to emphasize modern methods in agriculture, manufacturing, education and household arts. Everything about it is planned with the idea of encouraging the best methods of utilizing the resources which already surround the people, and of securing suitable appliances to carry on the industries for their exploitation.

Since the year 1906 there has existed the Central Agricultural Society of Riga, which maintains an agricultural school and many experimental farms, horticultural stations, cattle-breeding farms and a printing and publishing office. It has nearly forty specialists in different branches and more than 130 instructors.

Large quantities of flax have always been raised in Latvia—not the



Z. A. MEIEROVICA
Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs



A farmer's family enjoying a noonday meal in customary Lettish style. The sturdy types in this group are characteristic of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Latvia

highest grades, perhaps, but flax which nevertheless furnishes the people with yarn for spinning and weaving cloth—while the raising of sheep furnishes the yarn for weaving woolen cloth. By means of Government assistance, the spinning and weaving factories, which have reorganized since the war, have increased their output to five times its volume a year ago.

Because of the great abundance of timber lands, the manufacture of paper pulp and all kinds of wrapping and newsprint paper has employed many workers. Paper mills which suffered during the war are gradually being restored to partial production. In February, 1921, two important paper mills, the Latvian and Staizel, were turning out from five to eight tons of paper each daily.

COMPARATIVE PROSPERITY

Thus, while in Russia itself under the Soviet regime we see the population half clad and more than half starving, the Lettish people are living in comparative comfort, restoring

their demolished factories and shell-torn fields, and starting again the wheels of industry.

Although Latvia has neither iron nor coal mines, the metal industry in normal times employs 27 per cent. of all Lettish labor. One-fourth of all the metal industry of the former Russian Empire was centred in Riga and Libau, the two largest cities of Latvia. The reason for this was that the Lettish laborer produced more than the Russian. Speaking of this fact, Mr. Seya, the nation's representative in the United States, says: "The productivity of the Lettish laborer has always been much higher than that of Russia. Thus while in Latvia in 1910 each metal worker produced £194 worth of goods, in the district of Moscow a working man in the same line produced £147. The value of goods produced by each man in the lumber industry was £91 in Archangel, but £150 in Riga." For this reason Russia shipped many of her raw products into Latvia for manufacture into finished products.

As to its educational status, Latvia



Parade of all guilds and associations of Riga, some of them very ancient, at the opening of the Constituent Assembly. The railroad bridge over the Duna River is seen in the background

ranks much higher than Russia. In the census of 1920 it was found that 70 per cent. of the whole population were able to read, and 90 per cent. of these were able both to read and write. When in the year 1887 the Lettish schools were brought under the jurisdiction of the Russian Ministry of Education, resulting in the closing of secondary and higher schools conducted in the native language, the leaders in Latvia considered that the downfall of real Lettish cultural life had begun.

The result of this edict was that private tuition in Latvia became more common than in any other country of Europe. In 1913 Latvia was leading all the small nations in the number of secondary schools, as compared with the population, and in the number of its university students. The Polytechnic Institute in Riga had 2,000 students. After the formation of the independent Lettish Government this institute was converted

into the Latvian University, the lectures usually being delivered in Lettish, although the Russian and German languages are occasionally used, while with few exceptions the professors are Latvian citizens.

CAN INDEPENDENCE LAST?

What proofs have we that Latvia will be able to remain an independent democracy, since its near neighbors, Russia and Germany, have for many years looked with envious eyes upon its ports? We can judge only by the spirit of the people themselves, by their past achievements, and by conditions of government in the neighboring countries. Treaties of peace were consummated between Latvia and both Germany and the Soviet Government in the Summer of 1920. The leaders feel assured that there is no danger from German intrigue. Of their political connections with Russia Mr. Seya tells us:

One of the practical objections to the

creation of independent Baltic States has been the impossibility for Russia to exist without the excellent ports of those countries. This contention is absolutely true, and Latvia and the other Baltic States fully understand it. They have never tried to bar Russia from access to their ports; they have never tried to limit for Russia the use of those ports. In the treaties of peace between the Baltic States and the present Government of Russia the right of Russia to use the ports of the Baltic Sea is reserved without question. Despite the state of things in Russia, Latvia has concluded several important conventions with the Soviet Government, among them conventions regulating the Russian transit through Latvia, the post-telegraph relations, the floating of timber from Russia to the Baltic Sea; a general convention of commerce is under discussion.

In granting to Russia all possible facilities regarding the Latvian ports, rivers and railroads, the Latvian Government has been guided by two considerations of equal importance: (1) unless the necessity of Russia to have at her disposal the ports of the Baltic Sea is fully satisfied, there can never be entire security for the Baltic States; (2) the Russian transit is highly advantageous for Latvia. The Soviet Government is perfectly conscious of that, and has more than once suspended the Russian transit through our ports, considering this as a measure of economic reprisal for the refusal of the Latvian Government to yield to certain of its demands of a political nature. Only two months ago the Russian transit through Latvia was suspended because of the refusal of the Latvian Government to send to Russia nine terrorists who were sentenced to death.

When the political conditions in Russia are more settled the economic relations between the two countries are destined to become very close—with advantage to both. At the present time Russia has Latvia to thank for keeping three of the most important ports of the Baltic Sea—Riga, Libau, and Windau—in sufficiently good order, while Russian ports, such as Petrograd, are in so chaotic a condition that trade through them is hardly possible.

DEALING WITH BAD RUSSIANS

The reference to the nine terrorists who were executed touches upon a situation which may be easily understood to exist in a region so closely adjoining a land in which revolutionary factions are the order of the day. It is a frequent occurrence to have Russian terrorists slip secretly into the cities of Latvia, always under assumed names and using a different name in every community, and en-

deavor to stir up revolt, holding their meetings in secret. For such dangers the authorities are constantly on guard, dealing out punishment according to the merits of the offense. For instance, at the time these nine terrorists were executed ninety others were returned to Russia.

The Latvian Republic claims the southern part of the Government of Livonia, the Government of Livland, the Government of Courland, three districts of the Government of Latvia, strips of territory in the Governments of Grodno and Pskov, and a strip in East Prussia.

The salient provisions of the Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia, concluded on Aug. 11, 1920, include the return to Latvia of all property belonging to public, charitable and educational institutions taken over between 1915 and 1917; the return to Latvia of all property belonging to towns, commercial and industrial institutions and banks; the return of all means of transportation corresponding to the actual economic needs of Latvia; payment to Latvia by Soviet Russia of 4,000,000 gold rubles within two months of the ratification of the treaty; the release of Latvia from responsibility for debt and other liabilities of the former Russian Empire; the granting to Latvia of the privilege of cutting timber on 270,000 acres in Soviet Russia as near the Latvian frontier as possible.

DIVIDING UP LARGE ESTATES

In the Spring of 1919 the large estates belonging to the nobility in the districts of Livonia and Courland were confiscated, economic committees were named to superintend them, and Government inspectors were installed. Many land owners in Latvia have declared their willingness to sell such portions of their estates as can be taken care of by the purchasers within six years of the time the estates are taken by the Government. About one and a half million acres will thus be distributed in Livonia and Courland.

Considerable portions of the large estates in these two provinces were leased on the so-called "Halbkorn." The owner leased the land without any appurtenances, on condition that the farmer should furnish all his own tools and machinery, and that the proceeds should be divided between him and the owner. This form of lease acted disadvantageously upon the yield, and created a nomadic, restless lot of farmers. The Government has these "Halbkorners" in mind when it wants to provide the landless with property. It takes it for granted that the peasants will produce much more when they own the land they cultivate. Out of 19,000 families demanding land, more than 12,000 have one or more horses, and almost all have their own appurtenances. They are all to receive land. How it is to be procured is as yet undecided. It will first be taken from the former Russian Crown properties, then from church property, and lastly from portions of large estates. Factories which were evacuated during the war

and which shall not have resumed operations by a certain date also will be taken over by the Government and put into operation.

According to statements made by the Latvian Minister of Finance in 1920, revenue can be obtained only by high taxes and flax exports. Lumber exports at that time were out of the question because of lack of capital and transport facilities. These revenues were insufficient, and the Government was forced to issue paper money. This paper, however, has a higher rating than has the Russian paper ruble; at the time this is written it stands at about 450 rubles to the American dollar.

For a nation which has had only three years of independence, Latvia's problems are stupendous. The result depends on united national effort, combined with foreign co-operation. The key to success may be found in a phrase which the Latvian peasant reiterates daily: "Ludz Deevu un strada"—"Pray to God and work."

ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE war drafts showed that there existed in the United States a considerably larger amount of illiteracy—particularly among the foreign-born population—than was generally realized. Figures for 1920, made public by the Census Bureau in the middle of October, are interesting in the light they shed on the comparative degrees of illiteracy in various States. According to the official returns, five of the large Western States—Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Washington—had less illiteracy to record for 1920 than any other States. The native white population of these States classed as illiterate amounted only to three-tenths of 1 per cent. The District of Columbia showed the same per-

centage. South Dakota, Nevada and Oregon came next, each with four-tenths of 1 per cent. High degrees of illiteracy, properly classified, were shown by the following States:

Georgia	5.4	Kentucky	7.0
Virginia	5.9	Tennessee	7.3
Alabama	6.3	North Carolina	8.2
South Carolina	6.5	New Mexico	11.6

The largest percentage of illiteracy among the foreign-born was 38.8, for Texas; the smallest percentage, 4.7, was for South Dakota and Washington. The negro population ranged from 38.5 in Louisiana to 2.9 in New York. Arizona decreased its illiteracy between 1910 and 1920 from 4.2 per cent. to 2.1 per cent.

THE CASE OF NORTHERN EPIRUS

BY N. J. CASSAVETES

President of the Pan-Epirotic Union

An analysis, from the Greek viewpoint, of the events which led to the award of Northern Epirus first to Greece and then to Albania—Danger of the present situation, which may lead to a new Balkan war

A GRAVE situation is developing in Northern Epirus, a situation that may again plunge the Balkans into war and bring a general conflagration to a Europe still bleeding from its wounds. After many vicissitudes and revoked decisions the Council of Ambassadors has decided that the Northern Epirotes, Greek by language and sentiment, should come under the sway of the new State of Albania. The Greek people of the district have been driven out and exiled and their property confiscated. They are preparing to resort to arms to regain their rights. Greece has vainly protested to the allied powers over the withdrawal of their pledged word. She is now appealing to the judgment and the conscience of the world. The whole history of the controversy over Northern Epirus must be made known. What are the facts?

In December, 1918, Mr. Venizelos presented the case of Northern Epirus before the Supreme Council. He traced the history of the struggle of the Greek Epirotes for freedom and union with Greece. He pointed out that Northern Epirus had been Greek since the days of Homer; that it had continued under the Romans, the Byzantines and the Turks to be the centre of Greek culture, with its famous schools at Korytsa and Moschopolis, and a centre of Greek nationalism, with Chimarra as its citadel—that Chimarra which during 500 years of Turkish domination in Eu-

rope had never yielded its liberties to the conquering Sultans.

In 1913 the Greek troops drove the Turks from Northern Epirus. The inhabitants welcomed the Greek forces as brothers and liberators. Then Austria-Hungary and Italy demanded that Greece evacuate the province and yield it to the prospective Albanian State. The Balkan wars had resulted in the creation of a greater Serbia and a greater Greece, allied against common enemies, Bulgaria in the east, Austria-Hungary in the north and Italy in the west. Austria-Hungary viewed with dismay the aggrandizement of Serbia and the consequent frustration of the Teutonic scheme for the complete control of Constantinople and the Bagdad Railway. Italy, aspiring to the exclusive control of the entrance to the Adriatic, was not less alarmed at the establishment of Greece in Northern Epirus.

At the London Conference of 1913, when the Turkish Treaty was drafted, the powers, at the unyielding demand of the Triple Alliance, decided to assign the task of settling the Greco-Albanian frontiers to a conference of the Ambassadors of the six powers. The Ambassadorial Conference appointed a commission to go to Northern Epirus and determine the nationality of the inhabitants. The committee went to Northern Epirus, instructed not to ask the people whether they wanted to be united with Greece or with Albania, but to

find out what language they spoke. No sooner had the commission begun their work than they fell to grave disagreement. The Northern Epirotes are a bilingual people; they speak an Albanian *patois*, or a Kutzo-Valach dialect, and speak also and read and write and conduct business only in Greek. Wherever the commission went they were met by delegations which assured them that the Northern Epirotes were Greek and would die rather than submit to Albanian domination.

The commission, unable to do their work, left Northern Epirus. Sir Edward Grey, according to Prince Lichnowski, German Ambassador to London, endeavored to persuade the Triple Alliance to do justice to the Northern Epirotes, but having found Austria-Hungary and Italy inexorable proposed a frontier between Greece and Albania, which left to the latter a Greek population of 120,000.

THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL.

On Feb. 13, 1914, the Ambassadors of the powers at Athens presented a note to the Greek Government, informing it of the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in respect to Northern Epirus and asking Greece to evacuate the province. The Ambassadors, in order to force Greece to bow to their decisions, declared that unless Greece evacuated Northern Epirus she could not annex the Greek Islands of the Aegean. Greece notified the powers, not without a bitter protest, that Northern Epirus would be evacuated by the Greek troops.

The evacuation began on March 1, 1914. Italian and Austro-Hungarian agents swarmed through Northern Epirus to observe and report to their respective Governments whether or not the Greek evacuation was complete. The Albanian charge that the Greeks did not evacuate the province is absurd. The fact that the Italian and Austrian agents, who were anxious to report that Greece had not kept her word, and thus have her forfeit the Aegean Islands, could not

find a single instance of bad faith on the part of the Government of Mr. Venizelos more than disproves the Albanian allegations that the Epirote revolution, which broke out upon the withdrawal of the Greeks, was supported by official Greek forces. The first outbreak occurred at Korytsa and at Chimarra, and soon the entire province was in revolt against Albania.

The powers were finally convinced that the Northern Epirotes would not yield to Albanian domination, and a conference was arranged for in the Island of Corfu, opposite Northern Epirus, where a protocol was signed by the representatives of the six powers, of Albania and of the Northern Epirote Government. This protocol, which was ratified by all the Governments represented in the conference of Corfu, declared Northern Epirus autonomous, with the Greek language as the language of Church, school and courts.

This "agreement," however, settled nothing, and Northern Epirus became a diplomatic shuttle, driven back and forth by conflicting interests. In 1915 Sir Edward Grey asked Mr. Venizelos, in behalf of France, England, Russia and Italy, to reoccupy Northern Epirus in view of the fact that the Albanian State had disintegrated. It was agreed that the ultimate fate of the province would be settled at the Peace Conference. In 1916 Italy and France, distrusting Constantine, occupied Northern Epirus, solemnly promising to surrender it to Greece immediately after the war. Both Albania and Greece anxiously awaited the decision, which came only in 1919.

THE AWARD TO GREECE

On July 29, 1919, the Venizelos-Tittoni agreement was signed whereby Italy bound herself to support the union of Northern Epirus with Greece if France, Great Britain and the United States should consent to it. On Dec. 9, 1919, an agreement was reached at Paris, signed by Clemenceau, Frank Polk and Sir Eyre

Crowe, assigning the western part of the province to Greece and making Korytsa a subject for further consideration between the United States, England, France and Italy on the one hand, representing Albania, and Greece on the other. On Jan. 13, 1920, the Allies considered the question of Korytsa and agreed that it also belonged to Greece, and so awarded. On Feb. 10 and 25, respectively, President Wilson, in his Adriatic notes, assented to the decision of Jan. 13, 1920, in respect to Korytsa, and on May 17, 1920, the United States Senate adopted unanimously the Lodge-King resolution expressing the sense of the United States Senate that Northern Epirus, including Korytsa, should be awarded to Greece. Finally, Mr. Harding, candidate for the Presidency, in a telegram to the League of Greek-American Citizens of New England, reiterated a similar sentiment.

Meanwhile, on April 20, 1920, the Franco-Italian troops evacuated Northern Epirus. France invited Greece to occupy Korytsa, but Italy protested, adducing as argument the oral promise of Mr. Venizelos not to enforce the Supreme Council's decision of Jan. 13, 1920, until the Adriatic issue was settled. Mr. Venizelos yielded, and Northern Epirus was temporarily occupied by Albanian troops. Albania signed an agreement at Capestitsa in April, 1920, promising to respect the Greek population, its schools, churches and property meanwhile, and to accept the decision of the Supreme Council as to the ultimate fate of the province.

On Aug. 2, 1920, however, Italy signed at Tirana a separate treaty with Albania, recognizing the Albanian boundaries of 1913, and thus denouncing her signature to the Tittoni-Venizelos agreement and the decision of the Supreme Council of Jan. 13, 1920. On Aug. 10, 1920, at Sevres, Mr. Venizelos called the attention of the Supreme Council to the action of Italy and refused to sign the Turkish Treaty until Italy should

declare that she was bound by the Tittoni-Venizelos agreement and the agreement of Jan. 13, 1920, which recognized the right of Greece to occupy Northern Epirus irrespective of any separate agreements of Italy with Albania. Italy yielded, thus denouncing in its turn the separate treaty with Albania concluded eight days before.

The Treaty of Rapallo was signed on Nov. 12, 1920; the Adriatic question was settled and Greece was free to occupy Northern Epirus. But on Nov. 14, 1920, Mr. Venizelos fell from power, and Greece, having lost the sympathy of the powers, on account of the return of King Constantine, found herself involved in grave difficulties over Asia Minor which made it impossible for her to occupy Northern Epirus.

ALBANIA DEMANDS REVISION

A new chapter of events was opened by Albania's admission Dec. 5, 1920, as a member of the League of Nations against the protest of the Supreme Council and of the Council of the League itself. The objection to the admission was that Albania was not a State, that her frontiers had not been defined. The Assembly, however, admitted Albania into the League's membership as a State whose frontiers were to be settled by the Supreme Council.

Upon her entrance into the League Albania, supported by Italy, agitated for the recognition by the League of the Albanian boundaries of 1913. The League, however, decided that it had no right to decide upon frontier issues as long as those issues were, by the Treaty of Versailles, assigned to the Supreme Council for settlement. The League of Nations referred the Albanian frontier question to the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris. The Ambassadors invited Greece, Serbia and Albania to send commissions to attend the discussion of the Greco-Albanian and Serbo-Albanian frontiers. The Greek Commission reminded the Ambassadors of the existing solemn agreements reached by the

Supreme Council, pleaded that any reopening of the Greco-Albanian frontiers would lead to a renewal of strife, and refused to admit the right of the Ambassadors to reopen that issue. The Ambassadors, however, appointed a commission of experts and instructed them to make a report on the frontiers. That report was first to be considered by the Ambassadors, then submitted to the Supreme Council, and, finally, sent to the League of Nations.

The Albanians then, playing the part of a weak and injured party, appeared day by day before the League, lamenting and pleading protection. They declared that Albania was being invaded by Greeks and Serbians and that the League could save her only by an extremely hurried decision recognizing the frontiers of 1913, which included Northern Epirus in Albania.

The Assembly was greatly alarmed by the incessant cries of the infant member of the League, and, believing that Serbia and Greece were really after poor little Albania's head, sent message after message to the Ambassadors urging them to get those frontiers settled quickly, no "matter how," and save Albania.

The experts of the Ambassadorial Conference drafted a report in July of this year. The same French adviser who in 1919 and 1920 declared that Northern Epirus, including Korytsa, should be awarded to Greece on the principle of nationality, now gave the opinion that Northern Epirus should go to Albania. The Italian expert, of course, gladly gave a similar opinion. The British expert, Mr. Tempeley, reported as in 1919 and in 1920 in favor of the award of the province to Greece.

THE AWARD TO ALBANIA

Then the Silesian issue began to grow very critical. A secret parley took place between Lord Curzon and Marquis de la Torreta, and on Aug. 21 the Temps of Paris surprised the diplomatic world by announcing that England had finally accepted the

Italian view on the Greco-Albanian frontiers.

As soon as this news reached Geneva a resolution was introduced in the Assembly and adopted on Sept. 7, 1921, "recommending Albania now to accept the forthcoming decision of the principal allied and associated powers." Albania, of course, accepted, knowing beforehand that the allied powers had, for reasons too obvious, decided to award the Epirotes to the Albanian State.

In the course of the meeting of Sept. 7 the Greek delegation, taking advantage of the fact that the resolution included the phrase "associated powers," read the notes of President Wilson, the Senate resolution and the telegram of Mr. Harding, and assured the League that even if all the allied powers could dishonor their signatures affixed to solemn agreements reached at Paris, the United States would stand by her word, and would not now deny the right of the Northern Epirotes to choose for themselves whether they would go with Greece or with Albania.

This declaration caused general confusion among the League members and the Ambassadors. The latter are still hesitant. France desires to see the frontiers of Albania of 1913 altered to benefit Yugoslavia, but on account of hatred for Constantine desires to punish the Northern Epirotes, who had no part in the return of the King, and subject them to the tender mercies of Moslem Albanian tribes, wilder and more ruthless than the Kurds, the persecutors of the Christian Armenians. England, of course, yielded to Italy, in order to secure the Italian vote in the Silesian dispute. Italy hoped, by the occupation and fortification of the Island of Sasseno, off Valona, to control the Adriatic Sea.

The League desired to see war prevented. It voted that a commission of three impartial persons be sent to Albania to observe and report on the execution of the Ambassadors' decision. The League, moreover, had a declaration drafted (Oct. 4, 1921),

and signed by Albania, providing for the protection of "religious, linguistic and racial minorities in Albania." This declaration provided that within six months from Oct. 4 the Albanian Government should present to the League complete statements about the churches, monasteries, school and community properties of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and that these institutions should be respected by the Albanian Government.

ALBANIANS DRIVE OUT GREEKS

Immediately upon the adoption of the declaration, the Albanian Government ordered a systematic persecution of the Greek element in Northern Epirus. Greek churches, monasteries, schools and community property have been confiscated. The male Greek natives have been driven out or imprisoned by the tens of thousands. The homes and lands of the Greek refugees have been assigned to Albanian families imported from Central Albania. All this was done with a view to presenting to the League commission an Albanicized Northern Epirus and to induce the commission to report the Greek schools, churches, monasteries, hospitals and other Greek community property as Albanian.

Meanwhile the exiled Northern Epirotes gathered at Florina, Janina and Corfu, facing complete expatriation, loss of homes and property, and, fearing that the League commission may find imported Albanians in their villages, have decided to re-enter Northern Epirus in arms and revolt against Albania, as in 1914. Of the nearly 30,000 Northern Epirotes in America, mostly young men, forced to emigrate on account of Turkish misrule until 1912 and on account of Albanian ruthlessness since 1916, more than one-half are ready to join their relatives in the impending struggle for freedom and union with Greece. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are already at hand, and the revolt may break out at any moment,

unless the powers once more change their minds and decide to respect their signatures to the decisions of Jan. 13, 1920, and Aug. 10 of that year.

The Northern Epirus issue is a dangerous one. It may become the starting point of a new war in the Balkans and, perhaps, of a war which will involve almost half of Europe and Asia Minor. Do the Ambassadors realize this? Does the League of Nations at least understand it? France and England have no selfish interests necessitating the selling of the liberties of the Northern Epirotes. Will the French statesmen prepare another war rather than refuse Italy the mastery of the Adriatic? Will the League of Nations commission remain indifferent to the cries of the Christian Epirotes, who plead for union with Greece? And will the world conscience remain satisfied with the sending of a commission to Albania? Why has this commission been sent?

THE SOLUTION BY PLEBISCITE

Had the powers and the League been in doubt as to the will of the Northern Epirotes, they should have ordered a plebiscite. But no plebiscite could be carried out with Albanian troops in the disputed area. The Greeks have time and again appealed to the League for a referendum in Northern Epirus and have pledged themselves to accept the results, provided that the referendum is free; that neither Greek nor Albanian troops be in occupation of the Province; that Swiss, or Scandinavian, or American troops occupy the Province during the plebiscite. Such were the conditions under which the plebiscite was taken in Silesia. Neither German nor Polish troops were allowed to terrorize the inhabitants of that Province while the vote was being taken. Such a plebiscite, free from pressure, would compel both Greeks and Albanians to admit that no injustice had been done. Indeed, in 1914 the Greek revolution was a plebiscite.

But the Greeks would now again submit to the verdict of the will of the majority of the inhabitants of Northern Epirus. It is not too late to do the right thing. The Conference of Ambassadors has not yet come to an official agreement. And before a wrong

decision is reached another opportunity should be given to the people of Northern Epirus to decide for themselves, freely and without pressure, whether they desire to join Greece or the newly established Albanian State.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BULGARIA

BY THE REV. THEODORE T. HOLWAY

THE baiting of Bulgaria since the close of the World War has become a popular pastime. The Bulgarians are accused of treacherous dealings, both in 1913 and in 1915, when they entered the war against Serbia, Rumania and the Entente, and are further accused of committing atrocities on the Serbians during the period of hostilities. Recent typical examples of such anti-Bulgarian animadversions may be found in two articles by Captain Gordon Gordon-Smith, of the Serbian Army, published by *CURRENT HISTORY* in its issues of July and August, 1921.

Mr. Leland Buxton, in his recent book, "The Black Sheep of the Balkans," has a word to say about these charges of treachery. The following passage is worth quoting:

Most of the legitimate accusations made against Bulgarians, both in 1913 and more recently, apply equally to other Balkan races; for if they (the Bulgarians) suffered from swollen heads, so did (and do) their allies of 1912; if they stabbed Serbia in the back in 1915, they themselves were stabbed in the back by Serbia in 1885. With regard to Bulgarian "treachery" in 1913, nothing can excuse the criminal insanity of General Savov's attack on the Greeks and Serbs—ordered by King Ferdinand, but unknown to the Bulgarian Cabinet—on June 30, 1913; yet it is only fair to remember that the Greek and Serbian armies were fully determined on war, and had made it quite clear that they had no intention under any circumstances of withdrawing peacefully from any of the territory then occupied by them, to which Serbia had recognized the right of Bulgaria in the previous year.

The charge of treason in 1915 is also wide of the mark. Bulgaria was a free and independent State, free to act as she chose. First of all, she honestly preferred to remain neutral, as any impartial traveler through the country in 1914 and 1915 can testify. In the first Balkan War her "killed in battle" and "died of wounds" lists were three times as many as those of her combined allies. In the two Balkan wars she had mobilized over 620,000, out of a total population of less than 5,000,000. Those two wars had caused "the death or disablement of one-twentieth of the male population, and those in the prime of life, with the destruction of one-fifth of the plant of the principal national industry—the carts and cattle used for agriculture." She was war-weary. The fatal ten months of 1912-13 had added \$436,500,000 to her national debt, and at the end of it all more than a million of her co-nationals had been left under Greek, Serbian or Rumanian rule.

Despite these conditions, there is little doubt that Bulgaria would have entered the World War on the side of the Allies, had the allied diplomats early in the Spring of 1915 displayed as much generosity in Sofia as in Rome, and Bulgaria's military support would have involved also that of Greece. George Logie is right when he says this ("Bulgaria," p. 119), and also when he says:

Any intelligent person who happened to be in Sofia early in 1915, when the Entente was negotiating with Greece for her

participation in the Dardanelles expedition, could testify that the Bulgarian Government was ready to mobilize the army and march against Turkey as soon as Greece's adherence to the Entente had been announced, so as to secure a share in the spoils. Not even Czar Ferdinand thought it opportune at that time to evince his pro-Austrian leanings, so sure did he feel of the success of the proposed enterprise against the Dardanelles by the combined Entente and Greek troops.

If the powers had used the full strength of their influence on the military party at Belgrade during the Summer of 1915, Radoslavov's moderate and just offer could have been accepted. Even in the early Autumn of 1915, if Great Britain had been willing to place British and French troops in Macedonia and had exerted greater pressure in Sofia, she might have kept Bulgaria out of the war. Many Englishmen, journalists, business men and others, in touch with the negotiations in Sofia before her mobilization frankly affirm this to be true.

While the Serbian press was attacking Bulgaria fiercely, and the Serbian Government remained sullenly obstinate, and the Entente powers dallied, Germany was using every device to create sentiment in her favor. She bought up the largest paper in Bulgaria. She furnished glowing reports of German victories. She magnified Entente defeats. She exalted German inventions and harped on the perils of Serbia, until finally King Ferdinand forced the too independent Bulgarian War Minister to resign, and brought his country in on the German side.

As regards "atrocities," I can give my personal testimony that these were not wholly upon one side. As a member of The Christian Herald and Red Cross Relief Committees from 1913-15, I personally saw Serbian officials doing to Bulgarians some of the very things for which Captain Gordon-Smith so bitterly attacks the Bulgarians in 1917. I talked with many of the refugees from Greek and Serbian Macedonia as to the treatment they had been receiving in the new Serbia. During

March, 1913, four months before the "treason" of the second Balkan War, I was told by a European Red Cross official of the terrible way in which Serbians were getting rid of the Albanians in old Serbia and Novi Bazar. I talked with the Bishop of Debar, who was forced by Bulgaria's Serbian "allies" to quit his See; also with Bulgarian teachers of both sexes who had been driven out of their schools and homes without being given an opportunity to utter a word in their own defense. I heard constantly of reports, letters and bitter complaints pouring almost daily into the Government archives in Sofia. The notorious Serbian decree of Oct. 4, 1913, gave to the most insignificant Serbian official in Macedonia full powers to dispose of the lives of the local inhabitants.

I certainly have no wish to justify atrocities, by whomsoever committed. But any impartial student of affairs in the Balkans since 1912 knows that atrocity stories there have been grossly exaggerated. He knows that Serbians and Greeks were not a whit behind those whom they attacked in so clever and, too often, in so conscienceless a way.

In plain words, the charges made against Bulgaria are largely unjust. An equal injustice has been done Bulgaria by the post-war settlement which gave Southern Macedonia permanently to Serbian control. No less a personage than Viscount Bryce pointed this out in an address before the House of Lords last year. Viscount Bryce testified from personal experience that the population of this area was almost purely Bulgarian, and declared that the equitable arrangement would have been, not to give the district to Bulgaria, perhaps, but at least to make it autonomous. The action taken in effect created a Macedonia Irredenta in the Balkans, in addition to the Austria Irredenta in the Tyrol. The disaffected population, Viscount Bryce intimated, would remain a source of weakness to Serbia, which had otherwise received

enormous accretions alike of territory and population from the war.

What is needed now is the calming of all the bitter quarrels between the Balkan peoples; the absolute stopping of mutual recriminations, of all charges of atrocity, of quarrels over past mistakes, and a constant emphasizing of all common interests combined with constructive development. Make Macedonia an autonomous member of a Yugoslav United

States, enjoying the same rights and liberties that old Serbia does. Crush out jingoism in each land. Urge disarmament equally in all Balkan States, not merely in defeated Bulgaria; and recognize clearly that the vast majority of the Bulgarians, from King Boris and his Cabinet down to the people, are as genuinely democratic, progressive and peace-loving as in any other Balkan State.

Two Rivers, Wis., Sept. 7, 1921.

[COMMUNICATIONS]

BULGARIA'S RIGHTS

BY THEODORE VLADIMIROFF

What the nation has suffered at the hands of foreign powers in the past, and the injustice done by the Paris Conference

To the Editor of Current History:

Replying to my article on "Rumania in New Europe," published in the July number of the CURRENT HISTORY, Prince Antoine Bibesco, the Rumanian Minister in Washington, has presented in the September number an attempt to explain away Rumania's shortcomings. He writes:

It is plain that the real grievance behind Mr. Vladimiroff's somewhat heated denunciation is not what Rumania is today, but what she did in 1913. In that year Rumania interceded in behalf of Serbia and Greece, then treacherously attacked by their ally, Bulgaria, and decided the conflict in the former's favor. * * * Possibly Mr. Vladimiroff would be satisfied by a readjustment of Southeastern European frontiers that would protect the racial minorities of Transylvania by turning them over to Bulgaria. These minorities, however, might be less enthusiastic after consulting the Greeks and the Serbians of Macedonia, who are acquainted with the Bulgarian methods at close range.

Rumania came to the parting of the ways in 1878. She struggled hard at that time, trying to decide between right and wrong, between justice and injustice, and she fell. From that time on, morally, Rumania has been slipping downward very fast.

From the year 679 A. D. up to 1878 Dobrudja always was an integral part of Bulgaria. Dobrudja is the cradle of the

Bulgarian Kingdom. In the treaty of San Stephano in 1878 Russia assigned Dobrudja to Rumania in exchange for Bessarabia, which the Congress of Paris in 1856 had detached from Russia after the Crimean war, giving it to Rumania in order to block Russia's way to Constantinople.

The Rumanian Government, the press—in a word, all the organs expressing the will and conscience of the Rumanian people—solemnly arose against this exchange, objecting in the most emphatic manner that the Danube divided Rumania and Bulgaria, that Dobrudja was a Bulgarian country, and that its annexation would be an infraction of the rights of nationalities, to which Rumania owed her creation as a State. The entire press of Rumania came out in unison, saying: "We cede nothing, we accept nothing; even if Bessarabia is taken away from us by brute force we will not have Dobrudja." Finally, when King Carol I. was forced by the Treaty of Berlin to accept Dobrudja, he issued a proclamation to the people of Dobrudja beginning as follows:

The great powers of Europe have by the Treaty of Berlin ceded your country to Rumania. Not as conquerors do we enter within the boundaries fixed for us by Europe, &c.

From the date when Rumania entered Dobrudja, in 1878, up to the present day, during a lapse of forty-one years, Rumania has ruled Dobrudja by what is known as "the exception régime," where the power of the local prefect is unlimited. "It is a régime of political rights without freedom under the protection of prefects and Ministers."

On Oct. 3, 1912, the Bulgarian Minister at Bucharest, M. Kalinoff, asked the Rumanian Prime Minister, Mr. Maioresco, what would be Rumania's attitude in case of war between Bulgaria and Turkey, if Bulgaria undertook to defend the rights of her nationals in Thrace and Macedonia. The latter replied: "Rumania will have no objection whatever, for she herself has obtained her freedom from the Turks after a long struggle. If Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia want to free their nationals from the Turkish yoke, Rumania will observe a strict neutrality and will have no claim upon any territory taken away from the Turk." In consequence of this assurance the Bulgarian Ministerial Council extended to Rumania most cordial greetings and thanked her heartily for the noble stand which she had decided to take toward Bulgaria. (See "*Les événements de la Peninsule Balkanique: L'action de la Roumanie*," Bucharest, 1913, No. 1-41).

It was in the Fall of 1912, when Bulgaria, single-handed, had to confront the Asiatic hordes east of Adrianople, that Rumania came in with a claim for extending her boundaries to the south in Dobrudja. At that time she asked only for the town and fortress of Silistra. Bulgaria agreed to cede that city to Rumania for the sake of peace. The conference of Ambassadors at St. Petersburg described the attitude of Bulgaria on this occasion in the following words:

Before parting, the conference wishes to pay homage to the well-known disposition of Bulgaria to maintain and to strengthen its ties of friendship with Rumania. These dispositions having singularly lightened its task, the conference expresses the conviction that the powers will remember the sacrifices which they asked Bulgaria to make.

The above lines were penned on May 9, 1913. On July 10 the Rumanian Army received the order to invade Bulgaria, which at that time was at war with its former allies, trying to make them observe the sanctity of their treaties with Bulgaria. It

was Greece and Serbia who acted treacherously toward their allies.

The truth is just the reverse of the usual charge. It was Rumania who scrapped her treaty with Bulgaria, signed at St. Petersburg only two months earlier, and stabbed Bulgaria in the back; and it was done at a time when she was exhausted from the great struggle against the Turk and when she was fully occupied with her former allies, trying to drive them out of her own back yard.

Bulgaria met the buccaneers at Bucharest, and in addition to losing Macedonia to the Greeks and Serbians she lost to Rumania 8,525 square kilometers in Dobrudja, the granary of Bulgaria; and with it went a population of 282,007, out of which only 6,359 were Rumanians.

Even Venizelos himself, in his memorandum to the Peace Conference at Versailles, while pleading that Western Thrace be given to Greece, said: "Besides, if one keeps account of the fact that Rumania would be disposed, once her national unity is accomplished, to cede back to Bulgaria that portion of Dobrudja which fell to its share in 1913, and which forms one of the richest regions in the Balkans. * * * Bulgaria will be the only one among her allies which will come out of the war undamaged."

Bulgaria has fought three wars for territory which three international tribunals had pronounced to be inhabited by Bulgarians and to belong to Bulgaria.

As regards the Greeks and the Serbians in Macedonia, I refer Prince Bibesco to that splendid public document, "The Report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars." The main conclusion of that report was that, in so far as atrocities were concerned, the conduct of the Bulgarians, as compared to that of their allies, was the least reprehensible, and that whatever atrocities were committed by them were done under great provocation.

To the Big Four of the Peace Conference, in so far as their decisions on Balkan matters are concerned, I will quote Edmund Burke's words: "But with respect to you, ye legislators, ye civilizers of mankind! Your regulations have done more mischief in cold blood than all the rage of the fiercest animals in their greatest terrors."

A BULGARIAN VIEW OF CERTAIN NEIGHBORS

BY VELKO N. MEDOLOFF

To the Editor of Current History:

The article of Gordon Gordon-Smith in *CURRENT HISTORY* for July, entitled "Bulgaria's Crimes Against Serbia," stirred me up, because it happens that I was a volunteer in the Balkan War of 1913 and had the honor to be taken prisoner by the "brave Serbians" at Sultan Tepe. They robbed me of everything I possessed—money, boots (of which they never had any), haversack, and everything they could think of that was useful. To my plea that they should let me keep \$10, they said "Die."

I know their brutality, and how they betrayed their brethren of the bravest and smallest nation in the whole world—Montenegro—and how they subdued them under their tyrannical Government. Look up the reports of the English and Danish correspondents to their respective Governments a year ago. See how the Serbians outraged innocent women and children, equaling any Turkish brutality, the only difference being that the Serbians committed these

crimes upon their brethren, brave Montenegrins.

In the same magazine is an article on "Rumania and the New Europe," page 631, by Theodore Vladimiroff. I cannot too highly express my appreciation of that article, as it is of great concern to me and all those who are interested in the Balkan States. I used to live in Rumania and know that everything the writer says is true. The only regret I have is that he has not said enough, particularly on the question of immorality and the acceptance of bribes by the officials from the lowest to the highest. It happens that I have the honor to possess a poem entitled "Ode to the Rumanian Army," composed by an American lady in Bulgaria. This poem has never been published and I am sending it to you herewith. It expresses exactly my view of the Rumanian Government at that time—how it entered Bulgaria in a sneaking manner and committed crimes of every description on innocent children, women and old men. It runs as follows:

ODE TO THE RUMANIAN ARMY

BY ELIZABETH HUDSON HOLWAY.

King Carol viewed in princely way,
His wealth in livestock, land and gold;
"My realm is broad by land and sea,
My flocks and herds o'er-run the lea,
My palaces are fair to see;
But Bulgar fields are rich, I'm told,
And all the men are far away."

King Carol mustered in array
Six times a hundred thousand guns;
"We scoff at danger, laugh at fears;
Who says we're not the Bulgar's peers?
We'll seize their land ere many suns,
While all the men are far away."

King Carol laughed, as Kinglets may,
When planning to assuage his thirst
For Naboth's vineyard, and to wage
A war unknown to history's page
On weeping widows, wives and babes;
"So forward, my brave troops; but first
Make sure the men are all away."

King Carol marched one Summer's day,
To invade his neighbor's helpless land;
He marched across a bridge of boats;
He said: "There's nothing safer floats;
Nor fear we Bulgar keeps or moats,
For I've this great invasion planned,
When all the men are far away."

King Carol hastened on his way,
And gloried in his army's might;
Dismantled forts they bravely stormed,
Old men and boys, with care, disarmed,
And in defenseless cities swarmed—
Then from their precincts fled in fright,*
Lest all the men were not away.

King Carol swooped upon his prey,
And stripped it clean with fiendish glee;
Ate up its substance with the zest
Of caterpillars; brought the pest,
Took all he could and spoiled the rest;
"Hurrah! For who's afraid?" quoth he,
"With all the men so far away?"

*As, for example, at Orhany, whence they fled during the night at the firing of a single rifle—
V. N. M.

THE JEWS IN POLAND

BY JAMES JAY KANN

To the Editor of Current History:

By way of reply to Maurice Samuel's criticism of my article in your August issue on "The Jewish Problem in Poland," allow me to state that my allusion to "rare instances" of physical violence refers to five or six cases, with one exception located at the time within the zone of military warfare. Regarding these cases I wish to quote from Commissioner Morgenthau's report as follows:

Just as the Jews would resent being condemned as a race for the action of a few of their undesirable co-religionists, so it would be correspondingly unfair to condemn the Polish nation as a whole for the violence committed by uncontrolled troops or local mobs. These excesses were apparently not premeditated, for if they had been part of a preconceived plan the number of victims would have run into the thousands instead of amounting to about 280.

In substantiation of my statement that the Polish Government's failure to protect the Jews is not due to any predetermined policy, I cite this from Mr. Morgenthau's report:

It is believed that these excesses were the result of a widespread anti-semitic prejudice aggravated by the belief that the Jewish inhabitants were politically hostile to the Polish State. When the boundaries of Poland are once fixed and the internal organization of the country is perfected the Polish Government will be increasingly able to protect all classes of Polish citizenry.

The following passages are from the report of Homer H. Johnson, a third member of the Morgenthau Mission:

We are of the opinion, in view of the previous training of the Polish soldiery in the German, Austrian and Russian Armies, the Eastern low valuation of human life, the want of food and clothing which had accompanied the breaking up of the Central Powers, and the universal tenseness of popular nerves worn by the vicissitudes of war, that the antagonism felt by the Polish military toward the Jews and resulting in depredation and violence against them is not a matter of surprise, reprehensible and regrettable as it is.

In concluding the matter of physical violence to the Jews, I quote the following from the report of Sir Stuart Samuel, British Chief Commissioner to Poland, for the investigation of this matter:

The military authorities endeavored to restrict the action of the soldiers as much as possible * * * as the civil authority has been able to make its power effective; so the position in the rear of the troops has become more and more satisfactory.

Captain P. Wright, also a member of the British Commission, reports as follows, in speaking of the number of Jews killed: "One would be too many, but taking these casualties as a standard with which to measure the excesses committed against them (the Jews), I am more astonished at their smallness than their greatness."

Regarding the criticism of my statements that the Jews form the great class of merchants, the greater percentage being "peddlers or petty traders," I wish to add that this state was forced on them by the laws of the country, and to quote from the Morgenthau report as follows:

If American Jewry want to cure the evils in Poland, they must get at the root of them. Sending one or two million Jews to Palestine will do little good; the evil consists in allowing the Jews in a town to follow one or two pursuits. Where there are 5,000, perhaps 1,000 could make an honest living, but 5,000 must cheat each other or starve.

Where is the historical authority for the statement that there were Jews in Poland before the Poles, and if so, why has the country been known as Poland for centuries? And if my critic considers the Litwacs the "modernizing element" among the Jews in Poland, how would he characterize the Jewish "Assimilators," to whom they are violently opposed?

If, as my critic states, the "separatism of the Polish Jew is confined to utterly harmless details of dress and appearance," why does Henry Morgenthau say:

Polish national feeling is irritated by what is regarded as the "alien" character of the great mass of the Jewish population. This is constantly brought home to the Poles by the fact that the majority of the Jews affect a distinctive dress, observe the Sabbath on Saturday, conduct business on Sunday, have separate dietary laws, wear long beards and speak a language of their own. The great majority of Jews in Poland belong to separate Jewish political parties. * * * The concentration of the Jews in separate districts or quarters in Polish cities also emphasizes the

line of demarkation separating them from other citizens.

My critic states that the Jew in Poland does not need or desire outside tuition as to the modern conception of religious practice. In reply let me once again quote Henry Morgenthau, who says:

They must be given schools of instruction. They must change their mode of life. It will take a year's intensive study to find out how to do it, but it would be a most creditable achievement for those Jews who have benefited by liberty in this country.

In substantiating the conclusions drawn in my article I can do no better than to

refer once more to the conclusion of Mr. Morgenthau's able report, which reads:

All citizens of Poland should realize that they must live together. They cannot be divorced from each other by force or by any court of law. When this idea is once thoroughly comprehended, every effort will necessarily be directed toward a better understanding and the amelioration of existing conditions, rather than toward augmenting antipathy and discontent. The Polish nation must see that its worst enemies are those who encourage this internal strife. A house divided against itself cannot stand. There must be but one class of citizens in Poland, all members of which should enjoy equal rights and render equal duties.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE ZIONISTS IN PALESTINE

BY F. C. SAKRAN

A native of Palestine and a member of the Palestine National League of America, which is opposed to Zionism and is in agreement with the Mohammedan-Christian League of Palestine

To the Editor of Current History:

I have read Gershon Agronsky's article, "Troubles of the Zionists in Palestine," in the October CURRENT HISTORY, with strong feelings of dissent and indignation. Well may the Zionists "concede that they have reached a searching time in their movement." The people of Palestine are thoroughly awake to the dangers of Zionism, and the world is beginning to question the motives of the apostles of this cult. The Zionists may be able to fool some people, but they can't fool all the people—at least, not all the time. Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again. Zionism is headed toward certain failure, because it is founded on the exploded doctrine that might makes right and feeds on the discarded idea of divine rights.

The author seems to be impatient over the fact that the mandate has not been approved yet. He desires the League of Nations to grant immediately, and without delay, the demands of the Zionists concerning Palestine—demands which cannot be supported by any principle of law or logic—without even giving the people of that country an opportunity to express their views upon the matter. He complains that the suspension of Jewish immigration is a concession to the Arabs. Is there any

greater arrogance than this, or do the Arabs need a better warning or more convincing evidence of what they may expect from Zionism if their country should fall into its clutches? But the immigration question in Palestine will be settled by the people of that country and not by Russian Jews.

By what right do the Zionists of Russia, or of America claim title to the Holy Land which is not their country, and has not been for over two thousand years? By what authority do they assume jurisdiction over that province and undertake to dictate to its people? Mr. Agronsky seems to proceed on the false supposition that Palestine belongs to the Zionists, but he does not tell us how he arrives at such conclusions. According to him, the inhabitants of that country must not ask for anything but what the Zionists, through generosity or charity, allow them to retain. He forgets that the case is just the other way round and that the present population of Palestine, who have inherited the land from generation to generation, are the only people who have any right to say who should come into it or what form of government it should have. This right is guaranteed to them by the League of Nations covenant. The Zionists have no more right to dictate

to the people of Palestine, or to meddle in their affairs, than you or I have to meddle in the internal affairs of Siam.

He even condemns those British officers in Palestine who still possess sufficient freedom of judgment to see that the natives are not being given a square deal. Because the leaders of the people cry out against Zionist aggressions and try to defend their rights, he calls them "Arab agitators," but he quite overlooks the Zionist radicals. He admits, however, that the Zionists have tried to plant the seeds of labor troubles in the Holy Land. If any one doubts that many Zionists favor socialism, I can furnish sufficient evidence to satisfy any curious mind. The recent outbreaks in Palestine were caused by Jewish Bolshevik agitators and not by the peace-loving natives. The people of Palestine, Arabs and Jews, lived in peace together for centuries, until the Zionists invaded the land. The Jew enjoyed equal rights with his neighbors, the Mohammedans and Christians, until Russian radicals began to swarm into the country. Their attempt to divide the people, however, has utterly failed, and instead of starting a "class war" it has served to strengthen the ties of union among the in-

habitants. The seeds of radicalism cannot take root in the soil of Palestine. As for "the ordinary native," I can say on his behalf, just let him alone and don't force your services upon him, for he has not asked your assistance. When he appeals to you for help, you may go to his rescue, but until that time keep away from him.

Peace in Palestine is assured the moment the Zionist quits intriguing against that country. Peace cannot, however, be secured by having the League of Nations approve a mandate that carries any concessions to Zionism. This would be the sign for real trouble. The only way to restore peace and prosperity to the Holy Land is to abrogate the Balfour declaration, which cannot be defended on any ground whatsoever, and which amounts to the same proposition as if I attempted to dispose of your automobile without your knowledge or consent; to end the agitations of Zionists and their schemes to get possession of the country, and to recognize the indisputable right of the people to choose their own government and shape its course according to their own wishes. Until this is done the world will look in vain for peace and progress in the Holy Land.

THE GREEKS IN MACEDONIA

BY PHILIP STYLIANOS

Boston University School of Law, '22

To the Editor of Current History:

I note that Mr. Koudjoharoff, in the October CURRENT HISTORY, warns Americans against Greek-Macedonian propaganda. I am a Macedonian, and I know of no propaganda in behalf of Macedonia other than the Bulgarian propaganda. I invite Mr. Koudjoharoff to point to a single Greek Government organization here or abroad which is carrying on propaganda about Macedonia or any other portion of the Balkans. And in my turn I call his attention to the following Bulgarian propaganda agencies in America and abroad: (a) The Near East American, a weekly newspaper, published by Mr. Koudjoharoff and Mr. Poulieff, former Counselor of the Bulgarian Legation at Washington. This weekly is published at Washington anonymously in order to avoid being suspected as a Bul-

garian organ. (b) The recent lectures and newspaper interviews given in this country by Irene Shismanova Stephanova, professor in the Royal University of Sofia. All her lectures are appeals for the Bulgarianization of Macedonia and Thrace. (c) The appeals made by the Narodni Glass of Granite City, organ of the Bulgarian Committee of Sofia in America. This organ, to which Mr. Koudjoharoff is a regular contributor, announced a few days ago that the Central Committee at Sofia would send to the Bulgarians in the United States the program of activities here, and that the Bulgarian Minister, Mr. Panaretoff, who has made many friends here, would be able to exert great influence over the United States Government to secure autonomy for Macedonia and Thrace. (d) The Albanian newspaper, Dielli, announced in one of its issues of

September that the Bulgarian Bureau and the Albanian Bureau at Geneva, under the label of Bureau of Unredeemed Balkan Peoples, were doing beautiful work among the delegates of the League of Nations for the revision of treaties in a way to favor Bulgaria at the expense of Greece. (e) Mr. Koudjoharoff and Mr. Poulieff, as the official agents of the Central Committee of Sofia, presented a few days ago to the State Department a document in which they pretend that over 300,000 Bulgarians of Thrace have been driven out by the Greeks and are now refugees in Bulgaria. In this connection it is well to note that the Turkish statistics of 1908 put the total number of Bulgarians in Thrace at 107,843!

Mr. Koudjoharoff also shows a profound knowledge of Mr. Brailsford's book, "Macedonia and Her People." Mr. Brailsford's testimony, on page 57 of the work mentioned, sustains the contention of the author of an article in *The Monitor* that Macedonian nationalism, speaking of Macedonia as a whole, is an artificial creation of Balkan propagandists and komitadjis.

I feel, however, that the writer in *The Monitor* did not do justice to the Greek Macedonians. Greece received what is termed the extreme south of Macedonia. It is known even to grammar school readers of history, even in Bulgaria, that Saloniki, Kavalla, Serres, Xanthi, Castoria, Ellassona, Katerini, have always been Greek cities and districts. The Bulgarians have never yet contested those wholly Grecophone districts. As to a number of districts bordering on the Serbo-Bulgarian frontiers, which are Slavophone, we might adduce the following incontestable evidences to show that those Slavophones had a Greek conscience as recently as the year 1912:

(a) In 1912 the Young Turks, having shown clear signs of desiring to Turkify Macedonia, the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Greek Patriarchate, acting in full accord with the Governments of Sofia and Athens, respectively, came to a solemn agreement. It was agreed that at the then impending Turkish elections the Greeks should elect six deputies from Macedonia and the Bulgarians only four. It is to be noted here that the Bulgarians recognized the Districts of Ellassona and Kozani as

being so Greek that they were not included in the above-mentioned agreement.

(b) The Greek elections of 1915 brought into the Greek Parliament a large number of Turks and Jews from Macedonia, *but not one single Bulgarian Deputy*. And I challenge Mr. Koudjoharoff and all his Bulgarian agents, here or abroad, to produce reliable evidence proving that, while perfect liberty was accorded to the Turks, when Greece was at war with Turkey, to elect their own representatives for the Greek Parliament, such liberty was denied to the Bulgarian nationality in Greek Macedonia. Even Mr. Koudjoharoff will admit that the absence of a Bulgarian Deputy in the Greek Parliament is a conclusive proof of the absence of Bulgarians in Greek Macedonia.

Furthermore, taking into account that the Young Turks elected one Deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants, according to the agreement of 1912 between Bulgaria and Greece, for six Greek Deputies and four Bulgarians, there were in Macedonia at that time 600,000 Greeks. These numbers are sustained by the Italian ethnologist Amadori Virgili, who gives the total number of Greeks in Macedonia in 1908 as 592,302. Greek Macedonia today has a total population of 500,000. It is evident, then, that Greece has left to somebody in the Balkans a total Greek population of 100,000 and is quite willing to remain content with the Treaty of Bucharest as regards Macedonia.

As to the fiction of the undocumented declaration of a Greek officer that a Slav-speaking regiment in Macedonia was Bulgarian in soul, I need hardly advise Mr. Koudjoharoff that the readers of *CURRENT HISTORY* will receive it with that welcome accorded to invented, undocumented and ex parte propaganda.

I understand perfectly why there is a Bulgarian propaganda and why there is no Greek propaganda and no need of any. But what I cannot very well understand is the meaning of the outcry of Mr. Koudjoharoff against the imaginary Greek propaganda. I fear that he is quixotic in this case, or that he tries to justify the existence of Bulgarian propaganda by alleging the existence of Greek propaganda.

37 Batavia Street, Boston, Oct. 12, 1921.

THE GUILT OF KING CONSTANTINE

BY M. J. PATISTEAS

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, '22

To the Editor of Current History:

I wish to reply to the following contentions of Mr. Gregory in his letter in the October issue of your magazine:

(1) That Mr. Cassavetes did not convince him of the guilt of Constantine in regard to the violation of the Greco-Serbian Treaty. I believe that Mr. Cassavetes did not try to prove the guilt. He merely stated that it was established by the tribunal of mankind's foremost students of international agreements. That Constantine signed the decree for a general mobilization in 1915, with the explanation of Mr. Venizelos that Greece was treaty-bound to aid Serbia, should leave no doubt in the minds of the Greek royalists about the cowardly act of Constantine.

(2) That the cold-blooded assassination of French marines in the streets of Athens was, as Mr. Gregory agrees, perpetrated by Royalist Greeks, wearing the Greek uniform, but that they were not, forsooth, Greek soldiers. Very well. Where, then, were the Athenian police? How did the "mob" get the uniforms, the machine guns, and the Greek Army rifles? Could a mob have terrorized officers? And were the mob leaders punished?

(3) That Constantine surrendered Fort Rupel to the Germans in order to match the occupation of Saloniki by the Allies. This is what Mr. Cassavetes has contended. Saloniki was occupied at the invitation of the Greek Government with the assent of Constantine, who changed his mind only on the eve of the landing of the allied troops. Fort Rupel was surrendered to the Germans secretly with the avowed purpose of weakening the position of the Allies. Constantine was anxious to see the Germans

whip the Allies. In other words, he was pro-German. And that is exactly the contention of Mr. Cassavetes.

(4) That the largest and most intelligent cities of Greece voted against Mr. Venizelos. Here Mr. Gregory is lamentably in error. Athens, Volo, Saloniki, Patras, Pyrgos, Calamata, Piraeus, Jannina, Preveza, Cavalla, Rhodosto, Adrianople, Xanthi, Serres, Chania, the Islands of the Aegean, Thrace, Epirus, admittedly the most progressive portions of Hellenism, all went for Mr. Venizelos. The rural classes of Greece and the Jews and Turks of Macedonia voted against him.

Mr. Gregory writes: "My object is not to defend the King of the Hellenes, but the good judgment of the Hellenes themselves." I do not know of a more remarkable method of reasoning than this. Mr. Gregory admits that he does not know whether Constantine is guilty of the moral crimes attributed to him by the entire allied world and by America; but he defends "the good judgment of the Hellenes," who brought Constantine back. I venture to suggest that Mr. Gregory's judgment would have been infinitely better if he had first made up his mind as to the culpability or innocence of Constantine. Then only would he have been in a position to give sound judgment on "the good judgment of the Hellenes," who voted for Constantine.

The "intellectual Greek Royalists"—the "Democrat" Royalists, if you please—deny the guilt of Constantine with as perfect equanimity as they deny the unmorality of cheering for democracy in South Carolina and for absolute monarchism in Athens at the same time and in one breath.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 14, 1921.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S RIGHT TO STATEHOOD

BY ADAM POLIAK

Secretary of the Slovak League of America, Chicago District

To the Editor of Current History:

In your August issue you published an article, "Czechoslovakia's Right to Statehood Assailed," written by Anthony Pessenlehner, in which the author held that the new Czechoslovak Republic has no right to Statehood from a historical, political, economical or ethnographical standpoint. This article was pure Magyar propaganda, intended to disunite the Slovaks from the Czechoslovak Republic. Slovakia is the solid basis upon which the Magyars economically depended, for it is rich in natural resources; it was to the Slovaks, therefore, that the Magyars preached the Roman freedom, and, from 1840 to 1914, the English freedom with a Mongolian spirit. Ever since the Magyar invasion of Hungary (in 896 A. D.) their object has been to Magyarize all who lived in Hungary; but they have failed because there was too large a population of Slavic nationalities.

Historically speaking, the ancestors of present Czecho-Slavs entered Hungary in the fifth century. The Moravian Empire existed in 861-894—the reign of Svatopluk of the Great Moravia. There is also proof that St. Methodius was created Archbishop of the Great Moravia and Pannonia by the Pope in 868.* So, also, there is historical proof that the "Pannonians were all Slavs."† Again, there was the Czech Kingdom, whose independence was lost in 1620.‡

In 1844 the Magyars deposed the Latin language from its place as the official language of Hungary and substituted their own instead. But "in this struggle lay the germ of a conflict of races which was later to be most disastrous to the Magyars themselves; they were not willing to grant to others the rights which they had demanded

for themselves."§ Louis Kossuth, who pushed the Magyars ahead, was of pure Slovak parentage, and Alexander Petori, the poet, was likewise of Slovak origin. "While the Slovaks thus presented the Magyars with two of their traditional heroes, they at the same time produced two men of the highest literary eminence who were destined to influence the entire Slav world."§§ These two men were Paul Safarik (Schafarik) and John Kollár.

Mr. Pessenlehner says that "until a few decades ago the Czechs were quite content with their lot within the confines of Austria," and that "the masses of the Slovak people remained loyal to Hungary." These statements are contrary to fact. In the World War the Czechoslovak soldiers everywhere proved that they were Czechoslovak in spirit—that they already had a national soul; later their republic was promptly recognized by the civilized world.

The Slovaks, Czechs, Moravians and Rusinians understand each other and their literature without any interpreters. It is too late for any Magyar propagandist to try to convince the world that they are aliens to each other.

*Report of the Reception of Governor Louis Kossuth.

†Scotus Viator (R. W. Seton-Watson), "Racial Problems in Hungary," pages 16 and 17.

‡Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1906, "Origin of the Slavs," page 417.

§Charles Downer Hazen, "History of Europe Since 1815," page 157.

§§Scotus Viator (R. W. Seton-Watson), "Racial Problems in Hungary," pages 49 and 50. This is an indispensable, standard authority on the racial problems in Hungary. Other authorities are: Schafarik, "Slavische Alterthümer"; Fessler, Ignaz Aurelius, "Geschichte von Ungarn"; "Cambridge Modern History: The Growth of Nationalities," Vol. XI, and "The Latest Age," Vol. XII, Chapter 7.

PARTITION OF UPPER SILESIA

Text of the decision of the League of Nations Council, which divides the rich mining district between Germany and Poland, at last settling a dispute which caused two years of turmoil

THE Premiers of the Interallied Supreme Council, assembled in Paris for discussion and settlement of the dangerous problem of Upper Silesia, decided at the session of Aug. 12, 1921, that they could reach no agreement, owing to irreconcilable differences of view between the British and French Governments, and that the whole matter in dispute should be referred to the Council of the League of Nations. This result came after weeks of note exchanges between France and Germany on the one hand, and France and Great Britain on the other. It was the negative culmination of a series of events dating from the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

The revised treaty calling for the holding of a plebiscite in this rich coal territory, claimed both by the Germans and the Poles on historical and population grounds, was signed on June 28, 1919. The plebiscite was long deferred. Meanwhile intense excitement prevailed in Upper Silesia, and many clashes occurred between the two elements. In February, 1920, an Interallied Commission was appointed and placed in charge of the district pending the holding of the popular vote. The date for this event was finally fixed for March 20, 1921. The plebiscite was held; its final result, as given by the Interallied Commission itself, was as follows: Germans, 716,408; Poles, 471,406. Though this seemed to mean a victory for Germany, the situation was vastly complicated by the peculiar distribution of the vote, especially in the southeastern triangle, which contained the majority of the coal mines. Faced with this complication, the allied Premiers were in great

doubt as to what course to pursue. The English favored giving the largest part of the province to Germany, as she demanded; the French insisted that their protégé, Poland, should receive most of the mining district.

While the Premiers and the Interallied Commission were still deliberating, unable to reach a decision, a false rumor was printed in a German paper declaring that the Allies had decided to grant Germany almost all the disputed area. Believing this, the Poles of Upper Silesia, headed by Adalbert Korfanty, the Polish High Commissioner, started an insurrection, which assumed alarming proportions and threatened



Both shaded areas together represent Upper Silesia. Dark line separating the two kinds of shading is new boundary fixed by the League of Nations between German and Polish portions of disputed territory. Each gets a share of the mines.

for a time to break the friendship between France and England. Finally, on June 10, 1921, Korfanty, realizing that his coup had failed, signed an agreement with the Inter-allied Commission, promising to demobilize his troops on condition that Germany did the same. The allied Premiers met on Aug. 12 for a last desperate attempt to settle the boundary question, but their differences proved irreconcilable. By mutual consent, therefore, they agreed to refer the whole matter to the League of Nations Council, pledging themselves (Aug. 24) to accept the League Council's solution. The League accepted the task on Aug. 29 and began work upon it at once. The details were referred to a committee composed of four non-permanent members of the League Council, viz., M. Paul Hymans of Belgium, Senhor da Cunha of Brazil, Señor Quinones de Leon of Spain, and Dr. Wellington Koo of China. These four sent a neutral commission to the plebiscite area and themselves heard evidence from both Poles and Germans of all ranks. In due time they formulated what they regarded as a just solution of the knotty problem. By the first week in October this solution had been adopted by all the allied Governments and had been laid before the disputants. It caused some agitated comments and gestures in Germany, but by the end of October it had been accepted by both sides and had apparently gone into history as the first large practical achievement of the League of Nations.

The full text of the League Council's solution of the Upper Silesian problem was made public on Oct. 20 by the British Foreign Office. All the essential portions of the document, with a map showing the new boundary line dividing the plebiscite area, are given herewith. While Upper Silesia is partitioned between the two disputants, the whole is to remain for fifteen years under the control of the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission, which is to aid in the prevention of friction during the period of adjustment. The British Foreign Office sent out the text with a covering letter which stated that the League's decision had now become the decision of the conference of Ambassadors, "acting in the name of and by the special mandate of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, signatories, together with the United States of America,

as the principal allied and associated powers, of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles."

TEXT OF THE DECISION

The text of the League Council's decision, with a few unessential omissions, is as follows:

The council, being convinced that its duty was, above all, to endeavor to find a solution in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants, as expressed by the plebiscite, while taking into account the geographical and economic situation of the various districts, has been led to the conclusion that it is necessary to divide the industrial region of Upper Silesia. Owing to the geographical distribution of the population and the mixture of the racial elements, any division of this district must inevitably result in leaving relatively large minorities on both sides of the line and in separating important interests.

In these circumstances, the council considered that it would be desirable to take measures to guarantee during a provisional period of readjustment the continuity of the economic life of this region, which, owing to the density of its population, the number of its industrial undertakings, the closely woven network of its means of communication, possesses the character of a vast agglomeration. It was also of the opinion that it would be desirable to provide for the protection of minorities. Such are the general principles by which the council was governed.

The council came to the conclusion that the most equitable solution would be obtained by the frontier line which is described below and the adoption of which it unanimously decided to recommend.

READJUSTMENT PERIOD

The measures which the council considers necessary in order to insure the continuity of the economic and social existence of Upper Silesia, and to reduce to a minimum the inconvenience of the period of readjustment, are chiefly designed with the following objects:

To preserve, for a certain time, for the industries of the territory separated from Germany their former markets, and to insure the supplies of raw material and manufactured products which are indispensable to these industries; to avoid the economic disturbances which would be caused by the immediate substitution of the Polish mark for the German mark as the sole legal currency in the territory assigned to Poland; to prevent the working of the railways serving Upper Silesia from being affected by the shifting of the political frontier; to regulate the supplies of water and electricity; to maintain freedom of movement for individuals across the new frontier; to guarantee respect for private property; to guarantee, as far as possible, to the workers that they shall not lose, in the portion of territory assigned to Poland, the advantages which were secured to them by Ger-

man social legislation and by their trades union organization, and, finally, to ensure the protection of minorities on the basis of an equitable reciprocity.

The solution of these problems should be achieved by means of arrangements effected under the form of a general convention between Germany and Poland. The Treaty of Versailles has provided, in several analogous cases, for conventions of this kind. As regards Upper Silesia, the treaty has regulated certain questions by means of special provisions. Article 92 stipulated, moreover, that "further agreements will regulate all questions arising out of the cession of the above territory which are not regulated by the present treaty."

The conclusion between the parties of a general convention, which will place Upper Silesia under a special régime during the transitional period, seems to correspond to the intentions already expressed by the States concerned. Both Germany and Poland have indeed already considered the establishment of special institutions for this region.

THE MIXED COMMISSION

With a view to facilitating the preparation and to supervising the application of the above temporary measures, which should be incorporated in a general convention, the council considers that it is necessary to set up a commission composed of an equal number of Germans and Poles from Upper Silesia, and of a President of another nationality, who might be designated by the Council of the League of Nations. This commission might be called the "Upper Silesia Mixed Commission." It would be essentially an advisory organ.

Further, it would also be expedient to constitute an arbitral tribunal to settle any private disputes which might be occasioned by the application of the temporary measures. All disputes in connection with the carrying out and the interpretation of the general convention should be settled in conformity with the provisions of this convention and, where necessary, with the covenant of the League of Nations.

A Frontier Delimitation Commission should mark out the course of the frontier on the spot. It will be the duty of the Interallied Commission already in existence to take the necessary measures for the maintenance of order during this preliminary period. The mixed commission referred to above should be appointed without delay in order that it may give its assistance to the Interallied Commission, which, taking into account the provisions of paragraph 6 of the Annex to Article 88 of the Treaty of Versailles, will take measures for preparing the transition from the present situation to the provisional régime.

[This treaty clause provides for the taking over by the German and Polish authorities of the administration of the territory assigned to them respectively within a month of the official notification of the fixing of the frontier and the immediate dissolution of the allied Control Commission on this taking place. To avoid prema-

ture withdrawal, the Allies on Oct. 20 "communicated" the Upper Silesian decision to Germany and Poland, reserving the "notification" for some later date when the Economic and Mixed Commissions shall have things in running order.]

BOUNDARY DEFINED

[The council attached four annexes to its recommendations. In Annexe I. it set out the general principles by which it was guided in arriving at its decision. In Annexe II. it traced the suggested line of demarcation in detail. Annexe III. enumerates the important provisions designed to secure continuity in the life of Upper Silesia after the partition and to reduce to a minimum the difficulties of the period of adaptation. Finally, in Annexe IV. the council sets out its decisions on the rights of nationality and domicile and protection of minorities in Upper Silesia. The description of the frontier line, as recommended in Annexe II.—and now adopted—is as follows:]

The frontier line would follow the Oder from the point where that river enters Upper Silesia as far as Niebetschau, would then run towards the northeast, leaving in Polish territory the communes of Hohenbirken, Wilhelmsthal, Raschütz, Adamowitz, Bogunitz, Lissek, Summin, Zwonowitz, Chwallenczitz, Ochojetz, Wilcza (upper and lower), Kriewald, Knurow, Gieraltowitz, Preiswitz, Makoschau, Kunzendorf, Paulsdorf, Ruda, Orzegow, Schlieslengrube, Hohenlinde;

And leaving in German territory the communes of Ostrog, Markowitz, Babitz, Gurez, Stodoll, Niederdorf, Vilechowitz, Nieborowitzer, Hammer, Nieborowitz, Schönwald, Ellguth Zabrze, Sosnica, Mathesdorf, Zabrze, Bisputitz, Bobrek, Schomberg;

Thence it would pass between Rossberg (which falls to Germany) and Birkenhain (which falls to Poland), and would take a northwesterly direction.

Leaving in German territory the communes of Karf, Miechowitz, Stollarzowitz, Friedrichswille, Ptakowitz, Larischhof, Miedar, Hanusek, Neudorf-Tworog, Kottenlust, Potemba, Keltzen, Zawadski, Pluder-Petershof, Klein-Lagiewnik, Skrzidlowitz, Gwosdzian, Dzieina, Cziasnau, Sorowski,

And leaving in Polish territory the communes of Scharley, Radzionkau, Trockenberg, Neu-Repten, Alt-Repten, Alt-Tarnowitz, Rybna, Piassetzna, Boruschowitz, Mikoleska, Drathhammer, Bruschick, Wüstenhammer, Kokotek, Koschmieder, Pawonkau, Spiegelhof (Gutsbezirk), Gross Lagiewnik, Glinitz, Kochschütz, Lissau.

To the north of the latter place it would coincide with the former frontier of the German Empire, as far as the point where the latter frontier joins the frontier already fixed between Germany and Poland.

[The following provisions, embodied in Annexe III., are designed to insure continuity in the economic life of Upper Silesia after the parti-

tion, and to reduce to a minimum the difficulties of the period of adaptation:]

The administration of railway and tramway systems which belong to private concerns or municipalities shall continue to be governed by the terms of their concessions, as regards rights and obligations. The railway system of the Schlesiische Kleinbahn Aktiengesellschaft shall continue to be operated as a single unit for fifteen years. For the German State railways, both normal and narrow gauge, a joint system of operation shall be put into force in the plebiscite area, for fifteen years.

The amount of rolling stock allotted to the plebiscite area shall be determined in accordance with Article 371 of the Treaty of Versailles. Railway rates shall be uniform. The administration of the State insurance and social insurance employes of the Silesian railway system shall be undertaken by that system.

Expenses of new construction shall be borne by the State on whose territory they are carried out. The working capital necessary for operation shall be lent by the German State; the interest on this capital will be charged to the account of the system. The profits or deficit shall be divided between the two countries, in proportion to the length of the line belonging to each and the amount of traffic.

In so far as the territory which comprises the existing water supply system has not been entirely allotted to one of the two countries, in default of a special agreement between the parties, the existing system shall be maintained. The reserve water supply of the Tarnowitz and Olhuez district shall be at the disposal of the whole territory of Upper Silesia. The Oberschlesische Elektrizitätswerke shall continue to operate as at present for a period of three years. After this the Polish Government may purchase the Chorsow power station and the system dependent thereon. The above company shall furnish electricity on the same terms to both parts of the territory, so long as a Polish company shall not have been established.

During a period which shall not exceed fifteen years the German mark shall remain the only legal unit of currency in the plebiscite area, and the Polish Government shall recognize in the territory assigned to Poland the rights and privileges of the German Reichsbank, which shall be permitted to maintain its branches in such territory. The two Governments may decide by common agreement to modify this system before the expiration of this period.

Failing agreement between the two Governments, and in the case when a modification of the monetary system should become necessary, a date may be fixed as from which the German mark would cease to be the only legal unit of currency. The customs frontier will be made coterminous with the new political frontier as soon as the latter has been fixed. The German and Polish customs law and customs tariffs shall be applied with certain exceptions (specified by the League Council) to meet for varying periods up to the limit of fifteen years the need of allowing the interchange of raw material and other commodities between the two partitioned areas free of customs duty.

In conformity with Article 268 of the Treaty of Versailles, natural or manufactured products which originate in and come from the Polish zone of the plebiscite area shall on importation into German customs territory be exempt from all customs duty during three years from the notification of the delimitation of the frontier to Germany and to Poland.

The two countries shall undertake to facilitate during fifteen years the export from their respective territories of products indispensable for the industry of either zone of the plebiscite area, by supplying the necessary export licenses and by authorizing the execution of contracts entered into between private individuals.

Any arrangement with regard to the customs régime on the new Polish-German frontier in Upper Silesia, which is not an application of the principle stated above, shall be considered as an ordinary commercial agreement between Poland and Germany.

THE COAL MINES

In conformity with Article 90 of the Treaty of Versailles, Poland shall permit for fifteen years the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in the Polish zone of the plebiscite area. As regards coal, account shall be taken in the application of this article of the provisions of the different treaties of peace, and of the international decisions and agreements, between Germany, Poland, and the countries directly or indirectly concerned in the importation of coal from Upper Silesia, which impose obligations on Germany and Poland in respect of coal.

Germany shall permit for fifteen years the exportation, to the Polish zone of the plebiscite area, of the products of the mines in its territory, under Article 90 of the Treaty of Versailles. The quantities of the products of the mines to which this provision shall apply shall be calculated on the basis of the average exchange of these products in the years 1911 to 1913.

The German and Polish Governments shall recognize for fifteen years those unions of employers and workers whose activities take place within the plebiscite area. These unions may enter into collective contracts throughout the whole plebiscite area.

The transfer of the funds of German social and State insurances to Poland should take place in accordance with Article 312 of the Treaty of Versailles. The Polish Government shall establish as soon as possible for the Polish zone the special insurance societies and the special jurisdiction for administrative matters and for the hearing of causes.

FREE MOVEMENT

[Rights of nationality and domicile are defined in Annexe IV. as follows:]

During fifteen years any inhabitant regularly domiciled in the plebiscite area, or having a regular or professional occupation therein, shall receive a circulation permit free of payment, which will permit him to cross the frontier without other formalities.

The two countries shall recognize and respect, in the territory which shall be allotted to them, rights of all kinds, in particular concessions and privileges acquired at the date of the partition by individuals, companies, or other legal entities. Poland shall renounce for fifteen years the powers granted by Article 92 as regards the expropriation of industrial undertakings, mines or deposits, save where such powers are indispensable to insure continued operation.

Any dispute between the German and Polish Governments which may occur within fifteen years in respect of any legislative measure adopted by either of the two countries for the control of companies or industrial or commercial enterprises, and limiting in a manner contrary to justice the freedom of these companies or enterprises, from the point of view of the nationality of their personnel, of their directors or

of their capital, may be referred by the Government concerned to the Council of the League of Nations, whose decision both Governments undertake to accept.

[Questions of nationality will be decided under Article 91 of the Treaty of Versailles, and Articles 3-6 of the Minorities Treaty of 1919. German nationals who opt for German nationality may still retain their domicile in the Polish partitioned area for fifteen years. The same principle applies to those who opt for Polish nationality, but have their domicile in the German partitioned area. With regard to the protection of minorities in the partitioned areas, Germany for fifteen years at least must accept the same obligations as those which will operate under the treaty of June, 1919, with regard to the Polish portion of Upper Silesia.]

GERMANY'S DIFFICULTIES

Dr. Wirth's Cabinet reorganized because of popular dissatisfaction with the Silesian decision—Measures sought to stop the alarming fall of the mark—Business operating feverishly under the false stimulus of inflation

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 10, 1921]

AFTER having furnished a German political version of the old railroad story of "Off again, on again," Dr. Wirth is still Chancellor of the German Republic. With the exchange value of the mark dropping every day, little headway being made with his taxation program, the Reparation Commission in Berlin studying the financial situation, and the People's Party (the big business group headed by Hugo Stinnes) demanding practical control of the Government as the price of coming to his aid with foreign credits estimated at 1,000,000,000 gold marks, Dr. Wirth is in a decidedly uncomfortable position, but he seems determined to try to weather the storm without steering the ship of State too far to either the right or the left.

On Oct. 22, unable to persuade the People's Party leaders to agree to support his plan to accept the League of Nations decision dividing Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany, and to send a German Commissioner to negotiate with the Poles on the economic situation, Dr. Wirth resolved on a trial of strength and placed the resignation of his Cabinet in the hands of President Ebert. Three days later, after vain efforts to induce representatives of the

People's Party to help form a new Cabinet, the Social Democratic President asked Dr. Wirth to resume his old post and do the best he could. This request was heeded, and the next day (Oct. 26) the Chancellor announced the makeup of the new Government. The Reichstag gave him a vote of confidence the same evening, the vote being 230 to 132. The Chancellor's supporters were the Social Democrats (Majority Socialists), the Independent Socialists, the Centrists and the Democrats. Neither the Independents nor the Democrats obligated themselves to support Dr. Wirth in all circumstances, but they promised qualified support. The new Cabinet is as follows:

Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs—**DR. WIRTH** (Centrist).

Minister of the Treasury and Vice Chancellor—**GUSTAV BAUER** (Social Democrat).

Minister of the Interior—**ADOLF KOESTER** (Social Democrat).

Minister of Defense—**DR. GESSLER** (Democrat).

Minister of Economics—**ROBERT SCHMIDT** (Social Democrat).

Minister of Agriculture and Foodstuffs, and Finance and Interim—**ANDREAS HERMES** (Centrist).

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—**JOHANN GIESBERTS** (Centrist).

Minister of Labor—DR. HEINRICH BRAUNS (Centrist).

Minister of Transportation—GENERAL GROENER (Democrat).

Minister of Justice—DR. GUSTAV RADBRUCH (Social Democrat).

The post of Minister of Reconstruction was left open, but it was expected that Dr. Walter Rathenau, the former incumbent, would be able to obtain the consent of his fellow-Democrats to re-enter the Cabinet as a matter of patriotic duty, despite the fact that the Democratic Party did not intend to assume any responsibility for the acts of the new Government. From a political viewpoint the Cabinet is Centrist-Social Democratic, as Dr. Gessler and General Groener are supposed to be serving merely as non-partisan experts. The new men in the Cabinet are Dr. Radbruch, a professor at Kiel University, and Dr. Koesler, who was Foreign Minister in the Herman Mueller Ministry. The three members of the old Cabinet not present in the new Government are Dr. Rosen, ex-Foreign Minister; Dr. Schiffer, ex-Minister of Justice, and George Gradnauer, ex-Minister of the Interior. Herr Gradnauer has been named Saxon representative in Berlin.

Dr. Schiffer was appointed by the Cabinet on Oct. 27 as National Commissioner to negotiate with the Poles and the Council of the League of Nations on Upper Silesian conditions, with Dr. Lewald, Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior, as his deputy. The Council of Ambassadors in Paris was duly notified of Germany's acceptance of the Upper Silesian decision. [The text of this decision is printed on pages 501-4.] This notification was accompanied by a German protest, but in acknowledging its receipt the Council of Ambassadors remarked that the protest was "without foundation" and would, therefore, "be considered null and void." The main fact was that the Germans apparently had decided to make the best of what they called an "outrageous situation," and trust to the future for possible changes in their favor. The German Government officially denied Paris rumors of German sabotage of industrial plants and railways in Upper Silesia, and on Oct. 29 officials of German mining and smelting companies in the Koenigshuette and Laurahuette districts met in Berlin and declared that they intended to run their plants as efficiently as possible,

even if they were under Polish political rule.

The first concrete result of the decision of the Goerlitz Social Democratic Convention allowing its members to work with People's Party men where this could be done to the advantage of the republic was seen on Nov. 5, when, according to a Berlin cablegram, Otto Braun, a leading Social Democrat and former Prussian Minister of Agriculture, was elected by the Diet to head the Prussian Ministry in place of Adam Stegerwald, who had resigned on Nov. 1. Premier Braun's new Cabinet was reported to be made up of three Social Democrats, two Centrists, two People's Party men and one Democrat. Such a combination would be sure of a big majority in the Diet, whereas the Centrist-Democratic Cabinet of Herr Stegerwald, organized last April, only existed on sufferance.

The arrival of the entire Reparation Commission in Berlin on Nov. 10 for the purpose of studying the financial crisis, due to the rapid fall in the exchange value of the mark, and consulting with German officials and experts regarding means of guaranteeing future payments on the reparation account, gave rise to a huge crop of rumors concerning the imminent bankruptcy of the republic, its taking over by the allied powers as receivers, and similar possibilities. The definite facts available up to Nov. 10 showed that the Reparation Commission had no intention of crowding its German creditors, as the payment scheduled for Nov. 15—some 300,000,000 gold marks, representing 26 per cent. of the German exports for the three months ended July 31—had been covered by deliveries of materials, and it appeared that the commission was willing to help make it easier for Germany to pay the regular fixed instalment of 500,000,000 gold marks due on Jan. 15, 1922. It was also reported that the problem of arranging for the carrying out of the Wiesbaden reparation agreement between Germany and France in such a way as to overcome the objections raised by Sir John Bradbury, British representative on the Reparation Commission, would be tackled.

Developments of the Wiesbaden agreement are treated in the article on France.

If a plan for economy in administration, recommended to the Supreme Council on Nov. 8 by an Interallied Commission ap-

pointed by the Council for the purpose of studying the situation in the occupied territory, is put into effect, the occupation costs to Germany during 1922 will be about 22,000,000 gold marks less than those of the current year. There will be a further reduction due to the winding up of the work of many of the allied commissions in Germany and the expected lessening of the forces of occupation. On Nov. 3 the German Government asked the Allies to evacuate such watering places as Wiesbaden on the ground that the presence of troops annoyed visitors and cut down the receipts of the resorts. Prince von Hatzfeld, the new German Commissioner for the occupied territory, was formally welcomed to Coblenz on Oct. 15. Under a German order, unopposed by the Interallied Rhineland Commission, and effective Oct. 26, foreigners traveling through the occupied territory cannot take advantage of the depreciation of the mark by wholesale shopping, as they are forbidden to buy anything in the retail stores except what they need for immediate use or maintenance.

According to the decision on the delivery of river shipping to the Allies rendered by Walker D. Hines, the American arbitrator, Germany is to be credited with 15,450,000 gold marks for deliveries of Rhine vessels, with 8,350,000 for Elbe deliveries, and with 338,940 for Danube deliveries.

As the result of the protest against the continued military formation of the Security Police made by General Nollet, head of the Interallied Military Control Commission, the number of men in each unit was reduced from 121 to 104.

Through the decline in the value of the mark, which fell so low that 100 marks could be bought for 33 cents in New York on Nov. 7 and 330 for \$1 in Berlin on Nov. 8, the budget estimates and taxation plans of the Wirth Government were all upset. To this was added a promised increase of some 20 per cent. in the wages of all the State employes, including the railroad men, calculated to add about 30,000,000,000 marks to the yearly expenses of the Government. In explaining the new taxation bill to the Reichstag on Nov. 4, Minister Hermes pointed out that estimates for the fiscal year 1922 put receipts at 97,000,000,-

000 marks and expenditures at 182,000,000,000. He took occasion to remark that "an effective way out of this immense financial distress cannot be found until our erstwhile adversaries realize that, in the interests of their own peoples, the position of the German people, made considerably worse through the Silesian decision, must be rendered tolerable by reasonable adaptation of Germany's obligations to her capacity."

The League of German Industrialists, in which Hugo Stinnes plays a big rôle, voted on Nov. 7 to place foreign credits to the amount of 1,000,000,000 gold marks at the disposal of the Government, provided the Wirth Cabinet would agree to an efficiency program calling for governmentaleconomies, the freeing of the country's economic life from hampering restrictions—such as the eight-hour day—consultation with private interests in formulating tax bills and the managing of State enterprises in such a way as to stop their drain upon the Treasury. The Socialist and radical press immediately warned the Government against being dictated to by private capitalists, and a conference held Nov. 9 between representatives of the industrialists and Chancellor Wirth was reported as fruitless. Stories of foreign loans to Germany were numerous, but nothing definite was reported.

In the midst of all the financial chaos German industries continued to operate feverishly, despite the high prices in paper marks demanded for foreign raw materials. The first week of November it was reported that the number of unemployed persons drawing Government aid was only about 100,000, against 189,000 on Oct. 1. As the mark dropped, the prices of industrial stocks went up and almost everybody owning large amounts of marks seemed determined to turn them into pieces of paper of more substantial value.

Baron Edmund von Thermann, described as a "special envoy commissioned to take up diplomatic relations with the United States pending the arrival of a regular German Ambassador," left Berlin for the United States on Nov. 5. The Baron was in the diplomatic service of the old empire.

AUSTRIA'S NEW FINANCIAL HOPES

Conclusion of peace with the United States regarded as a long step toward obtaining a foreign loan—Important arrangement between Vienna banks and their French creditors—The United States still demands the impossible

[FROM AN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT IN VIENNA]

WHILE the news of the signing of the Peace Treaty with the United States, Aug. 24, 1921, at Vienna, was received quietly by the general public and was forgotten the following week amidst the popular indignation at the Hungarian coup in West Hungary, the Government and the Viennese financial press attached great significance to the treaty as being the greatest step yet taken toward realization of the much-talked-of foreign loan, upon which Austria has built its last hopes of avoiding utter collapse, and disintegration. The necessity of obtaining foreign credits was given by Federal Chancellor Schober as the reason for signing the treaty, when he laid that document before the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly. The treaty was ratified Sept. 2 without debate, and became effective Nov. 8 with the exchange of ratifications in Vienna by Chancellor Schober and Arthur Hugh Frazier, the American Commissioner.

The Ter Meulen scheme for assisting Austria is based on the waiving for twenty years, by the allied and associated powers, of their general lien on Austrian resources imposed as security for reparations and other claims. During the week preceding the signing of the Austro-American Treaty, Italy agreed to waive her rights, thus leaving only the United States, Yugoslavia and Rumania still in the attitude of demanding payment of their bills against a bankrupt nation. It is generally recognized that any action taken by the United States would be followed by the other two countries. The Austrian Government hopes that, when the present obstacles are removed, a loan will be forthcoming through the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, which has the matter in charge.

The treaties signed with the three Central Powers—with Austria on Aug. 24, Germany on Aug. 25, and Hungary, Aug. 29—are alike in that the most important sections—the fi-

nancial and economic—are yet to be negotiated. In the case of Germany, the magnitude of the trading, shipping and investment interests involved endows the negotiations with great significance. As regards Austria, there is much less at stake, the inter-related problems of pre-war debts and Austrian property in America being the most important matters to be solved.

American trade with Austria has never been of the first magnitude. Foodstuffs have composed the bulk of American exports to Austria since the armistice, and will continue to hold first place in the trade with that country. With the exception of magnesite, which is extensively demanded in the United States, and of which Austria and Czechoslovakia have a virtual monopoly, Austrian exports to the United States have been chiefly articles of luxury, such as fancy leather goods, antiques, and the like. Declared exports from Austria to the United States for July amounted to only \$173,307. The conclusion of peace will be a great relief to Austrians wishing to go to America on business; hitherto it has been almost impossible to obtain visés. The thousands anxious to emigrate to America probably will be disappointed.

Settlement of pre-war debts is a question of vital interest to Austria at this time. The amount due creditors in the United States is approximately \$2,000,000, a small sum in comparison with the £6,000,000 due to English creditors and the 125,000,000 francs due in France. Before the war most American trade with Austria was financed in London.

Austria's assets in the United States, which were sequestrated by the Government during the war, amount to nearly \$8,000,000. It is for Congress to decide whether this property shall be returned to its private owners or held until all claims against Austria are settled. As the United States asks no reparations, those claims will consist for

the most part only of private pre-war accounts. Settlement of this question will release several million dollars in Austria's favor—a sum which looks very large to Austria at this time, as its Government is in desperate need of foreign "valuta" with which to pay for food imports.

In August considerable progress was made toward settlement of Austria's pre-war debts to the allied countries. It had long been evident that if Austrian debtors were forced to meet at par all their pre-war obligations payable in crowns, every large enterprise in the country would be forced into bankruptcy, owing to the extreme depreciation of the currency. [On Sept. 1 the exchange was about 1,100 crowns to the dollar, as compared with the normal rate of 5 crowns to the dollar.] The uncertainty of the situation has hung like a sword of Damocles over the heads of Austrian banks during the last three years. This uncertainty has been an obstacle to commerce, because bank guarantees, which are the cornerstone of the trading structure, have been valueless as long as the solvency of the banks themselves was in question.

Long strides toward a settlement, however, have now been made. The most important recent developments are: (1) A proposal of the Austrian Government to refund one-half of the foreign debts of Austrian concerns, and (2) an agreement reached at Paris Aug. 2 between the leading Vienna banks and their French creditors, according to which Austrian debts payable in crowns are scaled down to 30 centimes for each crown of the original debt. As the assistance promised by the Government, however, will be in the form of 5 per cent. State bonds, and not in cash, this

help will not be as important as it sounds, for the bonds will never reach par. But the Paris agreement is of great importance, as it furnishes an opportunity for the Viennese banks to regulate their position on the Paris market. The agreement provides that a first instalment of 12 centimes is due Dec. 31, 1921, further instalments of 9 centimes being payable on Dec. 31, 1922 and 1923, with 5 per cent. interest. French creditors were allowed—until Oct. 31, 1921—the option of accepting payment in francs, as above described, or of demanding payment in crowns of an equivalent value, this value to be calculated on the basis of the Zurich exchange the day the option was exercised.

The sum due France is partly covered by French debts to Austrian creditors, and partly by other Austrian assets in France, but after these credits are deducted there will still be left a balance of many million francs which Austrian debtors must pay within the next three years.

Austria's obligations to England are for the most part in the hands of the Bank of England, and the largest Viennese debtor is the Anglo-Austrian Bank. A bill was introduced in the National Assembly Sept. 3 to authorize the Anglo-Austrian Bank to convert itself into an English institution; the purpose of this plan is to allow a reorganization of the bank whereby the London creditors will be satisfied by a new issue of preferential stock. A similar bill authorizing the Laender Bank to change its headquarters to Paris was defeated at the last session of the National Assembly, after a stormy fight which developed sensational charges and counter-threats.

THE WAY TO WORLD PEACE

ELIHU ROOT, one of the American delegates to the Disarmament Conference, speaking in New York on Oct. 26, 1921, analyzed the obstacles in the way to universal peace, and pointed out the way to overcome them, in the following words:

The world is full of hatred and strife and murder today because of the incapacity of millions of people in organized States to receive the truth that is being spread throughout all civilization and that is to be theirs in centuries to come—but they are not ready for it. That

is a matter not of intellectual power, it is not a matter of learning, it is not a matter of precept; it is a matter of the development of character. * * * The development of character must come through exercise of the virtues that make human character—mercy, compassion, kindly consideration, brotherly affection, sympathy with fellow men, unselfish willingness to sacrifice for others. The exercise among the people of those qualities is the essential and the only way by which the character of the people may be developed, so that they may become truly civilized and truly Christian.

CHARLES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY EXILED

Ex-Emperor's second attempt at restoration ends in failure—Sent to the Madeira Islands—Hapsburgs permanently barred from the Hungarian Throne

AS was foreseen, the tangled situation in Burgenland was utilized by the supporters of ex-King Charles's claims to the throne for launching another attempt to restore Charles at Budapest. From the beginning the Magyar troops, regular and irregular, which occupied the Burgenland and prevented its transfer to Austria, were sharply divided into a Karlist and a Horthyist group, the former being led by Colonel Lehar, Major Ostenburg, Count Sigray, Commissioner for West Hungary, and the former Premier Stephen Friedrich, the latter by Colonel Pronay and Lieutenant Hejjas, close friends of Regent Horthy. On Oct. 22 Charles, accompanied by the ex-Empress Zita, appeared at Oedenburg, having made the trip from Hertenstein Castle, near Lucerne, Switzerland, by airplane. His arrival was apparently better prepared for than the previous attempt at

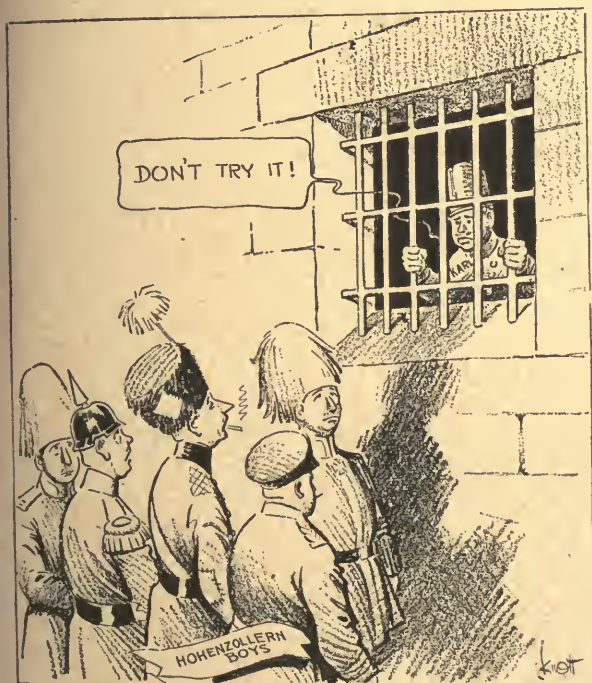
Easter, for this time an army of 12,000 was placed immediately at his disposal.

After a day's delay, spent in celebrating the expected victory, Charles and his entourage proceeded, at the head of this army, which was commanded by Major Ostenburg, toward Budapest. At first it seemed that Charles would attain his goal without much difficulty. The garrison at Raab (Gyor), the first important city on his route, joined him, and a Cabinet was formed with Stephen Rakovsky, former Speaker of the National Assembly, as Premier, and including Count Julius Andrássy, Dr. Gustav Gratz and Edmund Beniczky, foremost Karlist leaders in Parliament. From Raab Charles issued a proclamation to the people, announcing his return, and convoking the old Parliament that had been dissolved by the revolution of October, 1918.

At Budapest the coup d'état created the greatest consternation. The Government, headed by Count Bethlen, assumed an equivocal attitude, apparently making its decision dependent on the attitude of the Entente Powers and the development of Charles's chances. Count Bethlen, the Premier, and other Ministers had been suspected of Karlist sympathies, and there is reason to believe that they would have gone over to Charles en bloc had there been an assurance of success. The bourgeoisie, mostly Jewish, as well as the organized workers, though by no means enthusiastic for a Hapsburg revival, were prepared to hail Charles as a welcome substitute for the terrorism of the Horthy régime, but they, too, preferred to mark time. On the first and even the second day of the crisis the allegiance of the military was similarly doubtful. Budapest was very scantily garrisoned, most of the army being concentrated in West Hungary and on the Yugoslav frontier. Meanwhile Charles's advance continued.

In the Entente capitals the Hapsburg venture was received with unanimous hostility. That the Little Entente would oppose the restoration was more or less a foregone conclusion; but the Karlist leaders had believed that their

[American Cartoon]



—The Dallas News

A WARNING FROM KARL

[American Cartoon]



—Dayton News

THE ONLY WAY TO GET HIM OUT

friends at Paris and London wielded sufficient influence to turn the issue in their favor. They had the success of Constantine and of the Portuguese reactionary coup in mind, and thought that, as in those cases, the Allies would not interfere with an accomplished fact in Hungary. The more sanguine even hoped that the opposition to Hapsburg restoration was, as far as the Little Entente was concerned, sincere and thoroughgoing only in Czechoslovakia, and that in both Rumania and Jugoslavia the monarchistic element would tacitly sanction the return of legitimate monarchy. These hopes were openly expressed in press interviews by the Karlist leaders; they were, however, doomed to great disappointment.

A few hours after the news of Charles's landing at Oedenburg had spread, mobilization was ordered in Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, and at Bucharest assurances were given that the Rumanian Government would stand by the anti-Hapsburg covenant with the other two succession States. On Oct. 24, two days after Charles's attempt, the Council of Ambassadors sent an ultimatum to Budapest, demanding Charles's deposition and delivery to the Entente representatives.

When this ultimatum arrived, however, the

fate of Charles was already settled by the quick and determined action of Horthy. After the first flurry of surprise the Regent, although he could not be sure even of the support of his own Cabinet members, rallied some loyal troops, recruited mostly from the region between the Danube and Theiss, and marched to meet Charles. An engagement was fought at Budaors, a few miles southwest of Budapest. Simultaneously with Horthy's attack the Karlist troops were attacked from the rear by the troops of Pronay and Hejjas, which had been hurried from Burgenland. Charles's defeat was complete, and the ex-King, after having ordered his troops to surrender so as to avoid further bloodshed, was himself taken prisoner with Queen Zita, while in flight toward Komorn. All the Karlist leaders at Raab—Andrassy, Rakovzky, Major Ostenburg, Count Sigray, Beniczky and Gratz—were arrested, and so were their sympathizers at Budapest, headed by Prince Louis Windischgrätz.

The captured leaders were taken to Budapest and jailed under allied supervision. Charles and Zita were first taken to the Esterhazy Castle near Tata-Tovaros, where the ex-King's half-hearted attempt at suicide was thwarted by his wife. Later they were transferred to the old Benedictine Abbey of Tihany, on Platten Lake, where Charles consistently refused repeated requests of the Government for his abdication. For several days his fate hung in the balance, as the Allies had resolved to exile him to a place sufficiently isolated to make a third return to Hungary impossible.

Finally the Council of Ambassadors selected the Island of Madeira, off the west coast of Africa. On Nov. 3 Charles and Zita were put on board a British monitor on the Danube at Bala, taken down to the Danube delta, and there transferred to the British cruiser Cardiff, which immediately proceeded with the ex-royal couple toward their distant destination.

A bill depriving the House of Hapsburg of its hereditary rights to the Hungarian throne was passed by the Hungarian National Assembly. The wording of the bill was protested by the Council of Ambassadors, as it was obvious that the statute left a loophole open for the election by popular vote of a member of the Hapsburg dynasty. On Nov. 8 the Hungarian Government issued a declaration, subject to ratification by the Assembly, correcting the ambiguity of the statute by an interpretation which bars the election of a Hapsburg King.

After the flight of Charles from Switzerland it developed that he had left behind debts running into several million francs. His property at Hertenstein was attached by the creditors. Not even the airplane which took him to Hungary was paid for.

SETBACK FOR GREECE IN THE NEAR EAST

THE situation in the Near East and the respective relations between Mustapha Kemal, on the one hand, and France, Italy and Great Britain, on the other, has been clarified by the successful termination of the peace negotiations with Angora conducted by France. The head of the French mission, Henry Franklin-Bouillon, has returned to Paris with the treaty, which was signed on Oct. 21 at Angora and ratified a few days later by the Angora Grand Parliament. It follows the lines of the treaty negotiated on March 9 at London, except in two clauses, the inclusion of which has caused the new treaty to be severely censured by Lord Curzon. These clauses—Articles VIII. and X.—embody concessions which Lord Curzon declares France had no right to make, as they dispose of mandated territory. Article VIII. fixes a boundary line between Turkey and French Syria running from the Bay of Alexandretta, near Bayas, to the railway station of Melden; thence southeast, leaving the region of Marsova in Syria and Kilis in Turkey; thence to the railway at Tchebin Bey to Nisibin; thence north-east to Jezireh on the Tigris. Article X. record-

ed the consent of the Angora Government to the concession of the Bagdad Railway between Bozabt and Nisibin and the branch lines in the province of Adana to the French group.

The conclusion of this treaty, which gives France important advantages, including the possibility of withdrawing her troops from Cilicia, has left Greece isolated. After obtaining a vote of confidence, the Greek Premier, M. Gounaris, departed on a visit to the Western Chancelleries on Oct. 15 to stave off the expected signing of the Franco-Turkish Treaty. He left Paris empty-handed on the very day the treaty was signed. In London he persuaded Lord Curzon to remonstrate with France. Lord Granville, the British Minister at Athens, meanwhile took steps to negotiate with Angora in behalf of Greece in case the Greeks should ultimately be able to comply with Mustapha Kemal's demands.

[The article on Near Eastern affairs in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY* contained an extract from a letter of Ali Fuad, Turkish Ambassador at Moscow, to the Soviet Government, explaining certain incidents in connection with the Kemalists. Due credit for the translation used—that of The New York Nation—was inadvertently omitted.—Editor].

FRANCE AND MUSTAPHA KEMAL

PREMIER BRIAND was strongly endorsed by Parliament at the sessions of Oct. 27 and 28, the vote in the Senate being 301 to 9; in the Chamber the majority was 106. This implied a ratification of the acceptance of the offer by a German labor syndicate to rebuild—with German material and German labor—eleven ruined villages on the Somme, as well as an endorsement of M. Briand's general policy toward Germany. Thus the Premier was able to depart for the Washington conference with the solid backing of Parliament.

The French treaty with Mustapha Kemal was given out after the Premier's departure. By its terms France withdraws from Cilicia, the boundary is drawn between French Syria and Turkey, and France receives various economic advantages, notably a concession for the operation of the Bagdad Railway from the Mediterranean to the Tigris River, and a ninety-nine-

year lease on the iron, chrome and silver mines of the valley of Harchite (Northern Anatolia), near the shores of the Black Sea. Politically, this treaty is beneficial to France, is displeasing to Great Britain, and especially to the Greeks, who are still trying to dispose of the troublesome Mustapha by force of arms. It means that France has recognized the Government of Mustapha Kemal as the ruling Government of Turkey, rather than the Government at Constantinople, recognized by Great Britain. The agreement was negotiated for the French by Henry Franklin-Bouillon, an agent of somewhat vague status, who conferred at Angora with Youssouf Kemal Bey, Foreign Minister for Mustapha Kemal; it was ratified by the Angora Parliament before M. Franklin-Bouillon brought it to Paris. Formal approval of this important pact was one of the last official acts of Premier Briand before he sailed for America.

ALBANIA'S FRONTIER ESTABLISHED

THE status of Albania underwent a great change on Nov. 5. Her territorial entity was established by the Council of Ambassadors and her political entity centred at Tirana was recognized by the Supreme Council. The first decision set the frontiers about as they were arranged by the London Ambassadorial Conference in 1913, when the great powers were bent on making the country a Moslem State governed by Prince William of Wied, and rendered nought the stipulations in the Treaty of London of April, 1915, as well as the Wilson-Lloyd George-Clemenceau compromise favoring Greece and the Nitti-Lloyd George-Clemenceau compromise

favoring Serbia of four years later. As a result of the decision of the Council of Ambassadors, Great Britain, France and Italy have invoked Articles XI. and XVI. of the Covenant in a note sent to the Council of the League of Nations to ascertain what measures the Council intends to take in order to have the findings of the Council of Ambassadors respected by Greece in the south and by Yugoslavia in the north.

The general line of the frontier laid down by the Council of Ambassadors on Nov. 5 rectifies the line of 1913 as follows: The district of Ligne is given to Albania; the Dibra-Striga road is given to Yugoslavia; also the territorial angle

which secures Yugoslavia a better position in Prizren and Podgaritza; Scutari is to go to Albania, but Yugoslavia is to have the use of its port of Dulcina on the Adriatic.

On Nov. 9 the foregoing was put in the form of a protocol and communicated to the Governments of Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania and to the secretariat of the League. This protocol automatically put into execution the following resolution of the Council of the League of Nations, adopted at the recent Geneva conference:

"The Council approves of the appointment of a commission of three impartial persons to proceed to Albania and to report fully on the execution of the decision of the principal allied and associated powers as soon as it is given, and on any disturbances which may occur on or near the frontier of Albania. The commission shall have power to appoint impartial observers to enable it to discharge its functions. The Council in its anxiety to see peace preserved, and feeling assured that the decision of the principal allied and associated powers [as represented by the Council of Ambassadors] will be taken without delay, considers that the commission should arrive in Albania by Nov. 1, 1921, but that it should take no action until the decision of the principal allied and associated powers is given."

On Nov. 9 the British Prime Minister, acting for the Supreme Council, invited the Council of the League of Nations to assemble at Paris on Nov. 18 for the purpose of considering the attitude of Yugoslavia toward Albania. This is

the first time the aid of the Council of the League of Nations has formally been invoked by the Supreme Council to take action against a member of the League invaded by another.

The long and bitter boundary dispute between Yugoslavia and Albania was finally settled by the Council of the League of Nations at Paris on Nov. 18. Representatives of the two nations were summoned before the Council, the Yugoslavs having previously been notified in a peremptory manner that the troops that had invaded Albanian territory must be withdrawn immediately. The representations of the two nations were made before the Council at a public session, a new departure for this body. The Serbian Representative, Nata Bockovitch, denied the charge of invasion, justifying his country's course as best he could. Midsat Frasherli, the Albanian delegate, then presented his side of the case with equal eloquence. In the end both representatives agreed to accept the boundary recently decided upon by the Council of Ambassadors, promising to live in peace and respect the obligation thus assumed. A protocol to that effect was to have been signed on Nov. 19, but when it was presented for signature the Yugoslav delegation injected certain reservations, saying they would withdraw their troops from the territory allotted to Albania but refused to recognize as permanent the line fixed by the Ambassadors. The Yugoslav delegation announced that they would continue to urge reconsideration of the boundary line.

STATE TRIALS IN BULGARIA

THE High Court called to judge the members of the Radoslavoff Cabinet and General Gekoff, the former charged with having conspired with the dethroned "Czar" Ferdinand to cause the nation to enter the great war on the side of the Central Empires, and the latter with having illegally executed the decrees of the said conspiracy, convened at Sofia on Oct. 11. This is the third time in the history of modern Bulgaria that the High Court has been assembled. The first time was in 1903 and the second in 1914. Although almost the entire press urged the members of the court to act "with justice and, having acted with justice, to execute the verdict with firmness," some conservative papers point out the difficulty of governing under a monarch like Ferdinand in the early years of the war, with the people still bitter over the great surrender in the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913.

As a public diversion from the trial, it was the intention also to bring to justice the men who were charged with having profited by the acts of the Radoslavoff Ministry—and a special article to this effect had been incorporated in the law, condemning those responsible for plunging the country into the late war. This special clause (Article IV.) provided for the arrest of war profiteers and the sequestration of their property. As an attempt to execute this article, judging from the arrests already made under it, would have seriously disturbed both the political

and the industrial life of the country, the Interallied Reparation Commission at Sofia advised that it be repealed; this was done on Sept. 2.

The cable dispatch which announced the assassination of M. Dimitroff, Minister of War, together with his chauffeur and two companions, on Oct. 22, while motoring near Kôstendil, where he was born in 1877, gave no cause for the tragedy. M. Dimitroff's manner of executing the Treaty of Neuilly and his unfriendly attitude toward the agents of Soviet Russia, however, are known to have arrayed two forces against him—the adherents of the dethroned Ferdinand, who have attempted to have Bulgaria resume her alliance with Turkey against Greece, and the Bulgarian communists, many of whom have been jailed for their activities.

Alexander Dimitroff was Minister of the Interior when the Peasant Premier Stambolisky formed the Ministry in October, 1919, which was to sign the Treaty of Neuilly. Although of known pro-Entente sentiments, he had been in office since 1917. He assumed the portfolio of war last Summer. During the absence of Premier Stambolisky on his round of visits to the Western chancelleries last Winter, M. Dimitroff assumed the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and fulfilled his duties in a manner which gave the Entente nothing to complain of. As Minister of War he has co-operated with General de Fourton, head of the Interallied Military Mission, in the matter of disarmament.

THE NEW KING OF JUGOSLAVIA

KING ALEXANDER, whose acceptance of the Crown of Yugoslavia had been in doubt for two months, left Paris for Belgrade on Oct. 29 and took the oath to support the new Constitution of the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the capital on Nov. 5. When his father, the aged King Peter, died, Alexander, then Prince Regent, was ill in Paris. On Aug. 17 he proclaimed his acceptance of the crown, but still lingered in the City of Light, and then in a villa he had taken at Versailles. It has now become known that he underwent an operation in July at a private hospital, when a piece

of bomb was extracted which had been in his body since the attempt to assassinate him last year. Subsequent to the operation the patient required the utmost quiet. There was another reason, however, for his prolonged stay in Paris. It was his desire to bring to a happy conclusion his courtship of Princess Sophie, second daughter of Prince Emmanuel, Duc de Vendôme et d'Alençon, a member of the Bourbon-Orléans family. The differences of religion and the Princess's disinclination to reside in Belgrade are said to have been the reasons for the unsuccessful termination of King Alexander's suit.

RUMANIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

ALTHOUGH the Soviet Government at Moscow has finally agreed to the claim "in principle" of Rumania to Bessarabia, the Government at Bucharest is having more difficulty in persuading the Soviet to return the gold and treasure which during the retreat in Moldavia of the Rumanian Army was sent for safe keeping to Moscow, then under the Czar.

At the beginning of the negotiations, which have been going on at Warsaw and which reached a conclusion on Oct. 20, it was estab-

lished that the Rumanian gold no longer existed. The Soviet Government had used nearly all of it. It appears that the Soviet delegation sought to set aside this issue in favor of their Bessarabian claim. But the Rumanian delegation, headed by M. Filality, still insisted on the return of the gold or its equivalent. There the matter stands, with the Soviet delegation ready to open the question of Bessarabia, should the Rumanian delegation prove too pressing for the expropriated gold.

ANOTHER REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL

Elucidation of the confused events that led up to the murder of ex-Premier Granjo and other friends of Paes—Personnel of latest Cabinet, headed by Pinto

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 10, 1921]

SINCE the proclamation of the republic on Oct. 5, 1910, there have been no fewer than seven revolutions, or attempted revolutions, in Portugal. Two of these have been Monarchical—for the restoration of the deposed King Manuel II. now living in England—the rest have been due to one faction of the Republican Party attempting to oust its rivals, so that it might enjoy the benefits of office.

Both the elections of last July and the successive Governments of Querioz and Granjo had been the outcome of a military movement of the preceding May, which had brought pressure to bear upon President Almeida for a more conservative administration with proclivities favoring Royallist prisoners and unfavorable toward the victims of Major Sidonio Paes's revolution of December, 1917. These victims, a year later, became the murderers of Paes, and the results of his revolution drove ex-President Dr. Bernardino Machado and ex-Premier Dr. Alfonso Costa into exile.

Since last Spring the victims of the Paes revolution who were still at liberty had determined on military action in order to restore the one-faction Government as it had existed prior to the revolution of December, 1917. What probably sealed the fate of the late Premier, Senhor Antonio Granjo, was his unrelenting attitude toward political murderers.

The promoters of the Lisbon revolution of Oct.

19, Colonel Manuel Maria Coelho, Major Cortez dos Santos, Captain Rosa Mateus, Lieut. Commanders Procopio de Freitas and Serrao Machado, had, they declared, hoped to achieve their ends by peaceful means. But they allowed the Carbonarios to arm themselves at the naval arsenal. These Carbonario, or professional revolutionary elements, had long cherished the idea of punishing all the partisans of the Moderate President, Sidonio Paes, who had not already been accounted for, as well as other Conservative Republicans. The revolution of Oct. 19 gave them their sinister opportunity.

At 7 o'clock A. M. a shot was fired as a signal by a company of the Republican Guard, and it was immediately answered from the warships in the Tagus, Sao Gabriel and Vasco da Gama. Thereupon Colonel Coelho took up strategic positions, particularly at Edward VII. Park, with some 8,000 cavalry and a score of machine guns, while Machado and de Freitas took command at the arsenal. At 9:30 a deputation of the revolutionary junta, consisting of Colonel Nobre da Viegas, Machado, Dr. Jacinto Simões, and Senhor Affonso de Macedo, waited upon President Almeida and demanded the dismissal of the Granjo Government and the dissolution of the July Parliament. The President asked for time to consider, and the delegation withdrew. A few moments later he received a message from Senhor Granjo, who had sought

asylum with a loyal detachment of the Republican Guard at Carmo. Granjo's letter stated that he had not enough faithful troops to resist the revolutionists, and that he left the decision in the President's hands. President Almeida replied in a note which approved Granjo's action and at the same time relieved him of the responsibility of office.

At 12:30 P. M. a second revolutionary delegation visited the President. It included, in addition to the first delegation, Lieut. Commander de Freitas, Captain Montez, and Colonel Rego Chaves. This time the proposal of the junta was accepted, and a Cabinet was announced, headed by Colonel Coelho. The first act of the new Government was to issue a proclamation, on the morning of Oct. 20, repudiating the events of the previous night.

After receiving the reply to his letter Senhor Granjo motored from Carmo to his home and thence to the home of Senhor Cunha Leal, the Financial Minister of the fallen Government. There he was arrested and taken with the other prisoners to the naval arsenal. Then took place the lynchings by the Carbonarios. Senhor Granjo, Captain Freitas da Silva, and Captain

Carlos da Mala, thrice Minister of Marine, who had first become Minister under President Paes, were shot dead, and Senhor Cunha Leal wounded. Another partisan of Paes, Lieutenant Teofilo Duarte, was searched for at the house of the Countess Ficalho, but managed to escape. Admiral Machado dos Santos, the "founder of the republic," was murdered by his guards while being taken to the arsenal under arrest.

The new Government was kept busy cleaning its hands of the charges of being responsible for the assassinations, but public opinion was so aroused that on Nov. 4 Colonel Manuel Maria Coelho thought it best to withdraw in favor of Senhor Pinto, who then assumed the Premiership and portfolio of the Interior, and reconstructed the Cabinet as follows:

Minister of Justice, Vasco Vasconcellos.
Minister of Finance, Senhor Trancoso.
Minister of War, Senhor Perez.
Minister of Marine, Senhor de Carvalho.
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Velga Simões.
Minister of Commerce, Senhor Simas.
Minister of Colonies, Senhor Nunez.
Minister of Instruction, Senhor Cabral.
Minister of Labor, Senhor Garcia.
Minister of Agriculture, Artao de Carvalho.

MEXICO'S EXTERNAL DEBT

THOMAS W. LAMONT returned to New York on Oct. 26 from Mexico City without having concluded any definite arrangement regarding the payment of principal or interest on Mexico's external debt, which was the chief object of his mission as representative of the International Committee of Bankers, representing the associated holders of Mexican bonds. According to published interviews, Secretary de la Huerta had proposed adjusting the Mexican external debt by buying in the Government's obligations at the market price and replacing them, if necessary, by a new loan. Mr. Lamont and his associates had objected to diverting funds pledged to paying defaulted interest to such a buying in at depreciated quotations. The net result of the ensuing debate was that the negotiations failed, and that both sides were disappointed. The Lamont negotiations had an indirect bearing on the question of recognition, as no new foreign loan could be floated prior to recognition by the United States, on whose action Great Britain and France are waiting. Mr. Lamont went to Washington on Nov. 2 and conferred at length with Secretary Hughes on Mexican conditions.

During the negotiations, General Calles, head of President Obregon's Cabinet, from a sanitarium at Rochester, Minn., made a spirited defense of the Vera Cruz law of compulsory profit-sharing with labor. He denied that this law would result in injury to capital, charged that the industrials and landowners had maintained virtually a system of slavery in Mexico,

and declared that the Government was seeking the liberation of the working classes. The labor bonus, he said, was only 10 per cent. of gross profits. Thus, a business capitalized at 100,000 pesos and earning 20,000 pesos yearly would, after payment of 16,000 pesos for interest and amortization of capital, have to pay the employees 10 per cent. of the remaining 4,000 pesos, or a total of only 400 pesos for the year.

Secretary de la Huerta, replying on Oct. 22 to a bitter editorial attack in the columns of *El Universal*, came out with a list of the Government's actual achievements, among which were the following: Repatriation of thousands of Mexicans at a cost of millions of pesos; the expenditure of 8,000,000 pesos to aid destitute towns and villages; reduction of the army by 40,000 men; establishment of cordial relations with twenty-six countries; acquisition of fifteen vessels for the merchant marine; better educational facilities; normalization of the bank situation, and the stabilizing of monetary affairs. The return of all confiscated property had been brought about or arrangements made to settle with owners, except in a few isolated affairs still pending. The Mormon Church had accepted \$94,477 for its claims. Spanish claims were being adjusted with the Spanish Government.

Government expenditures for 1922 presented to Congress on Nov. 1 showed a reduction of 30,500,000 pesos for the War and Navy Departments. There is an increase of 10,000,000 pesos for education. Gold and silver coinage is continued.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION'S ELECTIONS

THE first elections in the new Federal Republic of Central America took place on Oct. 30 in Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, the three constituent States. Carlos Herrera, formerly President of Guatemala, issued the call for the elections, which chose members of Congress. Each State chose fifteen Deputies and fifteen alternates. All the Deputies, totaling, with the representative of the Federal district, forty-six, will meet on Jan. 15. The Senate will have nine members, three to be elected by each State. The Federal Council, which is the executive power, was also elected on Oct. 30. Salvador elected Francisco M. Suárez, Honduras Policarpo Bonilla, Guatemala Dr. Julio Bianchi, who was Minister from Guatemala to the United States during the war. Each State Government also named a Commissioner to go to Washington to secure recognition of the new federated republic. All the Commissioners had arrived in Washington by Nov. 15.

NICARAGUA—The Government on Oct. 22 declared a state of martial law for sixty days, and a state of war in five northwestern departments, three of which border on Honduras, from which revolutionary movements have been organized. Nicaragua now has 1,500 soldiers at this danger point to repel attacks and invasions.

COSTA RICA—The public debt of Costa Rica

has increased about \$7,500,000, owing to her differences with Panama, and now totals about \$45,000,000, or nearly \$100 per capita. The Government has decreed the construction of a city near Coto, along the Panama frontier, which was the scene of the recent dispute between the two countries.

PANAMA—Panama's independence has not yet been formally recognized by Colombia. The eighteenth anniversary of the separation was celebrated in New York on Nov. 3 by many residents of South and Central America. The Panama Treasury has a surplus of nearly \$4,000,000, accumulated in the last three years, besides a fund of \$6,000,000. The need of immigrants to Panama was emphasized by Dr. E. A. Morales, Minister of Finance, on his arrival in Washington early in November. A memorial in honor of the late Surgeon General Gorgas is to be erected in Panama City as a recognition of his sanitation work on the isthmus.

CANAL ZONE—Secretary Weeks, on Oct. 22, approved most of the recommendations made by the Zone Commission. He adopts the open-shop principle, and puts the Panama wage scale, which is higher than that of the United States, on an independent basis. All labor agreements are to be terminable within thirty days. Free housing, light and fuel are to be abolished.

SOUTH AMERICA AND DISARMAMENT

ALTHOUGH not actively participating in the proceedings of the Conference for the Limitation of Armament at Washington, the South American countries are taking a lively interest in the momentous questions involved. The generous offer of the Pan-American Union Building, in which the private sessions of the conference are being held, is only one indication of the attitude of Latin America. The South American press appears to be in full sympathy with the purposes outlined by President Harding, but the editors are not unanimous in forecasting favorable results. Authoritative organs like *La Nación* of Argentina and *El Mercurio* of Chile take the opportunity to point out that these two countries led the way to just such an agreement as that being discussed in Washington, when in 1904 they signed the so-called May Compact in accordance with which both Governments pledged themselves to stop competitive armaments and to limit their active forces to the needs of maintaining public order.

Invited by the American Federation of Labor, several workmen's organizations throughout South America have arranged demonstrations to spread the sentiment of international harmony thereby influencing their respective Governments to take steps leading to such results. Students and women's organizations have launched similar movements.

ARGENTINA—As a result of the revision of the Criminal Code by Congress, capital punish-

ment has been abolished. During the discussion over this reform the House of Representatives was almost unanimous for the repeal, while the Senate twice insisted on maintenance of capital punishment for certain crimes; but the insistence of the Lower House had such a majority in its favor that it overruled the opposition. * * * A law to aid the railroad employees to become owners of their homes has been enacted. * * * A minimum salary for Government employes has also been prescribed by law, fixing as the bottom figure the sum of 1 peso, 60 centavos, equivalent to 68 American cents, a day. * * * A company with 2,000,000 pesos capital has been formed for the purpose of establishing a daily airplane passenger service between Buenos Aires and Montevideo, across the Plata River. The giant Caproni type, with three and a half tons cargo capacity and twenty-eight passengers, will be employed. Although the three airplanes to be used in this service are of the well-known Italian make, they are to be equipped each with three Liberty-Packard motors of 300 horsepower. * * * In spite of the general depression in foreign trade, the imports of American agricultural implements have broken all records. The last harvest was greater by a third than the preceding one. The cultivated area is growing rapidly, new methods are being introduced, the circulation of farm magazines is increasing considerably, and as a consequence of all this, a better market for farm-

ing implements is being opened. * * * The spreading protest from foreign radical circles over the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston has reached simultaneously Buenos Aires, Montevideo and other South American capitals. The medical students of the University of La Plata have joined in the protest growing in certain labor circles by temporarily suspending attendance at classes.

BRAZIL—The plans have been officially approved for a great International Exposition to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, on the centennial anniversary of the independence of the country. The resolution of the American Government to make an appropriation of \$1,000,000 for participation in the celebrations at Rio next year has been received with great satisfaction. * * * The Brazilian and Italian Governments have ratified their treaty on labor and immigration of Italians to Brazil. The *Jornal do Commercio* congratulates the Government on the action of the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Azevedo Marques. The same paper publishes eight articles of the treaty, noting the favorable conditions secured by them for the Italian immigrant. * * * A delegation of aldermen of the city of Buenos Aires has just finished a tour of the principal Brazilian cities, carrying the expression of the good wishes of the Argentine capital and receiving in return the warmest welcome from their Brazilian colleague and the people.

CHILE—With the ambiguous title of Association of Labor (*Asociación del Trabajo*), an organization has been started by leading producers, merchants and other employers of labor for the purpose of dealing more adequately with the labor organizations. The Government has lately enacted legislation for an extensive improvement of public roads, having for its primary object the relief of the unemployment situation. * * * The Chilean Cabinet has been reconstructed, with Mr. Ismael Tocornal at its head and the majority of the former secretaries keeping their places. The prestige and moderation of Mr. Tocornal have made themselves felt from the start in political and parliamentary circles. The Democratic (Labor) Party has withdrawn its representation from the Cabinet without withdrawing its support from the Government. * * * The new long-term loan of \$10,000,000 negotiated with Blair & Co. of New York will be employed in purchasing railroad equipment and implements for the electrification of the central zone of the State lines. * * * Two important branches have been added to the Government railway plan with the inclusion of the Petorca-Pedegua line and the one from Lebu to Los Sauces, in the coal territory. * * * The price of oil has caused a vigorous increase in the production of native coal in South America,

especially in Chile. The mines in the Coronel district have reached the two million ton mark for the last ten months. * * * The blowing up of the great Oppau (Germany) fertilizing plant, with its capacity of 80,000 tons a year, will cause a shortage of the product equivalent to 500,000 tons of nitrate of soda. The Chilean producers count on a proportionally greater demand for their fertilizer on the strength of the curtailment of production of air nitrate in Germany.

COLOMBIA—With the proclamation of the candidacy of Dr. Concha for the Presidency the contest has been clearly defined between his Liberal Party and the Conservatives, aligned behind Señor Del Ospina. * * * Congress has considered the appointment of General Jorge Olguin, former Foreign Minister, for the post of Provisional President, following the resignation of Señor Marcos Fidei Suarez in face of the opposition he met in the House of Representatives. * * * The Standard Oil Company of California is acquiring a majority interest in the holdings of the Transcontinental Oil Company, the Midland Colombian and the Arkansas Natural Gas, all owning extensive property in Colombia. About a million acres are involved in the negotiations. Other acreage going into the deal is represented by holdings of the Latin American Company.

ECUADOR—Negotiations for a loan for 100,000,000 sucres have been authorized by Congress for the purpose of financing the construction of a railroad from the capital to the Colombian boundary line, passing through Sibaua and Cuenca. * * * A law has been enacted by which the introduction of machinery and raw material for industrial purposes, as well as capital for investment in industries that are introduced into Ecuador, are declared free of any Government or municipal tax or duty.

PARAGUAY—President Gondra has handed his resignation to Vice President Felix Palva, owing to a revolutionary movement by the followers of ex-President Schaerer. The movement was due to the failure of Minister of the Interior Guggiari to resign at the demand of Señor Schaerer's friends, who insisted upon certain Cabinet changes, and also the resignation of President Gondra. Quiet has prevailed all through the political changes, as the military and police forces were in full sympathy with the revolution.

PERU—The situation in Peru has improved, and the outstanding commercial and financial factors are the proposed loan of \$50,000,000, guaranteed by the receipts from the custom houses, which will be under American supervision. A committee of New York bankers is in Lima to conclude negotiations.

PERSIA FREE OF FOREIGN TROOPS

THE Bolshevik troops in November evacuated Enzeli, Persia, on the Caspian Sea, according to agreement. The British troops had previously left the country entirely, so that by Nov. 1 Persia was free of foreign troops. The Government was reorganized by the admission

of two new men, Amir Aalam and Naib-es-Saltaneh, with Kawam-es-Saltaner as Prime Minister.

Rabbi Joseph Saul Kornfeld of Columbus, Ohio, was nominated Oct. 29 to be United States Minister to Persia.

TRIBULATIONS OF THE WEST INDIES

COURT proceedings instituted against the municipal government of Havana on Nov. 5 came as a great surprise to the general public. The city administration had been under judicial investigation, but the wholesale indictments issued against Mayor Marcelino Diaz de Villegas for maladministration were unexpected and aroused great excitement. The indicted officials were released on bail. They declared that they were the victims of a political plot to drive them from office. Threats against General Crowder and the American Legation in Havana were contained in posters distributed on Oct. 29 in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Havana police made ten arrests at the headquarters of a syndicalist labor organization and confiscated a number of terrorist proclamations.

An emergency treaty between Cuba and the United States was proposed by Sebastian Gelabert in a memorandum submitted on Oct. 18 to the State Department at Washington. His plan was for a preferential of 50 per cent. on all Cuban products imported into the United States, in return for which Cuba would grant a similar reduced rate on imports from the United States. This would take the place of the reciprocity treaty of 1903, which grants a preferential of 20 per cent. to Cuba, and 20 to 40 per cent. to the United States on goods shipped to Cuba. Meanwhile American trade with the island languishes, and the Cuban customs collections for October were only \$1,700,537 compared with \$5,025,075 for the same month last year.

HAITI—The United States Senate continued its investigation of conditions in Haiti. It learned from Major T. C. Turner of the Marine Corps that since the occupation of Haiti, about six years ago, 2,500 natives have been killed "in action," of whom 1,732 were killed in the year following Oct. 1, 1919. "That there were kill-

ings," he said, "is undoubtedly true, and many of them can be directly traced to Major Clark H. Wells, but these were not prisoners, but natives trying to escape from the corvee, or enforced road work." In a report submitted in 1919, Lieut. Col. Hooker of the Marine Corps stated that many natives had joined the bandits because of brutal treatment by the gendarmes, and that one officer, Lieutenant B. D. Williams, had "admitted that he had killed several persons when they had attempted to escape." General Butler of the Marine Corps, Major Gen. George Barnett and Lieut. Col. Alexander S. Williams gave testimony favorable to the American administration.

PORTO RICO—Governor E. Mont Reily of Porto Rico has reappointed José E. Benedicto Treasurer, and Ramon Slaza Pacheco Executive Secretary, both of the Unionist Party. Further appointments were: Carlos Toro, Commissioner of Agriculture; Dr. W. F. Lippitt, Commissioner of Health, both Republicans; John A. Wilson, Democrat, Commissioner of the Interior, and P. Rivera Martinez, Socialist, Commissioner of Labor. These officials will replace an all-Unionist executive body.

BRITISH WEST INDIES—In order to encourage ships passing through the Panama Canal to call at Kingston, Jamaica, regular services from Australia and New Zealand have been exempted from tonnage and light dues. American shipping interests are contemplating measures of reprisal in the case of British vessels bringing shipments from outside British territories. * * * Preferential agreement between the West Indies and Canada has been put into effect after formal ratification by proclamation by all the presidencies of the colony of the Leeward Islands, of which Sir Eustace Fiennes is the new Governor.

SPAIN RECOVERING MOROCCO

THE Spanish forces recaptured the important strategic point, Mount Arruit, Oct. 24, where they found 2,000 unburied corpses of Spanish soldiers, including the body of General Primo de Rivea. The Spaniards made considerable progress in Morocco, recovering their most important positions which had been previously lost. The Cortes decided Nov. 10 that military operations should cease when the armies

reached the bank of the Kert. The military juntas met a serious setback. Their interference with the operations of the army resulted in an announcement by the King that if they continued to meddle he would dissolve the Cortes. The King's threat subdued them. The charge is openly made—and not denied—that their interference with the troops in Morocco was responsible for the disasters.

ITALY'S UNKNOWN SOLDIER

ITALY's "unknown" military hero was entombed on Nov. 4 at the magnificent monument erected to Victor Emmanuel II. A general amnesty was declared, and among those freed was Antonio Alba, who attempted to assassinate Victor Emmanuel III. in 1912. The selection of the dead soldier was made at Gorizia on Oct. 27, and the journey through Italy was the occasion of great demonstrations.

The Fascista Congress met at Rome, and as a protest the workingmen declared a general strike, which continued for several days.

The Catholic Party also held a congress at Milan. The Moderates, who were in control, denounced both the Socialists and the Fascists.

The Socialist Congress, which also met in October, was dominated by the Maximalists, but the movement to expel the Reformists failed.

WORLD FINANCES AFTER THREE YEARS OF PEACE

Growing conviction in business circles that the delay in trade revival is due primarily to lack of American co-operation with European nations—Revival abroad must precede prosperity at home

THE third year since the signing of the armistice—terminating the great war—ended last month, and the world started off on the fourth year of what all nations have sought to make a period of recovery from the effects of the long conflict. It is pertinent to inquire, therefore, as to the extent of this progress and to try to determine the degree of improvement which three full years have worked.

No comparison may be made until the present state of world affairs shall have been fixed definitely, and it may be stated at once that this cannot be done. There was never a time, indeed, when it was more difficult to judge the trend of business, let alone definitely to determine the point at which it had arrived, and so no true comparison can be made.

Nevertheless, there are certain indices to which appeal may be had, certain outstanding events to which reference may be made; and, by consideration of these available factors, it becomes possible to state with some assurance that the world has been going ahead along the road of recovery, and that today it is better off, although we may not know just how much better off, than it has been at any other time since the cessation of hostilities.

Pre-eminent among important events, of course, is the disarmament conference now in session in Washington. Whatever might be the condition of the world in other respects, such a meeting as is now being attended by the leading statesmen of great and less nations would mark a progressive, forward movement toward world welfare, which, probably, has never before been equaled. The prospective peaceful settlement of the Irish question in Great Britain, the failure of the Silesian decision to be followed by the long threatened Bolshevism in Germany, the apparent approaching collapse of Bolshevism in its great stronghold: all these are factors which, rightly considered, testify to the progress which the world has made since the conclusion of the war.

If it be complained that these are political phases of the situation and so butter no parsnips it may be answered that, while economic laws, in the long run, will coerce the strongest political rule and guide the world to the destiny they proclaim, nevertheless the arrival at an economic goal of well-being will be much expedited by co-operative rather than obstructive political factors.

The war rent the world into opposing factions but it welded together the nations comprising these factions as they had never before been united. It emphasized the truth of a principle

which had had too little acceptance: that no nation is strong enough and big enough to be self-contained. It turned the minds of American business men and financiers from national to international problems; the former were suddenly disclosed as integral parts of the latter and a broadened vision supplanted the narrow view which previously had encompassed American affairs.

President Harding's call for a disarmament conference is an exemplification of this new attitude toward universal welfare, and already there is talk of a financial conference to follow the council of arms. Not rapidly, perhaps, but certainly steadily, the notion is gaining ground that we cannot prosper if other nations do not prosper; that we alone cannot enjoy thriving business and good times. There is an economic relationship among the nations of the world which will not be denied. Politics can cast it aside for a time, as politics has done in the past, but it will assert itself again and again until its persistency wins recognition. All for one and one for all may be too altruistic a slogan for a world composed as it is at present, but something approaching this must direct the policies of the various nations, if all are not to suffer together in a common distress.

Recognition of this, though the recognition may not be consciously arrived at, is shown in such plans as the Ter Meulen scheme to finance world trade, in the idea back of the Edge law banks in this country, and in the proposals recently put forth by the Executive Committee of the Federation of British Industries, which includes such members as Sir W. Peter Rylands, of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., and Sir V. Vassar Smith, Chairman of Lloyd's Bank.

In a study of conditions affecting Great Britain they found that the trade position was due to three direct results of the war: the general impoverishment of the world, the destruction of the world's standard of value, due to inflation of currencies, and an alteration of the world's channels of trade. They foresaw two periods of difficulties to be faced: one a period during which the exchanges and tariff policies would form a hindrance to trade, and a longer period lasting until the world, by hard work and saving, had replenished the production lost in the war. Of the first period they said:

"It is evident that the measures taken must be directed to restoring stable conditions as rapidly as possible. The first point obviously is to reach stability in the exchanges. Here both national and international action will be

required. So far as trade—that is to say, interchange of goods—is concerned, it is important to remember that stability is of far greater importance than the re-establishment of any pre-war ratio with gold or any other standard of value. From this point of view deflation can be made as potent a source of instability as inflation. It seems, therefore, that we should first carefully reconsider our own currency policy which, involving as it does a period of continued inflation, must surely perpetuate instability for an indefinite period. There are strong arguments in favor of maintaining the volume of our currency at or about its present figure until prices have reached a more stable level.

"Our own currency policy cannot be decided without regard to what is being done in other countries. The experience of the last year has made this abundantly clear. Moreover, there is little doubt that international action will be required before certain countries can be induced to adopt a sound currency policy. The difficulties and sacrifices which some countries will have to face to secure stability, even at a low value of their currency, will be so great that it is probable that they will not face these difficulties until external pressure is applied.

"It would, therefore, seem useless to seek for universal agreement on this point, and—as time is of the greatest importance—wiser to approach one or more of the other great commercial powers and endeavor, in agreement with them, to impose a common currency policy on the rest of the world. The means of influence which would be at the disposal of two great commercial powers acting in agreement would be enormous, and would include, among others, the inducement provided by the extension or withholding of credit, the manipulation of the existing international debts in the case of some countries, the reparation payments, and, finally, in extreme recalcitrancy, an economic boycott."

This idea of co-operation is disclosed further in the committee's report under the heading of an attempt to develop the markets which had not been severely affected by the war by a carefully adjusted scheme of import credits worked as far as possible through ordinary commercial and financial channels. Of this the report said:

"It is obvious that such credits should be extended, in the first place, to those countries which are potential producers in the near future of goods which could be exchanged for ours, but where some temporary dislocation is preventing the purchase of our goods.

"In some cases this temporary dislocation is largely due to tariff barriers and, in these cases, the grant of credits should be made contingent upon a satisfactory preliminary settlement of such difficulties. It seems obvious that these credit facilities should not be granted in respect of countries whose productive power has been seriously impaired by the war and whose financial position is such that repayment of the credits or a real revival of trade cannot be expected within a comparatively short period.

"Credits should only be extended to countries

in this condition very carefully, and for specific objects calculated to restore their productive power, and they should not be granted, even to this limited extent, until the country concerned has taken steps to stabilize its currency and balance its budget.

"We are not in an economic condition in which we can afford to throw money away on forlorn hopes, and even if we were it is probable that we should do more harm than good to the countries concerned. Such a scheme of export credits might relieve immediate unemployment by stimulating immediate orders and assist trade through a difficult period by the development of markets to replace those temporarily or permanently lost to us in Europe, and, by this means, would also strengthen our position in the eventual competition for a restricted world trade, when more normal conditions return."

Statistical testimony of the slowly improving condition of the world can be found in the trade records of the commercial nations. Figures compiled by the First Federal Foreign Banking Association of New York illustrate the point well. Three such tables are presented [see next page], and of them the corporation says:

"England's export in September, measured in gold values, was 25 per cent. better than in June. Roughly calculating the volume of merchandise, it was a third larger. It will be seen that England's imports and exports have both increased since the middle of the year and, what is perhaps an even better indication of the trend in world trade, the re-export business has increased. This is the merchant-trade England does between other countries. Its volume is concededly dependent to some extent on other general trade, but rises and falls primarily for reasons of its own. Matching England's commerce during recent months, and showing very nearly the same tendencies, is our own. It is not easy to avoid some disappointment over the September figures of the sales of our own products abroad. Analysis of the preliminary figures of foreign sales of cereals, cotton, meat, mineral oil, &c., shows that the quantity of these sold by us in September was 4 per cent. greater than in January. Taking all of these together, we sold for \$171,450,271 what would have brought \$253,993,480 if they had brought the same price as the January shipments brought. What we sold in January brought \$243,432,706. The rest of our exports were, therefore, \$398,930,303 in January and \$147,848,751 in September. We have to recognize the continuous fall in the export of the products of American industry since the first of the year, due not only to the decline of all international demands, to exchange difficulties, and to the continued high average of prices of our manufactures, but to the fact that many manufacturing and financial concerns that were active in foreign markets, with sales organizations and facilities of banking, have practically abandoned that field.

"If a part of the great aggregates shown above for 'loss of business' was not due to the decrease in the dollar totals of trade through fall in prices we would see that they would

mean a drop in sales equal to the ordinary production of at least 350,000 men in the manufacturing industries and nearly 500,000 in all our production, which unemployment of that seriousness plainly indicated. Even allowing for fall in prices, we can see 300,000 to 425,000 persons out of work because of the drop in our

exports, and our national business situation crippled not only by the loss of the foreign sales but by the decrease in retail purchasing by them, and concurrent disorganization of prosperity in our home markets. It is a plain demonstration of what foreign trade means to the country. We, for our part,

do not look for any sustained and substantial rally (beyond the seasonal increase of activity which get special emphasis during a period of depression) until we in America either benefit by a revival of whole world conditions or arrive at some adjustment, which it is hard to figure out now, to a condition of permanently reduced exportation. Such an adjustment might be practically equivalent to decadence.

"Anything that shows a revival of the whole world's economic wealth is especially hopeful for this country. It might be regarded as a kind of absurdity to raise the question whether, as a matter of fact, the United States is not, at the moment, averaging a little behind most of the world in recovery. We have thought ourselves the best positioned country of all, and in a positive comparison we probably are. We have great wealth and great potentialities of production power. But the dynamic economies of business organization in this era of the world have to be considered relatively always: Many countries that are on a much lower, weaker and more primitive level of business organizations depended on moment be nearer their normal than we are to ours. Highly organized business communities suffer more from depression than others. The normal working of their organizations depend on the others. It is entirely possible that, relatively, we are at this moment lagging in recovery. The wish is father to the thought, in a way, because our situation is much more hopeful as we see foreign recovery, upon which we can base steady future gains."

TABLE A—ENGLAND'S TRADE IN DOLLARS

	All Imports	Home Products Exports	Volume Index	Imports Resold
July	\$627,000,000	\$527,000,000	100.0	\$68,714,000
August	557,000,000	418,000,000	80.6	48,659,000
September	535,000,000	412,000,000	80.4	46,858,000
October	517,000,000	387,000,000	79.5	55,662,000
November	499,000,000	412,000,000	92.8	45,377,000
December	500,000,000	339,000,000	84.7	44,577,000
January	431,000,000	342,000,000	90.8	35,257,000
February	374,000,000	263,000,000	77.8	30,895,000
March	364,000,000	259,000,000	75.6	34,574,000
April	354,000,000	235,000,000	71.2	33,580,000
May	338,000,000	168,000,000	51.0	28,345,000
June	335,000,000	145,000,000	45.1	26,982,000
July	293,000,000	156,000,000	48.5	35,540,000
August	322,000,000	186,000,000	57.5	36,389,000
September	324,000,000	205,000,000	62.2	31,972,075

Note: The "Volume Index" is based on the figure for "Home Products Exported" divided by one of the recognized British indexes of wholesale prices.

TABLE B—TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

	All Imports	Our Own Exports	Volume Index	Imports Resold
July	\$537,170,351	\$640,417,274	..	\$10,964,553
August	513,550,615	571,615,522	..	7,437,085
September	363,666,710	595,072,602	..	10,218,655
October	334,263,803	742,050,664	..	9,677,906
November	321,181,080	666,749,693	..	9,956,318
December	266,112,819	708,659,292	..	12,193,223
January	208,814,382	642,363,009	100	12,377,149
February	214,525,137	473,692,855	82	15,604,212
March	251,988,741	369,462,711	69	17,348,424
April	254,571,024	329,854,124	66	10,060,863
May	204,910,865	322,467,960	76	7,278,419
June	185,679,893	329,773,625	82	7,184,787
July	178,636,711	314,204,393	..	6,504,181
August	194,767,564	365,559,604	..	6,375,695
September	179,282,568	319,299,022	..	10,148,133

Note: The "Volume Index" above is a carefully worked-out comparison, based on January, for about two-thirds of this country's exports.

TABLE C—WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN LOSING

	Monthly Exports All Our Products	Products of Our Manufacturing Industries	Monthly Loss of Business, All Products	Monthly Loss of Business Manufactures
January..	\$642,363,009	\$367,991,716		
February	473,692,855	263,554,236	\$168,670,154	\$104,337,480
March ..	369,462,711	190,263,647	272,900,288	177,728,069
April ..	329,854,124	170,923,254	312,508,875	197,068,460
May	322,467,960	140,507,330	319,895,049	227,484,383
June	229,773,625	140,040,408	312,589,374	227,951,308
July	314,204,393	121,590,277	328,158,616	246,401,439
August....	365,559,604	123,105,277	276,803,405	244,886,439
September	319,299,022	119,591,007	323,063,987	248,400,709

Total..\$3,462,337,654 \$1,637,361,801 \$2,314,589,748 \$1,674,258,287

Note: The figures of "Monthly Exports of All Our Products" will not agree with trade totals as usually given because they include only products of the United States, while trade totals usually include re-exported stuff.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

Full record of the month's sessions dealing with important problems of the Far East—Text of the four-power treaty that assures the status quo in the Pacific—Progress toward withdrawal of foreign powers from China—Naval agreement on 5-5-3 ratio

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 20, 1921]

THE Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament made memorable strides during the month under review, especially in reference to the settlement of Pacific problems. The Committee on Naval Armaments also was in constant session, and on Dec. 15 the State Department gave out details of the results. The announced agreement between the delegates of Great Britain, the United States and Japan on a 5-5-3 ratio for capital ships was considered—apart from the four-power treaty on the Pacific—to be the most important result achieved by the conference. Though Japan had accepted in principle the sweeping plan for naval reduction which had electrified the world, she had been unwilling to sacrifice one of her capital ships—the Mutsu—which under the American plan was scheduled for scrapping, and the Japanese attitude, partly due to sentimental reasons (the Mutsu had been built in part by popular subscriptions), had been the main obstacle to agreement in the committee.

The official announcement giving the main provisions of the accepted compact explained how this obstacle had been finally overcome. Japan was to retain the Mutsu; to offset this she had consented to scrap the Setsu, one of her older ships. This change left Japan with a total capital ship allotment of 313,000 tons, as compared with 299,700 tons under the original proposal, or an increase of 13,600 tons. The retention of the Mutsu, moreover, gave Japan two post-Jutland ships of the latest de-

sign. To preserve the ratio with the other powers, it had been agreed that the United States should complete two ships—the Colorado and the Washington—still in process of construction, and should scrap two older vessels—the North Dakota and the Delaware. This would leave the United States with the same number of ships—eighteen—first assigned by the agreed ratio, but representing a total of 525,850 tons, as against the 500,650 previously suggested. Three of the ships would be post-Jutland ships of the Maryland type. The British Government was to construct two new vessels, not to exceed 35,000 tons each, English measurement (37,000, American measurement), to offset the fact that she possessed no post-Jutland ships except one Hood. She was, however, to scrap four more of the King George V. type, leaving her twenty capital ships, as against twenty-two under the first American proposal. This arrangement would place the British capital ship tonnage at 582,050 instead of 604,450, and would give Britain an excess of 56,200 tons over the United States; but that difference was deemed to be fair in view of the age of some of the British ships retained. The 5-5-3 ratio in replacement tonnage stands thus: United States, 525,000 tons; Great Britain, 525,000 tons; Japan, 315,000 tons. A further feature of the new agreement is that the status quo in respect to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific is to be maintained.

The foregoing agreement was ex-

plicitly stated to be contingent on a suitable arrangement with France and Italy. An unexpected obstacle, however, arose in the case of France, whose delegates asked a ratio virtually double that proposed. Secretary Hughes had proposed a ratio of 1.75 for France and Italy (Italy having already agreed to the same ratio as that determined for France), and this had been backed by the British, Japanese and Italian delegates. M. Albert Sarraut, however, held out for an aggregate of 350,000 tons, to be constructed on a replacement basis from 1925 on, with a view to completing ten ships of 35,000 tons each by the end of the ten-year naval holiday proposed. To this plan Secretary Hughes found strong objection, and a virtual deadlock followed. The American Government at length decided to lay the issue before Premier Briand himself. Long cablegrams were exchanged between Hughes and Briand, with the result that the latter accepted the 1.75 ratio suggested by Mr. Hughes, but only on condition that France should have a strong quota of submarines and auxiliary craft. The complete replacement ratio for all the five powers as thus adjusted was:

Country.	Replacement		Per-
	Tonnage.	Ratio.	centage.
United States	525,000	5	100
Great Britain	525,000	5	100
Japan	315,000	3	60
France	175,000	1.75	35
Italy	175,000	1.75	35

Fully equal in importance to the naval ratio agreement was the conclusion of the four-power treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan on their respective positions in the Pacific. This treaty was announced and read by Senator Lodge at the session of the Far Eastern Committee on Dec. 10. It pledged the four powers named to accept mediation in case of dispute regarding any of their Pacific possessions, and to take concerted action in case of any threat or aggression made by an outside power. The new pact was to remain in force for ten years. Under its terms the Anglo-Japanese alliance was automatically abrogated.

The treaty was formally signed on Dec. 13, after the signing, on the preceding day, of a special agreement between the United States and Japan on mandate islands, especially Yap.

The many vexed problems affecting China were thoroughly thrashed out before the Far Eastern Committee in continuing sessions. Fiscal affairs, notably customs revenues, were referred to a subcommittee for study and report, following a plea by Dr. Wellington Koo for an increase of China's customs tariff from 5 to 12½ per cent. The thorny problem of extraterritoriality was referred to an International Commission to study intensively and report upon within one year. The Chinese delegation won a tangible victory in the case of foreign Post Offices on Chinese soil, a resolution for withdrawal by all the powers concerned, including Japan, being passed at the session of Dec. 12. The question of leased territories proved to be beset with special difficulties. After a long argument by Dr. Koo, Great Britain, France and Japan all agreed to withdraw in part; Great Britain, however, insisted on retaining Kowloon, to protect Hongkong, and Japan on holding Dairen and Port Arthur.

A separate conference between the Chinese and Japanese on the question of the return of Shantung to China began Dec. 1 and continued in almost complete privacy for weeks. The crux of the whole controversy—the return of the Shantung Railway—brought a final deadlock. The Chinese refused the Japanese offer of joint control; on the other hand, their proposal to buy back the railroad on a three-year payment basis was refused by the Japanese. On Dec. 19 the Japanese agreed to a ten-year payment plan, but made other demands that China could not accept. At the seventeenth session, on Dec. 20, the two delegations adjourned sine die to await further instructions from their Governments. The official proceedings of the conference, from Nov. 22 to the time when these pages went to press, were as follows:

CHINESE QUESTIONS

The Committee of the Whole on the Pacific and Far East decided on Nov. 2 to appoint a subcommittee to study Chinese fiscal affairs, notably the question of China's customs revenue. When the full committee met on Nov. 23, Dr. Wellington Koo gave a brief summary of the history of the Chinese tariff treaties and set forth the reason why China wished to have her customs quota raised from the established 5 per cent. to 12½ per cent. He made it clear, however, that China had no wish to interfere with the existing administration of

maritime customs, or with the application of customs revenue to the liquidation of foreign loans guaranteed by this revenue. The official report of the Chinese representations, which were referred to the subcommittee above mentioned, is as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met [Nov. 23] in the Columbus Room of the Pan American Building. All the members were present except Signor Meda and Baron Shidehara. Mr. Hanihara was present for the first time as one of the Japanese delegates.

The topic of discussion was the customs revenue of China. Mr. Koo, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, made a statement as follows:

First of all, he emphasized that the Chinese Government had no desire to interfere with the present administration of maritime customs or with devotion of the proceeds of the customs revenue to the liquidation of various foreign loans secured thereon. A brief account was given by him of the origin and history of the Chinese treaty tariffs. Prior to 1842, he said, China enjoyed the full right of levying customs duties. In 1842, however, and in the subsequent years after having made treaties with Great Britain, France and the United States, a limitation upon this right was for the first time imposed.

The rule of 5 per cent. ad valorem was thereby established, and the rates were based upon the current prices then prevailing. In 1858, as prices of commodities began to drop and the 5 per cent. actually collected appeared to be somewhat in excess of the 5 per cent. prescribed, a revision was asked for by the treaty powers. A revision was accordingly made. Later, however, as prices mounted, no request for a revision was forthcoming, and the Chinese Government on its part did not press for a revision, seeing that the revenue then collected from other sources was not inadequate to meet its requirements.

But the fact was that the customs rate then prevailing was much less than the 5 per cent. stipulated for. It was only in 1902 that a revision was made in order to afford sufficient funds to meet the Chinese obligations arising out of the Boxer protocol. In that tariff the rate was calculated on the basis of the average prices of 1897 to 1899. In 1912 an attempt was made by the Chinese Government to have another revision, but it failed, owing to the



Map of section of China involved in the Arms Conference discussion. The railway from Tsinan-fu to Kiao-chau is the portion of the Shantung concession which the Japanese are least willing to hand over to China

difficulty of securing the unanimous consent of sixteen or seventeen powers. It was only after six years of long negotiations that in 1918 another revision was effected. The tariff of 1918 is in force and yields only 3½ per cent.

Mr. Koo proposed to restore to China the right to fix and to differentiate the import tariff rates, but as it appeared hardly possible to establish a new régime all at once, he said that full autonomy should be restored to China after a certain period to be agreed upon. In the meantime China would impose a maximum rate and would like to enjoy full freedom within a maximum, such as the right of differentiation among the different classes of commodities. But as the present financial condition of the Chinese Government was such as to require some immediate relief, it was proposed that on and after Jan. 1, 1922, the Chinese import tariff be raised to 12½ per cent., as it was stipulated for in the treaty with the United States, Great Britain and Japan.

Among the reasons he gave in support of the proposals of the Chinese delegation, the following is the gist:

1. The existing customs régime in China constitutes an infringement of China's sovereign right to fix the tariff rates at her own discretion.

2. It deprives China of the power to make reciprocity arrangements with the foreign powers. While all foreign goods imported into China pay only 5 per cent., Chinese goods exported to foreign countries have to pay duties of a maximum rate. Examples were given to show this lack of reciprocity.

3. It constitutes a serious impediment upon the economic development of China.

4. As the system now stands, there is only one uniform rate and no differentiation of rates. The disadvantage is obvious, because it does not take into account the economic and social needs of the Chinese people. China is in need of machinery and metals for which China would like to impose a tariff rate even lower than the 5 per cent. For luxuries, such as cigars and cigarettes, the tax ought, perhaps, to be heavy in order to prevent their injurious effects upon the morals and social habits of the people. As it stands, therefore, the Chinese tariff is not scientific at all.

5. The present tariff has occasioned a serious loss of revenue upon the Chinese Exchequer. The item of customs duties is an important one in the budget of nearly all countries. For instance, Great Britain raises 12 per cent. of its revenue from customs duties; France, 15 per cent., and the United States raised 35 per cent. from this source before the World War. But the customs revenue in the Chinese budget as it now stands becomes a comparatively insignificant factor.

6. The present régime makes it exceedingly difficult for the Chinese Government

to ask for a revision, as was shown in past experiences in 1912 and in 1918.

7. Even if the effective 5 per cent. should be levied, the revenue resulting therefrom will still be hardly adequate to meet the requirements of the Chinese Government, as the Government has many functions to perform in matters of modern education, sanitation, public utilities, &c.

After general discussion of the customs tariff question, this subject was transferred to the subcommittee agreed upon at the meeting held Nov. 22, the members of which were announced to be as follows:

Chairman—Senator Underwood, United States of America.

Belgium—Baron de Cartier; M. Cattier, alternate.

British Empire—Sir Robert Borden; Mr. Lampson, alternate.

China—Dr. Wellington Koo.

France—M. Sarraut.

Italy—Senator Albertini; Signor Vincenzo Felletti, alternate.

Japan—Mr. Hanihara.

Netherlands—Jonkheer Beelaerts von Blokland.

Portugal—Captain Ernesto Vasconcellos.

The meeting of the full Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions adjourned until Nov. 25, 1921. The subcommittee will meet upon the call of Senator Underwood as Chairman.

IMPORTANT COMMITTEE MEETING

At the meeting of the Pacific and Far Eastern Committee held on the morning of Nov. 25, two momentous topics arose for discussion, namely, extraterritorial courts and the alien Post Office system established by various powers in China. The official communique opened with a categorical denial by Chairman Hughes of a reported clash between Mr. Balfour and the American delegation over an American proposal to keep a record of the committee's proceedings. The communique ran thus:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met in the Pan American Building Friday, Nov. 25, at 11 A. M. All the delegates were present except Signor Meda, Baron Shidehara, M. Sarraut and Lord Lee.

At the opening of the session Mr. Hughes expressed his great regret at the appearance of a report in a Washington paper this morning of alleged happenings at the last meeting of the committee. The report of antagonism with Mr. Balfour was not only untrue, but grotesque, and did him the grossest injustice; Mr. Hughes could not imagine how such a rumor got into circulation. Mr. Balfour expressed his great appreciation of



CROWN PRINCE HIROHITO

*Proclaimed Regent of Japan on account of
his father's failing health*

Mr. Hughes's statement. He had never doubted that Mr. Hughes would take the view he had just stated, but the manner and words in which that view had been put before the committee had deeply moved him and he wished to express his thanks.

After a discussion it was decided to appoint a subcommittee to investigate and report in regard to the question of extraterritoriality in China. In regard to this subject Dr. Chung Hui-wang, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of China, made a statement which will appear later.

The committee then discussed the question of foreign Post Office in China, the Chinese Minister, Mr. Sze, making a statement which will subsequently be made public.

The committee then adjourned to meet on Saturday morning, Nov. 26.

DR. CHUNG ON EXTRATERRITORIALITY

The statement presented at this meeting by Dr. Chung Hui-wang on extraterritoriality detailed the conditions created by that system, and ended with a plea that action be taken to improve and eventually to abolish this embarrassing application of foreign privilege. Dr. Chung said:

Extraterritoriality in China dates back almost to the beginning of treaty relations with foreign countries. It was clearly laid down in the Treaty of 1844 between the United States and China, and a similar provision has since been inserted in the treaties with other powers. Extraterritorial rights were granted at a time when there were only five treaty ports—that is, places where foreigners could trade and reside. Now there are fifty such places and an equal number of places open to foreign trade on China's own initiative.

This means an ever-increasing number of persons within her territory over whom she is almost powerless. This anomalous condition has become a serious problem with which the local administration is confronted, and if the impairment of the territorial and administrative integrity of China is not to be continued the matter demands immediate solution. I should like to point out a few of the serious objections to the extraterritorial system. In the first place, it is in derogation of China's sovereign rights and is regarded by the Chinese people as a national humiliation.

There is a multiplicity of courts in one and the same locality and the interrelation of such courts has given rise to a legal situation which is perplexing both to the trained lawyer and to the layman.

The disadvantage arising from the uncertainty of the law: The general rule is that the law to be applied in a given case is the law of the defendant's nationality, and so

in a commercial transaction between, say, X and Y of different nationalities, the rights and liabilities of the parties vary according as X sues Y first or Y sues X first.

When causes of action, civil or criminal, arise in which foreigners are defendants, it is necessary for adjudication that they shall be carried to the nearest consular court, which may be many miles away, and so it often happens that it is practically impossible to obtain the attendance of the necessary witnesses or to produce other necessary evidence.

Finally, it is a further disadvantage to the Chinese that the foreigners in China under cover of extraterritoriality claim immunity from local taxes and excises which the Chinese are required to pay. Sir Robert Hart, who worked and lived in China for many years, has this to say in his work, "These From the Land of Sinim": "The extraterritoriality stipulation may have relieved the native official of some troublesome duties, but it has always been felt to be offensive and humiliating and has ever a disintegrating effect, leading the people on one hand to despise their own Government and officials, and on the other to envy and dislike the foreigner withdrawn from native control."

PROGRESS TOWARD REFORM

Until the system is abolished or substantially modified it is inexpedient for China to open her entire territory to foreign trade and commerce. The evils of the existing system have been so obvious that Great Britain in 1902, Japan and the United States in 1903 and Sweden in 1908 agreed, subject to certain conditions, to relinquish their extraterritorial rights. Twenty years have elapsed since the conclusion of these treaties, and while it is a matter of opinion as to whether or not the state of China's laws has attained the standard to which she is expected to conform, it is impossible to deny that China has made great progress on the path of legal reform.

A few facts will suffice for the present. A law codification committee for the compilation and revision of laws has been sitting since 1904. Five codes have been prepared, some of which have already been put into force. First, the civil code (still in course of revision). Second, criminal code (in force since 1912). Third, code of civil procedure. Fourth, code of criminal procedure, both of which have just been promulgated. Fifth, commercial code, part of which has been put into force. These codes have been prepared with the assistance of foreign experts and are based mainly on the principles of modern jurisprudence. Among the numerous supplementary laws may be especially mentioned a law of 1918, called "Rules for the Application of Foreign Law," which deals with matters relating to private international law. Under these rules foreign law is given ample application.

Then there is a new system of law courts, established in 1910. The Judges are all modern trained lawyers, and no one can be appointed a Judge unless he has attained the requisite legal training. These are some of the reforms which have been carried out on our part. I venture to say that the China of today is not what she was twenty years ago, when Great Britain encouraged her to reform her judicial system, and a fortiori she is not what she was eighty years ago, when she first granted extraterritorial rights to the treaty powers.

I have made these observations not for the purpose of asking for an immediate and complete abolition of extraterritoriality, but for the purpose of inviting the powers to co-operate with China in taking initial steps toward improving and eventually abolishing the existing system, which is admitted on all hands to be unsatisfactory both to foreigners and to Chinese. It is gratifying to learn of the sympathetic attitude of the powers toward this question, as expressed by the various delegations at a previous meeting of this committee.

The Chinese delegation, therefore, asks that the powers now represented in this conference agree to relinquish their extraterritorial rights in China at the end of a definite period. Meanwhile, the Chinese delegation proposes that the powers represented at this conference will at a date to be agreed upon designate representatives to enter into negotiations with China for the adoption of a plan for a progressive modification and ultimate abolition of the system of extraterritoriality in China, the carrying out of which plan is to be distributed over the above-mentioned period.

PLEA FOR POSTAL CONTROL

The official text of Dr. Sze's appeal for abolishing the alien postal system in China—presented at the committee meeting of Nov. 25—is as follows:

As was referred to by Mr. Koo the other day in his remarks before the committee, China has suffered and is now suffering not only from limitations upon her territorial and administrative integrity, to which she has been led to consent, but also from open violations of her rights as a territorial sovereign, for which not even a color of contractual right can be claimed.

Among these violations are the stationing of foreign troops and railway guards at various points, the installations of wire and wireless electrical communications, the maintenance of foreign Post Offices, and so-called police boxes. I shall first speak of the foreign postal services maintained upon Chinese soil.

China requests that the powers assembled in the conference agree at once to abolish all postal services now maintained by them in China. She bases her request upon the following propositions:

1. That China has organized and is now conducting a postal system covering the entire country and maintaining relations with all foreign countries adequate to meet all requirements. The transmission of postal matter is a Government monopoly, the first paragraph of the postal statutes of Oct.



(© Harris & Ewing)

MASANAO HANIHARA

Japanese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has taken Baron Shidehara's place in the conference

2, 1921, reading: "The postal business is exclusively conducted by the Government."
2. That the existence of these foreign Post Offices interferes with and makes more difficult the development of this system, and deprives the system of a revenue which legally and equitably should belong to it.

3. That the maintenance by foreign Governments of Post Offices in China is in direct violation of the latter's territorial and administrative integrity, and rests upon no treaty or other legal rights.

Early in the '60s of the last century foreign Post Offices began to open branches and agencies in the particular treaty ports of China. The opening of these offices was not based on any treaty provision or concession. Their existence and gradual in-

crease was merely tolerated by the Chinese Government.

About the same time a regular service for the carriage of mails was established on foreign lines in connection with the customs, operating chiefly between the numerous ports on the coast of China and those far up the Yangtse River. This service continued to work and improved its machinery year by year. By imperial decree of March 20, 1896, this system was erected into a distinct Chinese postal system, and placed under the general direction of the Inspector General of Customs. Finally, by imperial decree of May 28, 1911, the system was taken from under the administration of the Inspector General of Customs and erected into an independent system operating directly under the Minister of Posts and Communications. Since that date the system has operated wholly as one of the administrative services of the Chinese Government.

On March 1, 1914, China gave her adherence to the Universal Postal Convention, and since Sept. 1 of that year China has continued as a member in good standing of the Universal Postal Union.

As the Universal Postal Union does not recognize the right of any country to maintain Post Offices in another country which is a member of the postal union, the Chinese delegation brought up the question of alien establishments in China at the Universal Postal Congress, opened at Madrid on Oct. 1, 1920. The question of their withdrawal was, however, regarded as within the purview of their respective Foreign Offices, and no definite decision was reached. A measure was passed, however, to the effect that only those foreign postal agencies could be considered as within the union as were established in a foreign country not itself within the Universal Postal Union, of which China has been a member since Sept. 1, 1914.

CHINESE POSTAL SYSTEM

The Chinese Post Office maintains the cheapest general service in the world. In spite of these very cheap rates and very high transportation costs of maintaining long courier lines where no modern facilities are available, the surplus of receipts over expenditures has been steadily increasing. All profits are being put into improvements on the service, particularly in new offices and extension of the service to the smaller villages inland. Its income in 1920 was \$12,679,121.98 and its expenditures \$10,467,053.07, thus leaving a surplus for the year's operation of \$2,212,068.91.

Senders of registered articles, parcels, insured letters and express articles are entitled to claim indemnity in case of loss by the Post Office. Although in 1920 over 37,000,000 of such articles were posted, less than 400 claims for indemnity were made, the percentage being about 1 in 90,000.

There has been a decrease of 30 per cent.

in the number of insured letters posted in the last four years, though other mail matter has increased by 50 per cent. in the same time. This is considered as indicating a growing public confidence in the other non-insured services.

The Chinese Post Office has over 3,000 linguist employees, and every office serving places of foreign residence in China is amply supplied from this large number of linguists to cope with all foreign correspondence.

The efficiency of the Chinese postal service is further guaranteed by sturdy civil service methods in appointments of staff. Employees enter only after a fair examination, both mental and physical. Postmasters, even in the larger cities, are selected from the most efficient of the employees, never from outside the service. The penalty for invoking political aid is dismissal and in practice is never done.

The Post Office functions under the same leadership over the entire country. In time of local disturbance and revolution the revolutionists have recognized the Post Office as a necessity to the welfare of the community and have always permitted it to continue its functions without change of staff or control.

Notwithstanding the disturbed condition of affairs in China during recent years, this system has been steadily developed since it was placed wholly under the direction and control of Chinese authorities.

Mail matter posted has increased approximately 300 per cent. since 1911 (from 126,539,228 to 400,886,935 in 1920). Parcels posted have increased from 154,740 in 1911 to 4,216,200 in 1920.

There is now scarcely a Chinese village which is not served either by a Post Office, agency or minor postal establishment. Major establishments (offices and agencies) have increased from 9,103 in 1917 to 10,469 in 1920. Minor establishments (town box offices and rural stations) have increased from 4,890 in 1917 to 20,856 in 1920. This makes a total of 31,325 places now provided with postal facilities, more than double the number of places served four years ago.

Mr. Willoughby, in his careful study, "Foreign Rights and Interests in China," in speaking of this system says:

"At the present time (1920) the postal service in China is one for which the Government deserves great credit. Generally speaking, the service is efficiently operated and with reasonable financial success, notwithstanding the fact that China has been obliged to acquiesce in the operation within her borders of some sixty or more foreign Post Offices."

FOREIGN POST OFFICES

Notwithstanding the fact that China now has an efficient postal system, certain foreign Governments continue to maintain

Post Offices of this order in China. At the present time Great Britain, France, America and Japan are maintaining and operating offices of this kind at a large number of places. The alien postal establishments

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

WITH CARE!

in China as they stand at present are as follows: Great Britain, 12; Japan, 124; France, 13; the United States, 1. The Japanese establishments are classed as follows: First class offices, 7; second class offices, 23; third class offices, 4; unclassified offices, 10; suboffices, 3; box offices, 1; agencies, 33; letter boxes, 33; field Post Offices, 10.

These Post Offices have their own postage stamps and operate in every respect in direct competition with the Chinese system. It is to be noted, moreover, that these foreign offices are located at the chief centres of population, industry and commerce. They are thus in a position where they can so to speak, skim the cream of the postal business, since they are under no obligations to, and, in fact, do not maintain offices at unimportant points.

It is submitted that if the necessity ever existed for the maintenance of foreign Post Offices in China, this necessity has now passed away. As early as April 20, 1901, the American Minister at Peking reported to his Government (United States foreign relations, 1902, p. 225):

"I have given such investigation as I have been able and report that in my judgment foreign Post Offices in China, except in Shanghai, are not a necessity, because the Chinese postal service, under the imperial maritime customs, is everywhere giving satisfactory service and is rapid

ad effectively increasing and extending to the interior."

More recently the Commercial Hand Book of China, from which we have already quoted, says: "The developments of the

[American Cartoon]



—New York World

"SOMETHING JUST AS GOOD, SIR"

sents a most direct violation of her territorial and administrative integrity. It is one, moreover, that is peculiarly objectionable, since it is a constant, visible reminder to the Chinese people that they are not accorded the consideration given to other peoples. This necessarily has a tendency to lower the prestige of the Chinese Government in the eyes of her people and to make more difficult the already difficult problem of maintaining a Government that will command the respect and ready obedience of her population. From whatever standpoint viewed, the continuance of these foreign Post Offices upon Chinese soil should, therefore, be disapproved.

The personnel of the subcommittee appointed to study the question of extraterritoriality was embodied in the communique of Nov. 26. The members of this subcommittee as announced were: United States, Senator Lodge; British Empire, Senator Pearce (the Australian delegate); France, M. Sarraut; Italy, Senator Ricci; Japan, Mr. Hanihara; Belgium, Chevalier de Wouters; China, Dr. Chung Hui-wang; Holland, Jonkheer van Karnebeek; Portugal, Captain Vasconcellos.

TO WITHDRAW POST OFFICES

While the subcommittee named above was still studying the problems connected with the elimination or modification of extraterritoriality the full committee met again on Nov. 26 and agreed in principle that the Chinese plea for withdrawal of the alien Post Office system should be granted as soon as such a change was justified by the conditions. The official communique read as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met in the Pan American Building Saturday, Nov. 26, 1921. The committee discussed the matter of foreign Post Offices in China, and it was the sense of the committee that there should be a withdrawal of the foreign Post Offices in China as soon as it appeared that conditions warranted. A subcommittee composed of Senator Lodge, Sir Auckland Geddes, Mr. Viviani, Mr. Hanihara and Mr. Sze was constituted to draw up a resolution to this effect for submission to the full committee at its next session.

In conclusion China wishes to point out that, wholly apart from the financial loss suffered by her as a result of the existence of foreign Post Offices on her soil and the obstacles thereby placed in the way of the development of her own postal system, the maintenance of such offices repre-

This decision was further confirmed by the committee at its session of Nov. 28. The report of the subcommittee empowered to consider

the postal situation was discussed and unanimously adopted. The only hitch that occurred was the Japanese delegates' inability to subscribe to any definite date for the agreed withdrawal until after consultation with the Japanese Government. In the final resolution, which sanctioned withdrawal, therefore, the date was temporarily left blank. The official communique reporting the action taken is given herewith:

The committee received the report of the Subcommittee on Foreign Post Offices in China and adopted it unanimously, the date on which it shall come into force and effect being deferred for public announcement in the near future. The report as adopted is as follows:

"Recognizing the justice of the desire expressed by the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of foreign postal agencies in China, save or except in leased territories or as otherwise specifically provided by treaty, it is resolved:

"1. The four powers having such postal agencies agree to their abandonment, subject to the following conditions:

"(a) That an efficient Chinese postal service is maintained.

"(b) That an assurance is given by the Chinese Government that they contemplate no change in the present postal administration so far as the status of the foreign Co-Director General is concerned.

"2. (a) To enable China and the powers concerned to make the necessary dispositions, this arrangement shall come into force and effect not later than ———.

"(b) Pending the complete withdrawal of foreign postal agencies, the four powers concerned severally undertake to afford full facilities to the Chinese customs authorities to examine in those agencies all postal matter (excepting ordinary letters, whether registered or not, which upon examination appear plainly to contain only written matter) passing through them, with a view to ascertaining whether they contain articles which are dutiable or contraband or which otherwise contravene the customs regulations or laws of China."

The committee received the statement of the subcommittee on extraterritoriality, reporting progress, and a statement from the Chinese delegation asking for the removal of the various establishments placed in China

by foreign powers without treaty sanction, such as foreign troops, police boxes and telegraph and wireless stations. The committee decided to begin the discussion of these questions at its next meeting. The committee also decided that there should be constituted a standing subcommittee on drafting to be composed of a delegate appointed by each power. The committee then adjourned to meet Nov. 29, 1921.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXTRATERRITORIALITY

At the session of Nov. 29 the Chinese delegation had the satisfaction of seeing the whole vexed question of extraterritoriality referred to an international commission for intensive study and report within one year. Though this was far from being as sweeping a victory as that won in the case of alien Post Offices, it gave earnest of an eventual solution on terms of equity, and it was subscribed to heartily by the Chinese representatives. The action taken by the committee was embodied in the official communique printed below:

The committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions met in the Pan American

[English Cartoon]



—Evening News, London

WASHINGTON'S LITTLE HATCHET

MR. WORLD: "Never mind about the cherry tree, George, but get busy with this bunch of limbs here!"

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

Oh, look what's growing out of the junk pile!

Building, Washington, D. C., Tuesday Nov. 29, 1921. All the delegates were present except Sir Robert Borden, Ambassador Ricci, Signor Meda and Ambassador Shidehara.

Senator Lodge, whose report on behalf of the Subcommittee on Foreign Post Offices in China was accepted yesterday, today presented resolutions of the Subcommittee on Extraterritorial Rights in China, which were unanimously adopted by the committee, as follows:

Resolution for the establishment of a commission to investigate and report upon extraterritoriality and the administration of justice in China.

The representatives of the powers herein-after named, participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armament—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal—

Having taken note of the fact that in the treaty between Great Britain and China, dated Sept. 5, 1902, in the treaty between the United States of America and China, dated Oct. 8, 1903, and in the treaty between Japan and China, dated Oct. 8, 1903, these several powers have agreed to give every assistance toward the attainment by the Chinese Government of its expressed desire to reform its judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, and have declared that they are also "prepared to relinquish extraterritorial rights when satisfied that the state

of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other conditions warrant" them in so doing;

Being sympathetically disposed toward furthering in this regard the aspiration to which the Chinese delegation gave expression on Nov. 16, 1921, to the effect that "immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed";

Considering that any determination in regard to such action as might be appropriate to this end must depend upon ascertainment and appreciation of complicated states of fact in regard to the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, which the conference is not in a position to determine;

Have resolved,

That the Governments of the powers above named shall establish a commission (to which each of such Governments shall appoint one member) to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several powers above named in their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality;

That the commission herein contemplated shall be constituted within three months after the adjournment of the conference, with detailed arrangements to be hereafter agreed upon by the Governments of the powers above named, and shall be instructed to submit its report and resolutions within one year after the first meeting of the committee;

That each of the powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or to reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the committee herein contemplated, but that in no case shall any of the said powers make its acceptance of all or any part of such recommendations either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favor, benefit or immunity, whether political or economic.

Additional resolution:

That the non-signatory powers, having by treaty extraterritorial rights in China, may accede to the resolution affecting extraterritoriality and the administration of justice in China by depositing within three months after the adjournment of the conference a written notice of accession with the Government of the United States for

communication by it to each of the signatory powers.

Additional resolution:

That China, having taken note of the resolutions affecting the establishment of a commission to investigate and report upon extraterritoriality and the administration of justice in China, expresses its satisfaction with the sympathetic disposition of the powers hereinbefore named in regard to the aspirations of the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of extraterritoriality from China, and declares its intention to appoint a representative who shall have the right to sit as a member of the said committee, it being understood that China shall be deemed free to accept or to reject any or all of the recommendations of the commission. Furthermore, China is prepared to co-operate in the work of this commission and to afford to it every possible facility for the successful accomplishment of its tasks.

The foregoing action of the Far East committee regarding extraterritoriality was taken in conformity with the so-called "Root formula"—the resolution drafted by Elihu Root at an earlier session expressing the main powers' desire and intention to work for China's sovereignty and welfare. Basing his arguments upon this formula, Dr. Sze, the Chinese Minister, went one step further at the same session in proposing to the committee that all foreign troops and foreign telegraph, wireless and police wire systems be withdrawn from Chinese soil. Dr. Sze presented a long summary, part of which he had already given at the preceding session, of the whole situation in China regarding the presence of alien troops and communications.

ALIEN TROOPS IN CHINA

It is estimated that the foreign troops in China at present number about 10,000, distributed in part as follows:

In Peking: United States, 14 officers, 270 men; Belgians, 1 officer, 19 men; British, 8 officers, 170 men; French, 4 officers, 105 men; Italians, 1 officer, 30 men; Japanese, 14 officers, 273 men; Netherlands, 1 officer, 76 men.

In Tientsin: United States, 38 officers, 910 men; British, 24 officers, 707 men; French, 20 officers, 945 men; Japanese, 40 officers, 666 men.

In Shanghai: British, 1 officer, 20 men; French, 1 officer, 91 men; Japanese, 6 officers and 123 men.

In Chingwangtao: British, 1 officer, 19 men; French, 38 men.

In Shanghai: Foreign police in foreign settlement.

In Tongshan: British, 4 officers, 142 men.

In Leichwang: British, 4 officers, 142 men.

In Fongtai: French, 1 officer, 40 men.

In Laofa: French, 1 officer, 20 men.

In Weihaiwei: British, 3 officers, 60 men.

In Yangtsun: Japanese, 1 officer, 50 men.

In Tangku: French, 35 men; Japanese, 5 men.

Japanese forces are also maintained in Manchuria and Shantung, while a small garrison has been kept in Hankow in recent years. One full division is usually maintained in Manchuria by Japan. In Shantung there are four battalions, of an average numerical strength of 525 men, stationed along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway, headquarters being at Tsingtao, Kaomi, Fangtze and Tsinanfu. There is also a force of Japanese gendarmerie in Shantung. Mr. Hanihara of the Japanese delegation

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

DISARMAMENT

"CHORUS OF POWERS: "After you!"

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

THE TUB SEEMS RATHER SMALL

Where the ancient reprobate (Mars) is supposed to be getting a thorough bath

says that Japan has 4,500 troops in China, all told. The total of American troops in China is given as 1,464 men and 60 officers; Great Britain, 1,006 men and 38 officers; France, 1,214 men.

DR. SZE'S ADDRESS

The full text of Dr. Sze's speech, exclusive of his readings of statistics, is as follows:

Gentlemen: At the session held on Nov. 21 the conference declared that it was the firm intention of the powers represented to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; and to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government.

It will have already appeared that, in application of these two principles, China is asking not merely that existing treaty or conventional limitations upon the autonomous and unembarrassed exercise by her of her territorial and administrative powers should be removed as rapidly and as completely as circumstances will justify, but that conditions shall be corrected which now constitute a continuing violation of her rights as an independent State. The prop-

osition that these limitations upon the exercise of her sovereign powers should be progressively removed was stated in Principle No. 5 which the Chinese delegation presented to the conference on Nov. 16, and applications are seen in the propositions that have been made to the conference with reference to extraterritorial rights and to tariff autonomy.

A specific illustration of a violation of China's sovereignty and territorial and administrative integrity, as distinguished from limitations based upon agreements to which China has been a party, was presented to the conference for correction last week and had to do with the maintenance of foreign postal services upon Chinese soil.

This morning it is the desire of the Chinese delegation to bring before you, for correction in accord with the controlling principles which you have already affirmed, several other instances of subsisting violations of China's sovereignty and territorial and administrative integrity.

These relate to the maintenance upon the Chinese territory, without China's consent and against her protests, of foreign troops, railway guards, police boxes and electrical wire and wireless communication installations.

I shall not exhaust your patience by enumerating all of the specific instances of these violations, for I shall not ask merely that each of these violations be specifically

discouraged, for this would not give complete relief to China since it would not prevent other similar violations in the future. In behalf of the Chinese Government, I therefore ask that this conference declare, as a comprehensive proposition, that no one of the powers here represented—China, of course, not included—shall maintain electrical communication installations, or troops, or railway guards, or police boxes upon Chinese soil, except in those specific cases in which the powers desiring to do so may be able to show by affirmative and preponderant evidence and argument that it has a right so to do such as can be defended upon the basis of accepted principles of international law and practice and with the consent of the Chinese Government.

No argument by me is needed to show that this conference stands committed to the declaration which I now ask, by the principles which were adopted on Nov. 21. Should any one of you consider the possibility of foreign troops or railway guards, or police boxes, or electrical communication installations being maintained upon the soil of your own country without the consent of the Government which you represent, your feelings of justice and your sense of the dignity due to your own State would make evident to you the propriety of the joint declaration which China now asks you to make in her behalf. The proposition surely stands self-evident that, if a nation asserts a right to maintain troops or guards, or police, or to erect and operate systems of communication upon the soil of another State, whose sovereignty and independence and territorial and administrative integrity it has just solemnly affirmed and obligated itself to respect, upon that State should lie a heavy burden of proof to justify so grievous an infringement of the rights of exclusive territorial jurisdiction which international law as well as a general sense of international comity and justice recognize as attaching to the status of sovereignty and independence.

In behalf of my Government and the people whom I represent, I therefore ask that the conference give its approval to the following proposition:

Each of the powers attending this conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, severally declare that, without the consent of the Government of China, expressly and specifically given in each case, it will not station troops or railway guards or establish and maintain police boxes, or erect or operate electrical communication installations, upon the soil of China; and that if there now exists upon the soil of China such troops or railway guards or police boxes or electrical installations without

[American Cartoon]



—Atlanta Constitution

THE MODERN MUSKETEERS
How really to end war!

China's express consent they will be at once withdrawn.

JAPAN'S SOLDIERS IN CHINA

In an executive session of the committee on Nov. 30, Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Japanese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, presented a carefully prepared statement in which he explained and defended the presence of

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

MORE UNEMPLOYMENT?

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

HE CAN'T FIND A PRECEDENT ANYWHERE
IN HISTORY TO PARALLEL THIS EVENT

4,500 Japanese soldiers in China, including 2,700 in Shantung. Mr. Hanihara denied "most emphatically" that Japan had ever entertained any

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

"Everywhere that Mary went the lamb was
sure to go"

aggressive purpose or any desire to encroach "illegitimately" upon Chinese sovereignty in sending her garrisons to China—notably to Hankow, North China, along the Chinese Eastern Railway, to Shantung and Manchuria—and made it plain that Japan was willing to agree to the withdrawal of such troops as were no longer necessary, but did not consider the time ripe for withdrawing her forces from the leased zone along the South Manchurian Railway. Dr. Sze, on behalf of China, stated that his delegation would not attempt to answer the Japanese memorandum until it had had full opportunity to study it. Subsequently the Chinese delegation issued to the press a statement of the Chinese Government's attitude toward the presence of foreign troops in China, tracing the causes that led to their establishment there and giving detailed reasons why they should be withdrawn.

Secretary Hughes announced officially at this session that China and Japan had agreed to discussions looking to the settlement of the Shantung controversy and the leased territory of Kiao-Chau. It was further announced that Secretary Hughes and Arthur J. Balfour, head of the British delegation, had tendered their good offices to the delegates of the two countries in dispute, and that they had been accepted. Here is the official communique covering these developments:

The Committee on Far Eastern and Pacific Affairs met Nov. 30, 1921, in the Pan-American Building. All the delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Signor Meda. Mr. Hanihara for the Japanese delegation presented the following statement:

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE IN REGARD TO THE FOREIGN GARRISONS IN CHINA

"The Japanese delegation wishes to explain, as succinctly as possible, why and how the Japanese garrisons in various parts of China have come to be stationed there. At the outset, however, I desire to disclaim most emphatically that Japan has ever entertained any aggressive purposes or any desire to encroach illegitimately upon Chinese sovereignty in sending or maintaining these garrisons in China.

"1. Japanese railway guards are actually maintained along the South Man-

churian Railway and the Shantung Railway.

"With regard to the Shantung railway guards, Japan believes that she has on more than one occasion made her position sufficiently clear. She has declared and now reaffirms her intention of withdrawing such guards as soon as China shall have notified her that a Chinese police force has been duly organized and is ready to take over the charge of the railway protection.

"The maintenance of troops along the South Manchurian Railway stands on a different footing. This is conceded and recognized by China under the Treaty of Peking of 1905. (Additional agreement, Art. II.) It is a measure of absolute necessity under the existing state of affairs in Manchuria—a region which has been made notorious by the activity of mounted bandits. Even in the presence of Japanese troops those bandits have made repeated attempts to raid the railway zone. In a large number of cases they have cut telegraph lines and committed other acts of ravage.

"Their lawless activity on an extended scale has, however, been efficiently checked by Japanese railway guards, and general security has been maintained for civilian residents in and around the railway zone. The efficiency of such guards will be made all the more significant by a comparison of the conditions prevailing in the railway zone with those prevailing in the districts remote from the railway. The withdrawal of railway guards from the zone of the South Manchurian Railway will no doubt leave those districts at the mercy of bandits, and the same conditions of unrest will there prevail as in remote corners of Manchuria. In such a situation it is not possible for China to forego the right, or rather the duty, of maintaining railway guards in Manchuria, whose presence is duly recognized by treaty.

"2. Toward the end of 1911 the first revolution broke out in China and there was complete disorder in the Hupeh district, which formed the base of the revolutionary operations. As the lives and property of foreigners were exposed to danger, Japan, together with Great Britain, Russia, Germany and other principal powers, dispatched troops to Hankow for the protection of her people. This is how a small number of troops have come to be stationed at Hankow. The region has since been the scene of frequent disturbances. There was recently a clash between the North and South at Changsha, pillage by troops at Ichang and a mutiny of soldiers at Hankow. Such conditions of unrest have naturally retarded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Hankow.

"It has never been intended that these troops should remain permanently at Hankow, and the Japanese Government have been looking forward to an early opportunity of effecting complete withdrawal of the Hankow garrison. They must be assured, however, that China will immediately

take effective measures for the maintenance of peace and that she will fully assume the responsibility for the damage that may be or may have been done to foreigners.

"3. The stationing of the garrisons of foreign countries in North China is recognized by the Chinese Government under the protocol relating to the Boxer revolution in 1900. Provided there is no objection from the other countries concerned, Japan will be ready, acting in unison with them, to withdraw her garrison as soon as the actual conditions warrant it.

"4. The Japanese troops scattered along the lines of the Chinese Eastern Railway have been stationed in connection with an interallied agreement concluded at Vladivostok in 1919. Their duties are to establish communication between the Japanese contingents in Siberia and South Manchuria. It goes without saying, therefore, that these troops will be withdrawn as soon as the evacuation of Siberia by the Japanese troops is effected.

"MEMORANDUM—At the present time Japan maintains in China proper approximately 4,500 troops, located as follows:

"At Tientsin, two battalions, approximately 1,200 men.

"At Hankow, one battalion, approximately 600 men.

"In Shantung: At Tsinan, two companies, approximately 300 men; along the Tsinan-Tsing-tao railway and at Tsing-tao, four battalions, approximately 2,400 men.

"Total, 4,500 men.

"STATEMENT REGARDING THE MAINTENANCE OF JAPANESE POLICE IN MANCHURIA AND THE TREATY PORTS OF CHINA:

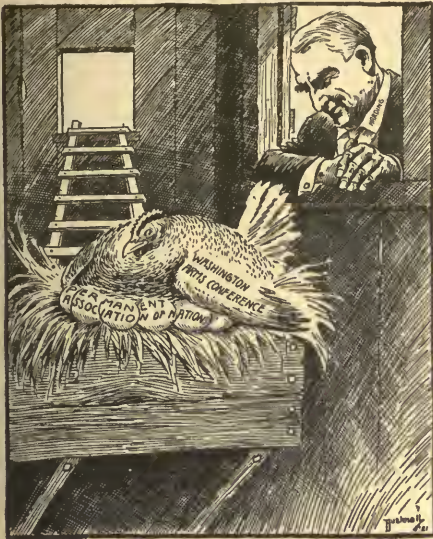
"In considering the question of Japanese consular police in China, two points must be taken into account:

"1. Such police do not interfere with Chinese or other foreign nationals. Their functions are strictly confined to the protection and control of Japanese subjects.

"2. The most important duties with which the Japanese police are charged are: First, to prevent the commission of crimes by Japanese, and, second, to find and prosecute Japanese criminals when crimes are committed.

"In view of the geographical proximity of the two countries, it is natural that certain disorderly elements in Japan should move to China and, taking advantage of the present conditions in that country, should there undertake unlawful activities. When these lawless persons are caught in the act of crime by the Chinese police, it is not difficult for that police force to deal with the case. The culprits are handed over as early as possible to the Japanese authorities for prosecution and trial. But when the criminals flee from the scene of their acts, it is in many cases hard to discover who committed the crimes and what were the causes and circumstances that led up to their commission. This is more dif-

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

WHAT WILL THE HATCHING BE?

difficult for the Chinese authorities, as they have no power to make domiciliary visits to the homes of foreigners, who enjoy extra-territorial rights, or to obtain judicial testimony in due form from such foreigners.

"Without the full co-operation of the Japanese police, therefore, the punishment of crime is, in a great many cases, an impossibility, and those who are responsible for lawbreaking escape trial and punishment.

"This tendency is especially evident in Manchuria, in which region hundreds of thousands of Japanese are resident. In places where the Japanese police are stationed there are far fewer criminal cases

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

JUST CAN'T GET AWAY FROM IT!

among Japanese than in places without Japanese police. Lawless elements constantly move to districts beyond the reach of Japanese police supervision.

"Apart from the theoretical side of the question, it will thus be observed that the stationing of Japanese police in the interior of China has proved to be of much practical usefulness in the prevention of crimes among Japanese residents, without interfering with the daily life of the Chinese or of other foreign nationals. The Japanese policing provides a protection for the Chinese communities which at present their own organization fails to provide.

"The Japanese delegation is in possession of knowledge and information as to the actual conditions prevailing in China, and especially in Manchuria. However, it is unnecessary to go into details at the present stage."

Mr. Sze, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, stated that he would reserve the right to answer in detail the Japanese statements after he had had an opportunity of studying them.

The committee discussed the matter of wireless stations in China and decided to refer it to the Subcommittee on Draft, to report their recommendations as to the expression of the sense of the full committee with respect to these stations, with authority to include in their recommendation such suggestion for the constitution of special committees of experts in relation to any phase of the subject as may be deemed advisable.

The Committee on Draft is composed of the following members of the delegations: United States of America, Senator Root; Belgium, Baron Cartier, with M. Cattier as alternate; British Empire, Sir Auckland Geddes, Sir John Jordon or Mr. Lampson as alternates, and Mr. Malkin as drafting adviser; China, Mr. Koo; France, M. Viviani; Italy, Ambassador Ricci; Japan, Mr. Hanihara; Netherlands, Jonkheer Van Karnebeek; Portugal, Viscount d'Alte.

It was stated to the meeting by the Chairman that Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour had offered their good offices to the representatives of China and Japan in the suggestion that there should be conversations between these representatives looking to the settlement of the questions relating to Shantung and the leased territory of Kiao-Chau, that these good offices were accepted by the representatives of both Governments, and that the conversations were to proceed accordingly, the first meeting for that purpose to be held Thursday afternoon.

In order to provide opportunity for the special committees to continue their work, the meeting of the full committee was adjourned until Friday, Dec. 2.

The Draft Committee, headed by Mr. Root, met on Dec. 2 and discussed the withdrawal of foreign troops

from China; the subject was referred to a special subcommittee, with instructions to report definite recommendations to the committee at a later date.

LEASED TERRITORIES

Another phase of the complex Chinese problem was discussed by the Far East Committee at its session of Dec. 3, namely, the leased territories still held and administered by Japan, Great Britain and France. Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese representative, opened the debate by summarizing the causes which had led to the granting of these leased areas, and, after showing that the Shantung lease to Germany was really the *causa causans* of the other concessions, declared that the changed conditions following Germany's defeat now argued in favor of the withdrawal of all the leases.

Dr. Koo was followed by M. Viviani, speaking for France; Mr. Hanihara, spokesman for Japan, and Mr. Balfour, representing Great Britain, all of whom expressed the willingness of their Governments to withdraw from certain of the leased areas held by them. France was willing to withdraw from Kwang-chouan, in Kwangtung Province; Great Britain from Wei-hai-Wei, in South Manchuria, and Japan from Shantung. The British delegate, however, made it plain that Great Britain was unwilling to withdraw from Kowloon, protecting Hongkong, and Mr. Hanihara made it equally clear that Japan was unwilling to relinquish Port Arthur, her concession in Manchuria. Even this partial agreement, however, was considered both by the Chinese delegation and American Government officials as of "the greatest importance"

[American Cartoon]



—New York Times

A SHOCK TO THE FAMILY

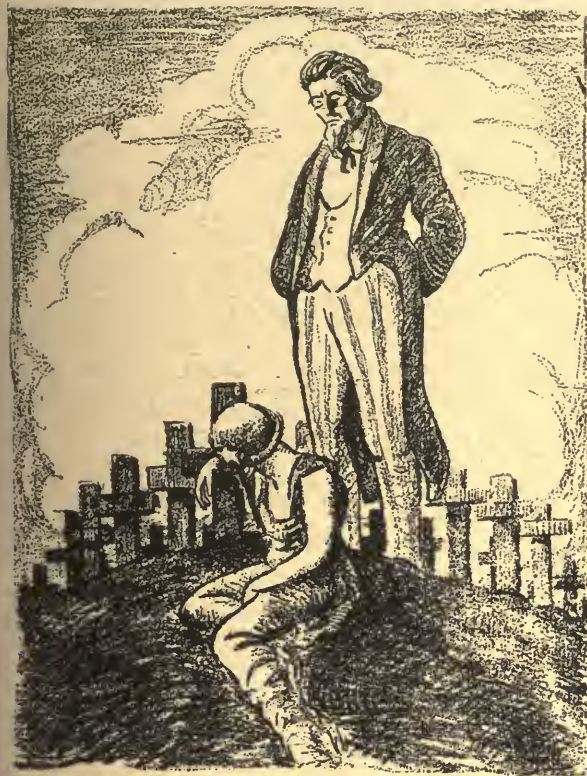
"Hey, Mom! Look what Pop's got!"

in the concerted movement toward restoring China's sovereignty.

The full history of the leased areas, which Dr. Koo referred to but briefly, goes back to the forcible occupation by Germany of Shantung Province in retaliation for the murder of two German missionaries in 1906. This constrained China on March 6, 1898, to grant Germany on a ninety-nine-year lease the bay and territory of Kiao-Chau, the finest harbor on the coast of China. Besides this concession, totaling in land area about 195 square miles, the construction of two lines of railway in Shantung was sanctioned. A similar agreement, dated March 27, 1898, leased to Russia for twenty-five years Port Arthur and Talienwan (Dalny). Kwang-chouan, in Kwangtung, was leased to France on April 22, 1898, and Wei-hai-Wei, an area of 285 square miles, to Great Britain on July 1, 1898. Kowloon, which had been ceded to Great Britain as far back as 1860, was extended in 1898.

China lost Port Arthur in the Sino-

[American Cartoon]



—The Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget"

[Drawn by Cleon Larson, a Salt Lake City school boy]

Japanese war of 1904, but Germany, France and Russia, moving at the appeal of Russia, who held it on a twenty-five-year lease, compelled Japan to return it to China. Shortly afterward Russia took it over, and made it a Russian fortress, with Dalny, now called Dairen, as a commercial port. Great Britain then seized Wei-hai-Wei to compensate herself strategically for the Russian occupation of Port Arthur. Japan, as a result of the Russo-Japanese war, took over Port Arthur, succeeding to the Russian leasehold, and later extended the term of its duration, together with that of the railway concession.

Because of the threat involved to Japan, Great Britain has never been able to fortify Wei-hai-Wei, which

faces Port Arthur, commanding with the latter port the entrance to the Gulf of Pechihli, which controls Peking and vast hinterlands. At the present time British law is administered in the concession, and the Chinese there owe allegiance to Great Britain rather than to China. It comprises the Islands of Liukung, all the islands in the Bay of Wei-hai-Wei, and a belt of land ten miles wide along the entire coast line. In addition to the leased territory there is a sphere of influence extending over an area of 1,500 square miles of Shantung Province. The concession is of little strategic importance to Great Britain, because of her inability to fortify it.

The case is different with Kowloon, the other British concession. This strip of territory on the mainland opposite Hongkong had its 1860 area considerably extended in 1898, which added the peninsula south of a line drawn between Deep Bay and the Mirs Bay, together

with the Islands of Lantau and Lammas. The whole concession now covers an area of 390 square miles, including the Island of Hongkong, which embraces twenty-nine square miles, and has a population of 436,000, of whom from 8,000 to 9,000 are Europeans. The total tonnage entering Hongkong Harbor in 1918 was 8,543,496 tons, comprising 21,803 vessels. The British objection to withdrawing from the Kowloon concession was based on the view that this territory was necessary to the protection of Hongkong.

A similar view was expressed by the Japanese in the case of Port Arthur, in Southern Manchuria. Mr. Hanihara made it clear that this region was too closely bound up with

Japan's national safety to consider relinquishing "the important rights she has lawfully acquired and at no small sacrifice." As to Kwangchouan, M. Viviani made it clear that France was willing to withdraw from this concession as part of a collective agreement and in common action with other powers. Kwangchouan, or Kwang-chow, a mere strip of territory on the coast of Kwangtung, taking in the Islands of Tunghai and Nanchou, is under the administration of the Governor of French Indo-China.

SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECHES.

The text of the official communiqué issued by the committee read as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met Dec. 3 in the Pan-American Building. All the delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Baron Kato. The committee discussed the question of leased areas in China.

Mr. Koo stated that the existence of the leased territories in China was due in the original instance to the aggressions of Germany, whose forcible occupation of part of Shantung Province constrained the Chinese Government to grant a lease for ninety-nine years of the Bay of Kiao-Chau in the Shantung Province on March 6, 1898. This was closely followed by a demand on the part of Russia for the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, in which are found the ports of Port Arthur and Dalny, along with the demand for the right of building a railway to be guarded by Russian soldiers traversing the Manchurian Province from Port Arthur and Dalny to join the Trans-siberian Railroad and Vladivostok. This was later the cause of the Russo-Japanese War, which resulted in 1905 in the transfer of those territories to Japan with the consent of China. Following the lease of Kiao-Chau Bay to Germany and that of Port Arthur and Dalny to Russia, France obtained from China on April 22, 1898, the lease of Kwangchouan on the coast of Kwangtung Province for ninety-nine years, and Great Britain the lease also for ninety-nine years of an extension of Kowloon and the adjoining territory and waters close to Hongkong on June 9, 1898, and the lease "for so long a period as Port Arthur should remain in the occupation of Russia" of the port of Wei-hai-Wei on the coast of Shantung on July 1, 1898. Both Great Britain and France based their claims for the leases on the ground of the necessity

of preserving the balance of power in the Far East.

If he might be permitted to go into the history of the question, he might add that while the measures and extent of control by the lessee powers over the lease territories vary in different cases the leases themselves are all limited to a fixed period of years, expressly or impliedly; they are not transferable to a third power without the consent of China. Though the exercise of administrative rights over the territories leased is relinquished by China to the lessee power during the period of the lease, the sovereignty of China over them is reserved in all cases. As is stated in the beginning, these leaseholds were granted by China with the sole purpose of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East, not so much between China and the other powers, but between other powers themselves concerning China. These are all creatures of compact different from cessions both in fact and in law.

Twenty years had elapsed since then and conditions had entirely altered. With the elimination of the German menace, in particular, an important disturbing factor had been removed. Russia had equally disappeared from the scene, and it could be hoped with confidence that she would eventually return, not as the former aggressive power, but as a great democratic nation. The misrule of the Manchu dynasty, which had aggravated the situation, had also disappeared. The very fact that this conference was being held at Washington for the purpose of arriving at a mutual understanding on the part of the powers indicates an added reason for dispensing with the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East, which was the principal ground of the original claims of the different powers. In the absence of that necessity, the Chinese delegation believed that the time had come for the interested powers to relinquish their control over the territories leased to them.

The existence of such leased territories had greatly prejudiced China's territorial and administrative integrity because they were all situated upon the strategical points along the Chinese territory. These foreign leaseholds had besides hampered her work of national defense by constituting in China a virtual imperium in imperio, that is, an empire within the same empire. There was another reason which the Chinese delegation desired to point out. The shifting conflict of interests of the different lessee powers had involved China more than once in complications of their own. It would be sufficient to refer here to the Russo-Japanese war, which was caused by the Russian occupation of Port Arthur and Dalny. The Kiao-Chau leasehold brought upon the Far East the hostilities of the European war. Furthermore, some of those territories were utilized with a view to economic domination over the vast adjoining regions as points

d'appui for developing spheres of interest to the detriment of the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China. In the interest not only of China but of all nations, especially for the peace of the Far East, the Chinese delegation asked for the annulment and an early termination of these leases. But pending their termination they would be demilitarized, that is, their fortifications dismantled and the lessee nations to undertake that they will not make use of their several leased areas for military purposes, either as naval bases or for military operations of any kind whatsoever.

The Chinese delegates were, however, fully conscious of the obligations which would fall upon China after the termination of the leaseholds. The Chinese Government would be prepared to respect and safeguard the legitimately vested interests of the different powers within those territories.

ATTITUDE OF FRANCE

Mr. Viviani spoke for France as follows:

"After having taken note of the request made by the Chinese delegation, Dec. 1, 1921, the French delegation states that the Government of the republic is ready to join in the collective restitution of territories leased to various powers in China, it being understood that, this principle being once admitted and all private rights being safeguarded, the conditions and time limits of the restitution shall be determined by agreement between the Chinese Government and each of the Governments concerned."

JAPAN'S DECLARATION

Mr. Hanihara stated the position of Japan as follows:

"The leased territories held by Japan at present are Kiao-Chau and Kwangtung Province, namely—Port Arthur and Dairen. It is characteristic of Japan's leased territories that she obtained them, not directly from China, but as successor to other powers at considerable sacrifice in men and treasure. She succeeded Russia in the leasehold of Kwangtung Province with the express consent of China, and she succeeded Germany in the leasehold of Kiao-Chau under the Treaty of Versailles.

"As to Kiao-Chau, the Japanese Government has already declared on several occasions that it would restore that leased territory to China. We are prepared to come to an agreement with China on this basis. In fact, there are now going on conversations between representatives of Japan and China regarding this question, initiated through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, the result of which it is hoped will be a happy solution of the problem. Therefore, the question of the leased territory of Kiao-Chau is one which properly calls for separate treatment.

"The only leased territory, therefore, which remains to be discussed at the con-

ference, so far as Japan is concerned, is Kwangtung Province, namely, Port Arthur and Dairen. As to that territory, the Japanese delegates desire to make it clear that Japan has no intention at present to relinquish the important rights she has lawfully acquired and at no small sacrifice. The territory in question forms a part of Manchuria—a region where, by reason of its close propinquity to Japan's territory more than anything else, she has vital interests in that which relates to her economic life and national safety.

"This fact was recognized and assurance was given by the American, British and French Governments at the time of the formation of the international consortium that these vital interests of Japan in the region in question shall be safeguarded.

"In the leased territory of Kwangtung Province there reside no less than 65,000 Japanese, and the commercial and industrial interests they have established there are of such importance and magnitude to Japan that they are regarded as an essential part of her economic life.

"It is believed that this attitude of the Japanese delegation toward the leased territory of Kwangtung is not against the principle of the resolution of Sept. 21."

ANALYSIS OF BRITISH ATTITUDE

Mr. Balfour pointed out that leased territories, though nominally all described under the same title, were held under very different and varying circumstances. The Japanese delegation had already indicated that Shantung and Manchuria, respectively, were held on entirely different bases and must be considered from different points of view. Great Britain had two different kinds of leases, and these, as he thought the Chinese delegation itself would admit, must be held to stand on a different footing one from the other. Mr. Balfour referred first to the leased territory of the Kowloon extension. Why, he asked, was it considered necessary that the leased territory of Kowloon should come under the same administration as Hongkong? The reason was that without the leased territory, Hongkong was perfectly indefensible and would be at the mercy of any enemy possessing modern artillery. He hoped that he would carry the conference with him when he asserted that the safeguarding of the position of Hongkong was not merely a British interest but one in which the whole world was concerned. He was informed that Hongkong was easily first among the ports of the world, exceeding in this respect Hamburg before the war, Antwerp and New York. Mr. Balfour then read the following extract from the United States Government Commercial Handbook of China:

"The position of the British colony of Hongkong in the world's trade is unique and without parallel. It is a free port except for a duty on wine and spirits; it has rela-

tively few important industries; it is one of the greatest shipping centres in the world; it is the distributing point for all the enormous trade of South China, and about 30 per cent. of the entire foreign commerce of China. The conditions of Hongkong in its relations to commerce are in every way excellent, and the Government centres all its efforts on fostering trade, while the future is being anticipated by increased dock facilities, the dredging of the fairways and other improvements. The merchants, both native and foreign, give special attention to the assembling and transshipping of merchandise to and from all the ports of the world, and with the world-wide steamship connections at Hongkong the necessity of retransshipment at other ports is reduced to a minimum. Hongkong is the financial centre of the East."

Mr. Balfour said he could not add anything to this perfectly impartial testimony to the conditions of absolute equality of nations under which the affairs of Hongkong are administered and the motives on which they are conducted. The lease of the Kowloon extension had been obtained for no other reason except to give security to the Port of Hongkong, and it would be a great misfortune if anything should occur which was calculated to shake the confidence of the nations using this great open port in its security. He hoped he need say no more to explain that the Kowloon extension was in a different category and must be dealt with in a different spirit from those leased territories which had been acquired for totally different motives.

Mr. Balfour then passed to the question of Wei-hai-wei. The acquisition by Great Britain of this lease had been part of the general movement for obtaining leased territories in 1898, in which Russia, Germany and France, as well as Great Britain, had been concerned. The motive which had animated the Germans in acquiring Kiaochau had been largely to secure economic domination. The motive of the British Government, on the other hand, in acquiring the lease of Wei-hai-wei had been connected with resistance to the economic domination of China by other powers; in fact, it had been based on a desire for the maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East, with a view to the maintenance of the policy of the open door, and had been intended as a check to the predatory action of Germany and Russia. Mr. Balfour laid emphasis on the fact that the convention of July 1, 1898, confirming the lease, gave no economic rights or advantages to Great Britain. There had been no question of its being a privileged port of entry for British commerce, nor for the establishment of British commercial rights to the exclusion or diminution of the rights of any other power. In fact, on April 20, 1898, Great Britain had announced that "England will not construct any

[American Cartoon]



—San Francisco Chronicle

THE KEYNOTE

railroad communication from Wei-hai-wei and the district leased therewith into the interior of the province of Shantung." As regards the attitude of the British Government to the request of the Chinese delegation for an abrogation of these leases, Mr. Balfour stated that he had very little to add to, and he did not wish to qualify, the conditions contained in the statement just made by M. Viviani, which represented very much the spirit in which the British Government approached the question. The British Government would be perfectly ready to return Wei-hai-wei to China as part of a general arrangement intended to confirm the sovereignty of China and to give effect to the principle of the open door. This surrender, however, could only be undertaken as part of some such general arrangement, and he spoke with his Government behind him when he said that on these conditions he was prepared to give up the rights which had been acquired. The British Government's policy was to make use of the surrender of Wei-hai-wei to assist in securing a settlement of the question of Shantung. If agreement could be reached on this question, the British Government would not hesitate to do their best to promote a general settlement by restoring Wei-hai-wei to the Central Government of China.

After he had heard the sentiments expressed by M. Viviani, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Hanihara, Mr. Koo expressed on behalf of the Chinese delegation his sincere thanks to them for the spirit which had guided

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

WELL, THERE'S THE AXE!

them, and he hoped that this question would be discussed at another opportunity.

CHINA FIRM ON LEASEHOLDS

At the session of the committee held on Dec. 7 two resolutions affecting the sovereignty of China were unanimously adopted: one giving over to Chinese administration all unauthorized radio stations, and the other pledging the powers to respect China's rights as a neutral in case of "future wars to which she is not a party." The most important feature of the session, however, was the memorandum presented by Dr. Wellington Koo on foreign leaseholds. At the session of Dec. 3 the powers had offered to relinquish their leaseholds, with certain exceptions; Dr. Koo, replying specifically to these exceptions, was especially emphatic regarding South Manchuria. Japan's possession of Port Arthur and the Kwangtung territory, he pointed out, rested upon the Russo-Japanese war and the original lease, which will expire in 1925. The continuation of that lease for ninety-nine years, he said, was ob-

tained by Japan in 1915 as part of the famous twenty-one demands, and its legality, like that of all the other demands, "remains one of the gravest outstanding questions between China and Japan."

The official communique of the session was in part as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met at 11 o'clock this morning, Dec. 7, in the Pan American Building. All the delegates were present except Ambassador Shidehara and Senator Underwood. The following report of the subcommittee on draft in regard to radio stations in China was submitted:

"The subcommittee on draft begs to report the following resolution regarding radio stations in China:

"The representatives of the powers hereinafter named participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference for Limitation of Armament, to wit: The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, have resolved:

"1. That all radio stations in China, whether maintained under the provisions of the international protocol of Sept. 7, 1901, or in fact maintained in the grounds of any of the foreign legations in China, shall be limited in their use to sending and receiving Government messages and shall not receive or send personal or unofficial messages, including press matter, provided, however, that in case all other telegraphic communication is interrupted, then upon official notification, accompanied by proof of such interruption to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, such stations may afford temporary facilities for commercial, personal or unofficial messages, including press matter, until the Chinese Government has given notice of the termination of the interruption.

"2. All radio stations operated within the territory of China by a foreign Government or the citizens or subjects thereof under treaties or concessions of the Government of China shall limit the messages sent and received by the terms of the treaties or concessions under which the respective stations are maintained.

"3. In case there be any radio station maintained in the territory of China by a foreign Government or citizen or subjects thereof without the authority of the Chinese Government, such station and all the plant apparatus and material thereof shall be transferred to and taken over by the Government of China to be operated under the direction of the Chinese Ministry of Communications upon fair and full compensation to the owners for the value of the installation, as soon as the Chinese Ministry of Communications is prepared to

operate the same effectively for the general public benefit.

"4. If any questions shall arise as to the radio stations in leased territories, in the South Manchuria Railway zone or in the French concession at Shanghai, they shall be regarded as matters for discussion between the Chinese Government and the Government concerned.

"5. The owners or managers of all radio stations maintained in the territory of China by foreign powers or citizens or subjects thereof shall confer with the Chinese Ministry of Communications for the purpose of seeking a common arrangement to avoid interference in the use of wave lengths by wireless stations in China, subject to such general arrangements as may be made by an international conference convened for the revision of the rules established by the International Radio Telegraph Convention signed at London, July 5, 1912."

DR. KOO'S STATEMENT

The committee further discussed the question of leased territories in China. Dr. Koo made the following statement:

"At the meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern questions on Dec. 3, Mr. Hanihara read a statement outlining the position of Japan with reference to the leased territory of Kiao-Chau and Kwangtung Peninsula, namely, Port Arthur and Dalny. The Chinese delegation desire to offer a few observations on the statement in the hope that the position of China on this question may be equally well understood. The declaration that Japan succeeded Germany in the leasehold of Kiao-Chau under the Treaty of Versailles is obviously one-sided, and China, not being a party to that treaty, cannot be expected to subscribe to it.

"It is, however, gratifying to note the statement that Japan obtained her leased territories in China not directly from her but from other powers at considerable sacrifice in men and treasure, because this assurance appears to confirm the views of the Chinese delegation that the maintenance of foreign leased territories in China jeopardizes the peace in the Far East. It will be recalled that Russia's possession of Port Arthur and Dalny and Germany's possession of Kiao-Chau eventually brought two wars on Chinese territory and resulted in the installation of Japan herself in these leased areas.

"As to the leased territory of Kwangtung Province, namely, Port Arthur and Dalny, its original term will expire in 1925, and while an extension to ninety-nine years was obtained by Japan in 1915, it was obtained in such circumstances that the dispute about its validity remains one of the gravest outstanding questions between China and Japan.

"Both Port Arthur and Dalny are situated in Manchuria, which is an important

[American Cartoon]



—San Francisco Chronicle

THE TURNSTILE

part of Chinese territory. Not only does the national safety of China rely upon the safeguarding of Manchuria as an integral portion of the Chinese Republic because these three eastern provinces, as the Chinese call Manchuria, have been the historic road of invasion into China throughout the past centuries, but also the security of the economic life of the Chinese people depends in a very vital measure upon the conservation and development with the surplus capital of the world of the natural and agricultural resources in Manchuria, a region where today an abundance of raw material and food supplies is already accessible to all nations, on fair terms and through the normal operation of economic law of supply and demand. Moreover, Manchuria is an important outlet for the surplus population from the congested provinces in other parts of China.

"In view of the foregoing fact, it is clear that China has such truly vital interests in Manchuria that the interests of any foreign power therein, however important they may be in themselves, cannot compare with them. The fact of close propinquity of Manchuria to Korea, if it justifies any claim to consideration, can be equitably appealed to only on the condition of reciprocity.

"As to the statement that assurance was given by the American, British and French Governments at the time of the formation of the international consortium that the vital interests of Japan in Manchuria shall be safeguarded, the Chinese delegation do

[American Cartoon]



—Milwaukee Journal

THE ALTOGETHER TOO FRIENDLY COP!

not feel in a position, since China was not consulted at the time, to express an opinion as to the question of its accuracy. Should such assurance have been given, they could not, however, conceal their feeling that it cannot be reconciled with the principle which was adopted by the conference on Nov. 21, of respect for the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

"As to the leased territory of Kowloon, leased to Great Britain, much is to be said for the importance of Hongkong to the trade of nations and for the way in which its facilities are made accessible to the traders of the world, and while there may be a necessity to provide for the protection of the Hongkong harbor in the interests of such trade, the retention of Kowloon may not necessarily be, in the view of the Chinese delegation, the sole solution of this problem.

"In making the foregoing statement, however, the Chinese delegation have desired only to make their position clear, and unless the committee wish to continue discussion at this meeting the Chinese delegation desire to reserve for the future further observations on the question of the leased territories." * * *

The proposal of the Chinese delegation that "China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party" was unanimously adopted after a statement made by Dr. Wang as follows:

"The proposition advanced by the Chinese delegation is an obvious one; it is in substance a corollary of the first of the four resolutions adopted by this committee on Nov. 21. This subject would not be presented for discussion except for the fact that in the past China's rights in this respect have been grievously disregarded. I need only refer you to the Russo-Japanese War which, so far as land operations are concerned, was fought wholly upon Chinese soil. Again, at the time of the military expedition against Tsing-tao in the late war, belligerent troops landed at a point 150 miles from the leased territory of Kiaochau.

"It is clear that should similar incidents occur, there would be furnished just cause of complaint by the non-offending belligerent power not only against the offending belligerent power but also against China herself. Furthermore, they would tend to weaken throughout the world the respect due, in time of war, to neutral powers. With these preliminary remarks, I leave this question to the pleasure of this committee."

OPEN DIPLOMACY PLEDGED

China's fight for "open diplomacy" was virtually won at the session of Dec. 8, when, after a long debate, a resolution was passed pledging the nine powers not to enter into any agreement or understanding which would impair the force of the four principles on China formulated by Elihu Root. The resolution was offered by Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States, and was adopted in a slightly modified form.

The discussion of which the resolution was the culmination followed Dr. Wellington Koo's argument in favor of the third point on the full list of China's proposals, viz., the principle that the powers should enter into no agreements without consulting the Chinese Government. Dr. Koo insisted on China's right to be consulted in every such instance. Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation, took exception to Dr. Koo's demand as far too sweeping, and declared that the Root resolution would cover it. Secretary Hughes pointed out that there might be treaties affecting China, but not adverse to her; he declared that the powers could guarantee that there would be no

more secret engagements, and suggested a reaffirmation of the Root resolution in connection with treaties. Mr. Hanihara, the Japanese delegate, agreed with Mr. Balfour that the proposal of Dr. Koo would put a serious limitation on the sovereignty of the powers, and believed that any unjust or oppressive treaty, from China's point of view, would fall of its own accord under the growing influence of public opinion and international law.

To surmount the difficulty Sir Auckland Geddes proposed the resolution which, with slight modification, was finally adopted. China herself was included in the resolution, in accordance with an amendment offered by the Japanese. Speeches made by Mr. Hanihara for Japan, by M. Viviani for France, by Signor Schanzer for Italy, by Sir Robert Borden for Canada, showed a general feeling that Dr. Koo's resolution was too broad in its scope, and unnecessary, and the final resolution followed the suggestion of Secretary Hughes to reaffirm the intention of the powers to maintain the principle of the Root resolution in regard to treaties.

OFFICIAL SUMMARY

The communique issued by the committee read in part as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met Dec. 8, 1921, at the Pan American Building.

Discussing the third Chinese proposal, Mr. Koo said that the essential principle laid down in Point 3 of the Chinese proposals, which reads as follows, "With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate," is that the Chinese Government should have previous notification of the negotiation of any treaty or agreement which will affect Chinese interests.

Agreements have in the past frequently been made, relating to the Far East, or to China particularly, without participation on the part of China or previous notice to the Chinese Government. In agreements of this kind the nations concerned were presumably

disposing of rights and interests belonging to them, or they were giving mutual promises with regard to action which they would take or from which they would abstain. Taking any one of those agreements by itself, it might be argued that its subject matter was composed entirely of rights, interests and actions of the parties to the agreement.

This kind of agreement falls roughly into two divisions, one being in the nature of mutual engagements to abstain from certain action in special parts of China, the other being engagements for mutual assistance in support of the general interests of all foreign powers in China, or of the special interests claimed by the parties to the agreements.

As to these treaties and agreements, Mr. Koo said he felt that they were all so well known to the members of the committee that the complete enumeration or specific illustrations would be unnecessary.

The first kind of agreement usually was in the nature of an engagement on the part of one contracting party not to seek any railway concessions in one part of China in return for a similar promise on the part of the other contracting parties not to seek railway concessions in another part of China.

At first sight it might seem as if a nation were within its rights in promising to another to forego certain opportunities within a specific region. But any deeper examination of this matter will immediately show that there are a great many objections to such a method of arranging the action of one nation upon the territory of another. In the first place, it involves an incipient national monopoly or preference within the region affected, because the nation which has secured a promise of abstention from one power will then proceed with efforts to secure it from others. By the making of only one agreement, two nations are already backing a system of artificial limitation of economic activities.

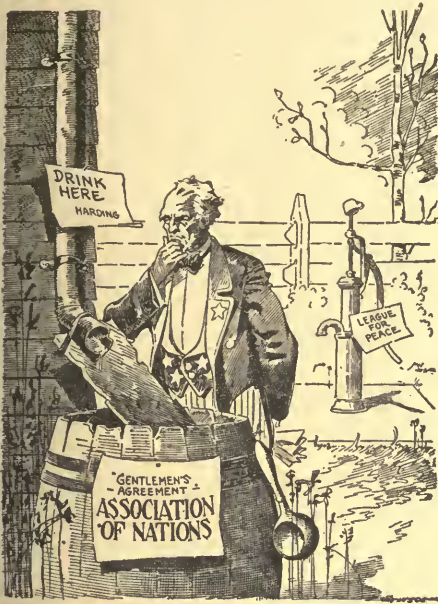
The rights of China are involved both because she must wish that all the parts of her territory shall be open on equal terms, or on such terms as she herself shall determine, to foreign capitalists, merchants and residents. As soon as such treaties as the above are made, without consultation with China, her territory is divided into distinct spheres for foreign enterprise. To this she can by no means be indifferent.

The other group of treaties deals with the safeguarding and defending of territorial rights or special interests in the Far East, including or specially mentioning China.

These all have one or more of the following three features:

(1) A declaration that the contracting parties have a special interest in having a pacific state of things guaranteed in the regions of China adjacent to the territories where the contracting powers have rights of sovereignty, protection or occupation, and

[American Cartoon]



—Dayton News

"Why drink from a rain barrel when we have a good well?"

engage to support each other for assuring the peace and security in these regions; or

(2) A declaration to support the independence and integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door for foreign commerce and to aid each other for the defense of the contracting parties' special interests in said regions; or

(3) The recognition by one contracting power to the effect that, since propinquity creates special relations, the other contracting power has special interests in China.

It was clear that any one of the foregoing three features must be of vital interest to China. The assurance of peace and order in any part of Chinese territory was a matter of great concern to China herself. The maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of China touched the supreme rights of China. As to the recognition of propinquity as creating special interests in China, it was equally obvious that such recognition could not be valid, because special interests on Chinese territory could not be created without the consent of China, and China has always contested the soundness of the doctrine of propinquity.

The effect of all such treaties and agreements has been to maintain in China con-

ditions which intimately affected the rights, prospects and liberty of action of China herself.

It appeared, therefore, that the Chinese Government has an equitable right to be consulted in all agreements which deal with or pretend to deal with the general situation in the Far East, including China. Even if such treaties should be animated by an entirely friendly spirit toward China, yet their bearing is such that they may involve consequences which would impose limitations on Chinese freedom of action, and even they should therefore not be made without consultation with China.

It may, of course, be said that China, not being a party to such treaties, need in no way recognize them nor consider herself bound by any of their provisions. That is legally true, but the political effect produced by a group of such treaties, just as in the case of spheres of influence, tends so to modify the political and economic situation in China that no efforts on the part of her Government can succeed in preserving liberty of action. We must look at the total results of a group of such cases, if the practice should be recognized that China need not be consulted. In that case it is plain that vital interests of China would be affected and the nature of activities and interests within China determined entirely by the action of outside powers. The Chinese Government would then find itself obliged to move along grooves laid down by others without having once had an opportunity of insisting upon her own life needs as seen by herself.

We must, therefore, conclude that though an individual agreement may on the face of it concern only the action of outside powers, if that action relates to China, the Chinese Government cannot remain indifferent to it, because of the effect which continued action in making agreements of this kind would have upon the liberty of movement and development of the Chinese Government and nation itself.

MR. BALFOUR'S OBJECTIONS

Mr. Balfour said that * * * with the broad aspirations expressed by Mr. Koo all must be in sympathy. The whole tenor of the discussion on China's affairs proved the desire to remove as far as possible the abnormal conditions existing in China into that normal course of policy which regulates the relations between civilized States. He was not sure, however, that Mr. Koo's method was the best means of achieving this. One of the most important passages in Mr. Koo's speech had referred to spheres of influence. So far as Great Britain was concerned, spheres of influence were a thing of the past. * * * How did spheres of influence come into existence? Because at a certain period of Russian

and German aggression in China, other powers, in order to prevent China from being cut up before their eyes, had to do for each other what China could not do for herself. In China's interest, as well as their own, they had to guard against their exclusion from legitimate opportunities of enterprise. This was due not so much to their own policy as to China's want of policy; not in consequence of their own strength, but of China's weakness.

Mr. Balfour thought it was the hope of all those present to place China in a position to defend her interests, to protect her neutrality, and no longer to be the prey of acquisitive powers. He did not think that this end was likely to be obtained by adopting the broad principle proposed by the Chinese delegation, but rather by dealing with the difficulties that beset China one by one, as the committee was actually doing. * * * He could not see that the position was helped by this principle, which went a good deal beyond any existing principle of international law. He could not believe that the powers would accept it, more especially as China was not in possession of material forces to enable her to carry out any policy outside her own frontiers. * * * Translated into international language, this (Dr. Koo's proposal) would prevent France and Belgium from entering into a defensive treaty of any kind without consulting Germany. All agreed that treaties had been entered into not only in regard to China, but also in regard to other nations, which reflected no credit on those who had concluded them. For this evil the great remedy was publicity. Most of the nations represented at this conference were members of the League of Nations, and were bound to register their treaties with the League. The United States was not a member of the League of Nations, but its Constitution necessitated wide publicity in regard to treaties. That was the real protection for China. The whole world would become the judge of future treaties. * * * Mr. Balfour then quoted the first of the resolutions drafted by Mr. Root and adopted by the committee on Nov. 21, 1921: "To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." This resolution, if sincerely carried out, would do all that the too wide proposal made by Mr. Koo could effect, without raising the difficulties inseparable from his scheme.

The Chairman, Mr. Hughes, desired to offer a few suggestions in order to find a point upon which the committee might agree. * * * It had been agreed, he said, to respect the integrity and sovereignty of China, and this naturally implied agreement by China to respect the integrity of other powers. Each power should be free to make the agreements necessary for the preservation of its proper interests; any general proposition going so far

as to derogate or limit the right to make agreements relative to fundamental legitimate interests would be one not easily defended. * * * There might be treaties affecting China not adverse to China, but it could be said that there would be no secret agreements. More than that could be done, however; there could be recorded an expression of a desire to be helpful to China in the preservation of the legitimate field of her administrative autonomy, and a reassertion, in connection with Paragraph 1 of the Root resolution, of the determination to do nothing in derogation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China. * * * If there were embodied in the resolution relating to treaties the principles underlying the Chinese proposal, and an expression of the intention to do nothing in derogation of those principles, and to make no treaties or engagements in derogation of the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China, all that China desired would be attained.

The subsequent discussion followed the lines thus indicated. The resolution, as finally passed, was as follows:

That the powers attending this conference, hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, declare that it is their intention not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement or understanding, either with one another or individually or collectively with any power or powers, which would infringe or impair the principles which have been declared by the resolution adopted Nov. 21 by this committee [i. e., the Root resolution].

THE FOUR-POWER TREATY

The fourth plenary session of the conference, held on Dec. 10, was one of the most important since the conference opened. The conclusion of a new four-power treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan was announced by Senator Lodge, who read the text of the treaty and delivered an address on its import. The agreement pledged the four powers to respect each other's insular possessions, to accept mediation in case disputes arose over those possessions, and to take concerted action if their rights in these island areas were threatened by any outside power. The compact was to run for ten years, and on its ratification the Anglo-Japanese

Alliance was to be automatically terminated. Senator Lodge stated that the treaty was subject to the signing of a separate compact between the United States and Japan concerning the Pacific mandate islands, especially Yap, and emphasized the fact that the treaty concluded did not affect questions within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the four signatory powers. A reservation note accompanying the treaty embodied these special provisions. Following Senator Lodge's speech of presentation, each of the heads of the respective delegations rose in turn to confirm formally their approval of the new compact, the importance of which was stressed by all. Dr. Sze, the Chinese delegate, expressed China's hearty approval of the agreement, and voiced his hope that a final nine-power agreement, including China, would crown the conference's work in bringing about a final adjustment of conditions in the Far East "on the basis of justice."

Secretary Hughes, as Chairman of the conference, opened the session. His whole address was devoted to a recapitulation of the progress of the conference, working through the Committee on the Far East, toward agreements tending to secure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of China. As he finished his review of each of the decisions reached by the Committee of the Whole (all of which have been given in detail in these pages), he called upon the delegations for a formal confirmatory vote, and the Chairman of each of the nine powers represented on the full committee rose in turn and signified his delegation's assent.

Secretary Hughes then called upon Senator Lodge to address the conference, stating that the Senator had an announcement to make.

TEXT OF THE TREATY

Prolonged applause greeted Senator Lodge as he rose and announced the conclusion of a treaty between the four great powers in regard to their

Pacific island possessions. He proceeded to read the text of the new treaty, which, as officially given out three days later, when it was signed, is as follows:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan, with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean, have determined to conclude a treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries [here follows list of delegates], who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1—*The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.*

If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

Article 2—*If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.*

Article 3—*This treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force, subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.*

Article 4—*This treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.*

The Government of the United States will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present treaty, in French and in

English, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to each of the signatory powers.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the thirteenth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

THE RESERVATIONS

Following is the text of the reservation note, prepared by the American delegates and accepted by the other powers:

In signing the treaty this day between the United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan, it is declared to be the understanding and intent of the signatory powers:

1. That the treaty shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean, provided, however, that the making of the treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory powers, respectively, in relation to the mandated islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article 1 refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which according to principles of international law lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective powers.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 13, 1921.

SENATOR LODGE'S SPEECH

But to return to the conference proceedings of Dec. 10: After reading the treaty, Senator Lodge spoke in part as follows:

The signing of this treaty on the part of the United States is subject to the making of a convention with Japan concerning the status of the Island of Yap, and what are termed the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator, the negotiations in regard to which are almost concluded; and also to the reservations with respect to what are termed the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean south of the equator.

It should also be observed that the controversies to which the proposed treaty refers do not embrace questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective powers. * * * Each signer is bound to respect the rights of the others, and before taking action in any controversy to consult with them. There is no provision for the use of force to carry out any of the terms of the agreement, and no military or naval sanction

lurks anywhere in the background or under cover of these plain and direct clauses.

The surest way to prevent war is to remove the causes of war. This is an attempt to remove causes of war over a great area of the globe's surface by reliance upon the good faith and honest intentions of the nations which sign the treaty, solving all differences through the processes of diplomacy and joint consideration and conciliation. No doubt we shall hear it said that the region to which this agreement applies is one most likely to give birth to serious disputes and that therefore an agreement of this character is of little consequence. History unhappily has shown that there is no corner of the earth so remote or so valueless that it is not capable of giving cause for controversy or even for war between the tribes and the nations of mankind. But the islands of the Pacific, although remote from the dwelling places of the mass of humanity, are far from valueless. The islands of the Southwestern Pacific extend over a vast space in that great ocean. They reach from the Marquesas on the east to the Philippines on the west; from the Aleutian Islands on the north nearly to the Antarctic Circle on the south. They are far more numerous than is generally realized. I do not know what the total number is, but I am informed as to the Philippines, and it appears that this group alone contains over 3,100 islands, of which 1,600 have names. We have probably heard of the remark of Robert Louis Stevenson, who, on leaving one of the Pacific islands, was asked how he was going to Samoa. He replied that he should just go out and turn to the left. These islands are, comparatively speaking, so dense that we might describe them in the words of Browning as the "sprinkled isles, lily on lily, that o'erlace the sea." And yet the region through which they are scattered is so vast that the isles of Greece and the Aegean Sea, so famous in history and in poetry, could easily be lost therein and continue unnoticed except by wandering seamen or stray adventurers. They range from Australia, continental in magnitude, to atolls, where there are no dwellers but the builders of the coral reefs or lonely rocks marking the peaks of mountains which rise up from the ocean's floor through miles of water before they touch the air. To the Western and Eastern world alike most of the islands on the Southwestern Pacific are little known, and there still lingers about them the charm so compelling and so fascinating which an undiscovered country has for the sons of men who are weary of main traveled roads and the trampled highways of trade and commerce which cover the surface of the patient earth.

Upon these islands still shines the drama of romance in the stories of Melville and the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson, to whom the South Seas gave both a grave and a monument imperishable as his own fame. But the Pacific islands are much

more than this. They possess certain qualities other than natural beauty and romantic charm which to many minds are more enticing. The larger ones are rich in many ways, fertile in the gifts of soil and climate, and in other forms of riches desired by men, which extend from the untold mineral resources of Australia to the pearls which are brought from the depths of the ocean. There are among them all great areas of forest and of plain fit for the support and prosperity of civilized man. In a word, they have a very great material value, largely undeveloped, and where this condition exists the desires of men will enter, and conflicting human desires have throughout recorded history been breeders of war. Thus far the wastes of the Pacific Ocean with all the crowding islands, except on the edges of the continents, have not been the scene of great wars; and yet not many years have passed since three great nations sent their warships to Samoa because there was a dispute in regard to those distant islands. Therefore an agreement among the nations controlling these islands has a very serious importance to the peace of the world.

We make the experiment here in this treaty of trying to assure peace in that immense region by trusting the preservation of its tranquillity to the good faith of the nations responsible for it. The world has just passed through a war the very memory of which makes us shudder. We all believe deep in our hearts that this hideous destruction of life, this suffering and ruin which still beset us, must not be permitted to come again if we can prevent it. If the nations of the earth are still in the innermost recesses of their consciousness planning or dreaming of coming wars and longing for conquests, no treaties of partition and no alliance can stay them; but if, as I firmly hope, the world has learned a frightful lesson from the awful experiences of the great war of 1914, then our surest appeal in order to prevent wars in the future must be to the hearts, the sympathies, the reason and the higher impulses of mankind.

Such an appeal we make today by this agreement among four great nations. We rely upon their good faith to carry out the terms of this instrument, knowing that by so doing they will prevent war should controversies ever arise among them. If this spirit prevails and rules we can have no better support than the faith of nations. For one I devoutly believe the spirit of the world is such that we can trust to the good faith and the high purposes which the treaty I have laid before you embodies and enshrines. Agreements of this kind, I know, have often been made before, only to fail. But there has been a far-reaching change in the mental condition of men and women everywhere. That which really counts is the intention of the nations who make the agreement. In this hour of trial and dark-

ness which has followed the war with Germany the spirit of the world is no longer the same.

If we enter upon this agreement, which rests only upon the will and honor of those who sign it, we at least make the great experiment and appeal to the men and women of the nation to help us sustain it in spirit and in truth.

ADDRESSES OF OTHER DELEGATES.

The heads of the various delegations then rose in turn to express approval, in the name of their respective Governments, of the treaty presented by Senator Lodge. M. Viviani, in speaking for France, declared:

In the name of the Government of the French Republic, whose authority I am borrowing now, and which speaks through my voice, I am glad to bring here, in its full amplitude, without any reticence or any reservations, our full adhesion to the pact that has just been read. * * * The day after the ratifications have been exchanged France will assume all the obligations that fall upon her by virtue of this pact, just as she will exercise the rights that she derives from the agreement. * * * After having listened to the documents, after having thus proved our willingness to work together, I think I am entitled to say that this conference, in which we have had the honor to participate and in which we have been proud to help, has fully and entirely succeeded.

M. Viviani ended with a plea for patience in dealing with the troubled situation of the present time, pointing out the importance of this "solemn oath" to establish peace entered into by the men whose Governments had fought side by side in the war, and declaring his belief "that peace will prevail in the world when justice has been satisfied."

Mr. Balfour, speaking for Great Britain, stressed particularly that part of the new agreement providing for the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. He pointed out that he had been at the head of the British Administration which twenty years before had brought this alliance into being. Great Britain, he said, had been aware of all the suspicions and animadversions to which this alliance had given rise in the United States, and declared emphatically that nothing had been further from the thoughts of the original framers of

that alliance than any intention to touch, for good or evil, any of the interests of the United States. He admitted that the original motive of the alliance—the aggressive attitude taken by Russia and Germany in the Far East—had disappeared, and granted America's right to ask why the treaty was continued after its *raison d'être* had vanished. There was, however, another viewpoint which he cited as explanatory:

After all, that treaty or its predecessors had been in existence within a few days of twenty years. It had served a great purpose in two great wars. It had stood the strain of common sacrifices, common anxieties, common efforts, common triumphs.

When two nations have been united in that fiery ordeal they cannot at the end of it take off their hats one to the other and politely part, as two strangers part who travel together for a few hours in a railway train. Something more, something closer, unites them than the mere words of the treaty, and as it were gratuitously and without a cause to tear up the written contract, although it serves no longer any valid or effective purpose, may lead to misunderstandings in one nation just as much as the maintenance of that treaty has led to misunderstandings in another.

Thus, said Mr. Balfour, Great Britain found herself between two difficulties—the possibility of misunderstanding if she retained the alliance, and of misunderstanding if she abrogated it. She had long ago reached the belief that the only solution, like that offered by the present four-power treaty, was “that we should annul, merge, destroy, as it were, this ancient and outward and unnecessary agreement, and replace it by something new, something effective, which should embrace all the powers concerned in the vast area of the Pacific.”

Prince Tokugawa, speaking in the name of Japan, said:

It is needless for me to say that all Japan will approve the consummation of this work. Japan will rejoice in this pledge of peace upon the Pacific Ocean. As to the Anglo-Japanese agreement which is soon to terminate, I desire to associate myself with the words of appreciation expressed by our distinguished colleague, Mr. Balfour, with respect to the glorious service which that agreement has done for the preservation of peace and liberty.

The chief delegates of the other countries included in the Committee of the Whole, but not represented among the powers signatory to the treaty, all expressed their cordial approval of its terms. After Signor Schanzer for Italy, Jonkheer van Karnebeek for Holland, Dr. Alfred Sze for China, Baron de Cartier de Marchienne for Belgium and Viscount d'Alte for Portugal, had all signified their unreserved support, Secretary Hughes closed the session with the following words:

Gentlemen, we have been dealing with a very simple paper. Probably you would not be able to find an international document couched in more simple or even briefer terms, but we are again reminded that the great things are the simple ones. I firmly believe that when this agreement takes effect we shall have gone further in the direction of securing an enduring peace than by anything that has yet been done.

The treaty was formally signed without ceremony at Washington on Dec. 13, 1921, by each of the delegates from the four powers concerned. The debate over its ratification had already begun in the United States Senate the day before.

FOREIGN POST OFFICES TO BE WITHDRAWN.

Meanwhile, on Dec. 12, another important meeting of the Far Eastern Committee was held, at which a resolution was adopted for the voluntary withdrawal of foreign Post Offices from China on Jan. 1, 1923. Unanimity of the four chief powers was made possible by the formal assent of Japan. The agreement is conditioned on China's maintaining efficient service and continuing the supervision of the foreign Co-Director General of the Post Office Department. It gives China facilities for examining the mails to prevent opium smuggling and other contraband pending the coming into force of the agreement. Dr. Wang of the Chinese delegation explained the origin and rise of spheres of influence, and asked the powers represented to disavow their spheres. The communique issued by the committee is as follows:

The Committee on Foreign and Far Eastern Questions met Dec. 12, 1921, in the Pan American Building. The committee adopted the resolution on Chinese Post Offices as follows:

"(A) Recognizing the justice of the desire expressed by the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of foreign postal agencies in China, save or except in leased territories or as otherwise specifically provided by treaty, it is resolved:

"1. The four powers having such postal agencies agree to their abandonment subject to the following conditions:

"(a) That an efficient Chinese postal service is maintained;

"(b) That an assurance is given by the Chinese Government that they contemplate no change in the present postal administration so far as the status of the foreign Co-Director General is concerned.

"2. To enable China and the powers concerned to make the necessary disposition, this arrangement shall come into force and effect not later than Jan. 1, 1923.

"(B) Pending the complete withdrawal of foreign postal agencies, the four powers concerned severally undertake to afford full facilities to the Chinese customs authorities to examine in those agencies all postal matter (excepting ordinary letters, whether registered or not, which upon external examination appear plainly to contain only written matter) passing through them, with a view to ascertaining whether they contain articles which are dutiable or contraband or which otherwise contravene the customs regulations or laws of China."

Senator Lodge read the following letter:

"Japanese Delegation, Washington.

"Dec. 9, 1921.

"Dear Sir: With regard to the proposed abolition of foreign postal agencies, I am happy to inform you that my Government have no objection to the initiation of the arrangement as from the date in the draft resolution, that is, not later than Jan. 1, 1923.

"In announcing this agreement of my Government, I am instructed to state before the committee their desire concerning the maintenance of efficient Chinese postal service substantially to the following effect:

"Taking into account the fact that the proposed change in the postal régime in China cannot fail practically to affect the Japanese to a much greater extent than any other nationals, the Japanese Government wish to place on record their desire that a suitable number of experienced Japanese postal officers be engaged by China in the interest of the efficiency of the Chinese postal administration. The reasonableness of this desire will readily be appreciated when it is considered that the powers concerned have recognized the need of effective foreign assistance in the Chinese postal administration, and that no less than seventy British subjects and twenty Frenchmen are

in that service, while only two Japanese experts are employed in it. Yours respectfully

M. HANIHARA.

"Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman Subcommittee for Foreign Post Offices in China."

Mr. Sze made the following statement:

"Since the establishment of her national postal service China has at all times handled with efficiency all foreign mail. She appreciates that, with the withdrawal of foreign Post Offices from her soil, the amount of foreign mail to be handled by her own postal system will be increased. This increase she undertakes to handle with the same efficiency by making such additions to the personnel and equipment of her postal service as will be required. As soon as the Siberian route is reopened for the transportation of foreign mail matter between Asia and Europe, steps will be taken to make arrangements for the transportation of such mail matter as was formerly transported by this route. As regards actual railway transportation of such mail, China will hold herself responsible for uninterrupted service upon those railways or sections of railways within her jurisdiction which are under her own control and operation."

The committee also entered upon the discussion of matters relating to radio stations in China, which was postponed for further consideration. It then took up the matter of spheres of influence in China, in connection with which Dr. Wang made the following statement, and the discussion was postponed until the next session of the committee:

"The phrase 'sphere of interest' or 'sphere of influence,' as it is sometimes called, is a more or less vague term which implies that the powers making such claims in China are entitled within their respective 'spheres' to enjoy reserved, preferential, exclusive or special rights and privileges for trade, investment and other purposes.

"Germany was the first to claim a sphere of influence or of interest in its crystallized form over the Province of Shantung; later the other powers made similar claims over other portions of the territory of China.

"These claims are either based on agreements between the powers themselves to which China is not a party, such as the agreement of Sept. 2, 1898, relative to railway construction concluded between British and German banking groups and sanctioned by their respective Governments, or based on treaties or agreements made with China under circumstances precluding the free exercise of her will, such as the convention with Germany for a lease of Kiao-Chau of March 6, 1898, and the treaties and notes of May 25, 1915, made with Japan in consequence of the latter's twenty-one demands on China.

"A tentative list of the various treaties relating to this matter and the so-called

spheres of interest of the various powers has already been circulated for your information. I need not, therefore, enter into a detailed examination of them at present.

"That China should have been thus divided into different spheres of interest is a most unfortunate state of affairs. In the first place, these spheres of interest seriously hamper the economic development of China. The powers claiming these spheres seem to take the view that certain portions of China's territory are reserved for their exclusive exploitation, without regard to the economic needs of the Chinese people. There have been instances where a nation is unwilling or unable to finance a particular enterprise, and yet refuses to allow it to be financed or carried out by other nations.

"In the second place, the whole system is contrary to the policy of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations—a policy which, so far as the common interests of the powers are concerned, is fair and equitable, and which has been adopted by this committee.

"A further objection to the spheres of interest is that there has been a tendency, under cover of economic claims, to further political ends, thus threatening the political integrity of China and giving rise to international jealousy or friction.

"It is gratifying to know that the United States and Great Britain have placed themselves strongly upon record as opposed to the continuance of spheres of interest in China. At the last meeting Mr. Balfour was good enough to say that spheres of interest in China are a thing of the past.

"The claims by the powers to spheres of interest have given rise to many misunderstandings and misgivings on the part of the Chinese people, and in view of the considerations which I have just advanced the Chinese delegation asks that the powers represented in this conference disavow all claims to a sphere or spheres of interest or of influence or any special interests within the territory of China."

Mr. Hughes then stated that he desired to announce an important matter to the committee, although it was outside the proceedings of the conference. It was a matter that had almost been concluded before the conference convened. He was happy to state that it had now been completely settled and an agreement reached between the United States and Japan. He referred to the matter of Yap and the mandated islands north of the equator. A convention would be put in final shape and signed by the two Governments shortly.

In closing the session, Secretary Hughes voiced the regret of the conference over the impending departure of M. Viviani, head of the French delegation after Premier Briand's return to France. M. Viviani replied

appropriately. After signing the four-power agreement on the Pacific, M. Viviani made his personal farewells to President Harding. He sailed on the same steamship which bore Marshal Foch back to France, on Wednesday, Dec. 14. "The Washington conference is a brilliant success," said M. Viviani just prior to his departure. "I am glad I have had a part in it." M. Albert Sarraut, the French Minister of Colonies, who is an authority on Far Eastern affairs, succeeded M. Viviani as head of the French delegation.

THE YAP AGREEMENT

The provisions of the agreement on mandates, referred to by Secretary Hughes, including the island of Yap, were given out by the State Department at Washington on Dec. 13. They were as follows:

The United States and Japan have reached an agreement with respect to the Island of Yap and the other mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator. The negotiations have been in progress since last June and the terms of settlement were almost entirely agreed upon before the meeting of the Conference on Limitation of Armament. The last steps in the negotiations have now been taken. The points of the agreement are as follows:

1—It is agreed that the United States shall have free access to the Island of Yap on the footing of entire equality with Japan or any other nation, in all that relates to the landing and operation of the existing Yap-Guam cable or of any cable which may hereafter be laid by the United States or its nationals.

2—It is also agreed that the United States and its nationals are to be accorded the same rights and privileges with respect to radio-telegraphic service as with regard to cables. It is provided that so long as the Japanese Government shall maintain on the Island of Yap an adequate radio-telegraphic station, co-operating effectively with the cables and with other radio stations on ships and shore, without discriminatory exactions or preferences, the exercise of the right to establish radio-telegraphic stations at Yap by the United States or its nationals shall be suspended.

3—It is further agreed that the United States shall enjoy in the Island of Yap the following rights, privileges and exemptions in relation to electrical communications:

(a) Rights of residence without restriction, and rights of acquisition and enjoy-

ment and undisturbed possession, upon a footing of entire equality with Japan or any other nation or their respective nationals, of all property and interests, both personal and real, including lands, buildings, residences, offices, works and appurtenances.

(b) No permit or license to be required for the enjoyment of any of these rights and privileges.

(c) Each country to be free to operate both ends of its cables, either directly or through its nationals, including corporations or associations.

(d) No cable censorship or supervision of operation or messages.

(e) Free entry and exit for persons and property.

(f) No taxes, port, harbor or landing charges or exactions, either with respect to operation of cables or to property, persons or vessels.

(g) No discriminatory police regulations.

4—Japan agrees that it will use its power of expropriation to secure to the United States needed property and facilities for the purpose of electrical communication in the island, if such property or facilities cannot otherwise be obtained. It is understood that the location and area of land to be so expropriated shall be arranged each time between the two Governments, according to the requirements of each case. American property and facilities for the purpose of electrical communication in the island are to be exempt from the process of expropriation.

AS TO MANDATED ISLANDS

5—The United States consents to the administration by Japan of the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator, subject to the above provisions with respect to the Island of Yap, and also subject to the following conditions:

(a) The United States is to have the benefit of the engagements of Japan set forth in the mandate, particularly those as follows:

"Article III.—The mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labor is permitted, except for essential public work and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

"The mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the convention relating to the control of the arms traffic, signed on Sept. 10, 1919, or in any convention amending same.

"The supplying of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited.

"Article IV.—The military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defense of the territory, shall be prohibited.

"Furthermore, no military or naval bases shall be established or fortifications erected in the territory."

(b) With respect to missionaries, it is agreed that Japan shall insure complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality, and that missionaries of all such religions shall be free to enter the territory, and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings, and to open schools throughout the territory. Japan shall, however, have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

(c) Japan agrees that vested American property rights will be maintained and respected.

(d) It is agreed that the treaties between the United States and Japan, now in force, shall apply to the mandated islands.

(e) It is agreed that any modifications in the mandate are to be subject to the consent of the United States, and, further, that Japan will address to the United States a duplicate report on the administration of the mandate.

A formal convention embodying these provisions will be drawn up for signature and will be subject to ratification by the Senate.

The foregoing clause regarding missionaries will reopen more than a hundred Christian schools in the mandated islands, and will mean the continuation of seventy years of American Protestant and thirty-five years of Roman Catholic missionary work in that region of the Pacific. Under a ruling of the League of Nations the Japanese had closed these mission schools and established their own secular instruction in accordance with the educational laws of Japan.

AGAINST FOREIGN LEASEHOLDS

At the session held on Dec. 14, Dr. Wang for China continued his argument against foreign concessions on Chinese soil. Japan was ready to return her Shantung holdings under certain conditions, which the special Chinese and Japanese negotiators were still discussing, but she had declared that she would not withdraw from Kwangtung Province in South Manchuria, including Port Arthur and Dairen, because she had obtained these concessions by treaty. At this session of the Far Eastern Committee Dr. Wang undertook to combat Japan's retention of these leaseholds, and insisted that the treaty of re-

newal for ninety-nine years and other treaties were obtained by Japan under duress of the famous twenty-one demands in 1915, and that Japan was not entitled to the Kwangtung leasehold after the expiration of the original treaty in 1925. He argued that this and all the treaties resulting from the twenty-one demands should be abrogated. At this point Chairman Hughes, in view of the situation regarding Shantung and naval armaments, deemed it advisable to adjourn subject to the call of the Chairman. The official communique merely stated that "the committee took up the question of spheres of influence and special interests in China," and made no mention of the Chinese argument hinging on the abrogation of the twenty-one demands. The text of the official communique was as follows:

The Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions met Dec. 14. The committee took up the question of "spheres of influence" and special interests in China, and the Chairman stated that, in view of the situation with regard to the matter of naval armament, it seemed advisable to give an opportunity for necessary conversations and discussions and also for meetings of the subcommittee on naval armament in order that an agreement on this subject should be reached at the earliest possible moment. It was also a fact that at this time the Chinese and Japanese delegations were concerned with the Shantung conversations, and in order that the greatest progress should be made in the conference, the Chairman took the liberty of suggesting that the General Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions should have a short session this morning, and then should take a recess subject to the call of the Chairman. This suggestion was unanimously approved.

SEPARATE SHANTUNG PARLEY

China, through her delegation at the disarmament conference at Washington, consented on Dec. 1 to a discussion of her long dispute with Japan over the return of Shantung to Chinese sovereignty.

This dispute was precipitated by the clauses of the Versailles Treaty (Section VIII., Articles 156-158), which gave to Japan all the rights and privileges possessed by Germany before the war. Against this settle-

ment China vigorously protested, and when her protests proved vain, her delegates left the Paris Peace Conference, and refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany. Since that time, up to the opening of the Washington conference, the Chinese Government has steadfastly refused to open negotiations with Japan over Shantung, taking the ground that by China's declaration of war on the Central Powers, all the former German rights in Shantung, held on lease from the Chinese Government, automatically reverted to China, and that negotiations with Japan were superfluous.

The clauses of the Versailles Treaty embodying Germany's renunciation of her Shantung rights in favor of Japan were as follows:

Article 156—Germany renounces, in favor of Japan, all her rights, titles and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiao-Chau, railways, mines and submarine cables, which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-fu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and materials for the exploitation of the mines are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and from Tsing-tao to Che-fu, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

Article 157—The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiao-Chau, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works of improvement made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

On repeated occasions the Japanese Government, alleging its sincere intention to return to China, of its own accord, full sovereignty in Shantung, made overtures to the Chinese Government to open negotiations with it to this effect. To each overture the Peking Government returned a re-

fusal, reiterating the contention that Shantung belonged to China, and that she could not enter any parleys to fix conditions on which Japan would be willing to make the offered restitution. Meanwhile the Chinese people maintained a vigorous boycott of Japanese goods.

On the eve of the Washington conference, the Japanese Government again proposed—and the Chinese Government refused—a settlement of the controversy. The Chinese reply, transmitted to Tokio on Oct. 6, dealt in detail with the whole Japanese proposal and rejected every part of it in toto. In this reply China declared that the reason why she had found herself unable to enter negotiations was that "the bases upon which Japan claims to negotiate are all of a nature either highly objectionable to the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, or such to which they have never given their recognition." Kiaochau must be returned unconditionally; China would open Kiaochau Bay herself for trade and commerce to all friendly powers, and objected to the establishment of a purely Japanese settlement there; she declined joint operation with Japan of the Shantung Railway; the Custom House at Tsing-tao and other properties in Shantung should be handed back by Japan unconditionally, and Japan should withdraw her troops from the territory without delay. Such, in substance, was the tenor of this new refusal. To a further note from Tokio, urging a reconsideration, the Peking Government returned a no less emphatic refusal.

Such was the status of the controversy when the Washington conference assembled on Nov. 12. After Secretary Hughes's startling proposal of naval disarmament, the conference appointed its committees to take up and study in detail all matters relating to disarmament and the Far East. China appeared at session after session of the Committee on the Far East to state her case with regard to encroachments on her sovereignty, and vigorously attacked the system

of foreign Post Offices on Chinese soil, the regime of extraterritoriality, and the maintenance by various powers, including Japan, of military and police forces in China. Her delegation, however, made no move to bring the Shantung controversy before the conference.

The agreement of the Chinese delegates to open discussions with Japan was announced officially by Secretary Hughes at the session of the Far East Committee on Nov. 30. It was further announced that this acceptance had come as the result of proposals made by Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, who had tendered their "good offices" to the delegates of the two countries.

The first separate meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates was held in the Pan American Building on Dec. 1. Members of the American and British delegations were present. The Chinese delegation was headed by Dr. Sze and Dr. Wellington Koo; the Japanese by Baron Kato. Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour opened the proceedings, expressing their gratification at the acceptance of their good offices, and their wish to extend these as far as necessary to aid the two countries to reach a final understanding. After the two Asiatic delegations had agreed to eliminate points of agreement, and to proceed at once to matters still in dispute, Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour retired, and the Chinese and Japanese negotiators then drew up plans of procedure, the remaining American and British delegates assisting as friendly observers. The results of the session were recorded in this official communiqué:

The conversations between the Chinese and Japanese delegates relating to the Shantung question arranged through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour commenced this afternoon [Dec. 1] in the Conference Room of the Pan American Building.

The meeting on the part of China was attended by Dr. Sze, Dr. Koo and Dr. Wang, accompanied by Mr. Tyau, General Wang, Mr. Hsu, Mr. Chao and Mr. Kuo; and on the part of Japan by Baron Kato, Mr. Hanihara, Mr. Debuchi, accompanied by

Mr. Saburi, Mr. Kimura, Mr. Saito and Mr. Shiratori. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Bal-four, accompanied by Sir John Jordon, Mr. Miles Lampson, Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray and Mr. Edward Bell, opened the meeting and retired, leaving the above-named American and British representatives to assist at the session.

The meeting discussed questions of procedure and decided to issue a communiqué at the end of each meeting.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

The points on which the two conflicting powers were already in complete agreement, as shown by both Chinese and Japanese memorandums, were as follows:

1. The whole of Kiao-Chau shall be returned to China, which shall voluntarily open Tsing-tao as a port for foreign commerce and on conditions that are more or less in accordance with the special area system at Tientsin and Hankow.

2. German public property at Tsing-tao shall be turned over to the Chinese for administration, the Japanese proposal including guarantees by China for maintenance and operation. The Chinese formula takes such maintenance and operation for granted.

3. The former German railway rights, exclusive of the trunk line now in operation, shall be transferred to the International Consortium, under which the proposed extensions are to be constructed.

4. The mines along the railway are to be operated as joint Sino-Japanese enterprises.

Points on which there was substantial agreement were these:

1. The Japanese forces in Shantung are to be withdrawn as soon as possible. The Chinese condition is that the troops shall be withdrawn "within the shortest limited period." The Japanese proposal is that the troops shall be withdrawn at once, except for those guarding the railroad, which shall be withdrawn "upon organization by China of a police force to assume protection of the railroad," the question of the organization of this railway guard to be reserved "for future consideration between Japan and China." The Chinese stand is that the right of organizing a railway guard "shall be exercised exclusively by China."

2. The shares in the Shantung Railroad are to be divided equally between Japan and China, with China responsible for the indemnification of the private German owners.

3. Following an agreed settlement, Japan shall renounce all further rights in Shantung in the Chinese formula. The Japanese basis of agreement is that Japan specifically renounces "all preferential rights with

regard to foreign assistance in persons, capital and material, stipulated in the Sino-German treaty of March 6, 1898," but requires that China "undertake to respect the vested rights of all foreigners," and leaves the matter of the railroad guard open for arrangements with Japan.

POINTS IN DISPUTE

The differences at the outset were found to lie in the following points:

China makes the following stipulations that are not referred to in any way in the Japanese memorandum:

- "1. That Japan must surrender to China, as a part of the salt monopoly, the salt works established by the Japanese at Tsing-tao, Japan being given the right to make certain purchases of salt for a certain period.

- "2. That Japan share with China the surplus earned by the Shantung Railway during the period of Japanese operation.

- "3. That all the cable lines running out of Tsing-tao, being in Chinese territorial waters, be returned to China, as well as the Japanese wireless station at Tsing-tao, for the cost of which China will pay."

The Japanese memorandum lays down the following conditions which are not taken up in the Chinese formula:

- "1. China agrees to carry out the opening of suitable inland cities and towns in Shantung for foreign trade, regulations regarding such to be made by China after consultation with the powers.

- "2. China to name Commissioners empowered to arrange a settlement of the question along the lines laid down by Japan."

The sharp cleavage comes in the matter of the trunk line of the Shantung Railroad. The Japanese hold that this should be managed as a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise; the Chinese claim is that the line "should be solely operated by China."

Another distinct difference is included in the Chinese claim that the "sales of land by Chinese to Japanese through force and compulsion of the Japanese military command during the period of military operation shall be nullified."

The intensity of Chinese feeling regarding negotiation with Japan over Shantung was shown by the attempt made by delegations of Chinese merchants and students in Washington to prevent the Chinese delegates from attending this meeting. They met Dr. Wellington Koo and Dr. Shung Hui-wang, but Dr. Sze had already left. The objectors in their converse with the officials were orderly, but used emphatic language in denunciation of the agreement by the Chinese

representatives to negotiate. Dr. Shung explained that the Chinese delegation was not entering into a direct negotiation with Japan, pointing out the difference between "mediation" and "good offices." In case of a deadlock, he added, the American and British delegates might offer suggestions, but these suggestions would not be as binding as in the case of actual mediation or arbitration.

Hsu Mel-tang and Shu Jen-shu, delegates in Washington of the Shantung People's Union, declared that all China wished to "have Shantung returned unconditionally." In a formal statement they said:

The Chinese delegation may accept the invitation by the American State Department to enter direct negotiations with Japan over the Shantung controversy, but unless the terms are such as to meet the demand of the people at home, any decision that may be reached will not be approved by them. * * * We wish to reiterate that no effort will be spared to obstruct any conclusion contrary to the wishes of the 38,000,000 souls involved in this famous award.

Mr. Hsu, who is the departmental chief of the Foreign Office of the Shantung Provincial Government, described his departure from Shantung as follows:

The scene of my departure was most pathetic. About 3,000 people saw me off at the station. Each of them carried a white flag, which meant that we need not return to China until Shantung returns with us to China.

SHANTUNG RAILWAY DISCUSSED

The discussions were continued on the afternoon of Dec. 2, when the delegates at once attacked the heart of the dispute, namely, the disposition of the Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Railway. The Chinese reiterated the view presented at the Paris Peace Conference—that both the ownership and administration of the railroad must be given to China. Japan insisted on the view expressed in her note to China dated Sept. 7, in which she offered joint control and administration of the railroad. The conversations went no further than a definition of the real issue. In the course of the session both delegations fre-

quently appealed to the American and British observers. The attitude on both sides was frank and conciliatory. The spokesman for the Japanese declared later that Japan, for economic reasons, was prepared to deal generously with China in order to break down the boycott of Japanese goods. Dr. Koo, for China, re-emphasized the Chinese view that these conversations could not be interpreted as "direct negotiations," and defined them rather as "an informal conference around the table, collateral with the Washington conference proper."

The official communique issued on Dec. 2 preceded the report of that day's session by the full statements made by the heads of delegations the day before. The communique in full was as follows:

At the first meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates, held Dec. 1, at the Pan American Building, relative to the question of Shantung, and in response to the opening remarks of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour expressing their gratification in the acceptance on the part of China and Japan of their good offices and their desire to extend their friendly intervention with a view to securing a fair and satisfactory arrangement of this question, Baron Kato and Dr. Sze replied as follows:

"JAPANESE STATEMENT ON THE SHANTUNG QUESTION, DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF THE JAPANESE AND CHINESE DELEGATES ON DEC. 1:

"We are sincerely gratified by the opportunity which has been afforded us to meet with the representatives of China in an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of the Shantung question. We cannot let this occasion pass without expressing our deep appreciation of the good offices of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, which have made the present meeting possible.

"It is needless for us to assure you that Japan is eagerly looking forward to an early settlement of this long-pending controversy. We may add that it is the desire of the Japanese people to eliminate all cause of misunderstanding between China and Japan, in order that these two neighboring nations in the Far East may live in future in perfect harmony and accord. And we have no doubt that this sentiment is fully shared by our Chinese friends.

"We are not unmindful of the difficulties with which the Chinese Government is being confronted in entering into direct negotiations on the subject. We are, however, confident that, if approached from a broader perspective, the question should be susceptible of a speedy solution. The true and

vital interests of the two nations are in no way conflicting.

"It is unfortunate that the real issues involved have been very largely misunderstood in the popular mind. The term 'Shantung question' is itself a misnomer. The question is not one which affects the whole Province of Shantung. The important points now awaiting adjustment relate only to the manner of restoring to China an area of territory less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the Shantung Province, and also to the disposition of a railway 290 miles long, and its appurtenant mines, formerly under exclusive possession and management of the Germans. There is absolutely no question of full territorial sovereignty; that is being exercised by China throughout the length and breadth of the province.

"Careful examination of the correspondence recently exchanged between Japan and China will show that the divergencies of opinion between the two Governments are more apparent than real. We are hopeful that this meeting will be able to determine in common accord the essential terms of settlement, leaving the matters of detail or of local nature for arrangement by the Commissioners of the two Governments to be specially appointed for that purpose.

"STATEMENT BY MR. SZE ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION:

"Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour: I desire first of all to express on behalf of the Chinese delegation the sincere thanks and appreciation for the friendly and good offices that you two gentlemen have offered on behalf of your two countries in bringing about conversations with a view to a fair settlement of the Shantung question. I need not add anything more to what I said yesterday at the general meeting of the full committee.

"The Shantung question is one of vital importance to China. Its importance to China and the difficulties connected therewith are too well known to all to need any remarks by me today. It is universally admitted that the condition is unsatisfactory and that an early and speedy solution, fair and just and satisfactory to the desires and aspirations of the Chinese people, is necessary.

"I join with you all in the hope that our conversations will be fruitful of results, resulting in a fair and just settlement.

"With reference to the observation of Baron Kato that the Japanese Government was not unmindful of the difficulties which have confronted the Chinese Government in regard to the method of settling this question, the Chinese delegation is gratified that these difficulties have been perceived by the Japanese delegation—difficulties which have made necessary the resort to the present procedure, which, under the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour in behalf of their respective Governments, has been initiated."

This conversation was resumed this afternoon, together with the American and British representatives. Prince Tokugawa replaced Baron Kato in representing Japan at this session.

It was agreed on the part of the two delegations that in discussing the Shantung question they would take the actual facts and not the academic viewpoints as the basis of discussion, which will be for the sole purpose of promoting mutual understanding and good neighborhood between China and Japan and without giving ground for the least inference that the discussion will be based on the treaty arrangements which have been in dispute between these two countries or others.

An interchange of views on the question of Kiao-Chau-Tsinan Railway then took place and this discussion will be continued at another meeting.

CUSTOMS AND PREFERENTIAL RIGHTS

The representatives of China and Japan continued their separate negotiations regarding Shantung on Dec. 5. The Chinese acceded to the Japanese proposal that the Shantung Railway matter be postponed, and that they proceed at once to discussion of customs and preferential rights in Shantung. Japan consented to waive all such preferential rights (which passed from Germany to Japan under the Treaty of Versailles), and further agreed that the maritime customs of Tsing-tao, the port of Kiao-Chau, should become an integral part of the Chinese maritime customs under certain conditions. The official communique issued after the meeting read as follows:

The Chinese and Japanese delegates met on the afternoon of Dec. 5 at the Pan American Building. Mr. Hanihara made the following declaration:

"Japan will renounce all preferential rights with regard to foreign assistance in persons, capital and material, stipulated in the Sino-German treaty of March 6, 1898."

The question of the maritime customs of Tsing-tao was then discussed. After an interchange of views, the negotiators have decided that the said customs will be made an integral part of the Chinese maritime customs, with the understanding, first, that the Chinese Government will make a recommendation to the Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, with a view to permitting the Japanese traders at Tsing-tao to communicate with the said customs in the Japanese language; second, the Chinese Government will make a recommendation to the Inspector General of the Chi-

nese Maritime Customs that in the selection of a suitable staff for the Tsing-tao customs consideration be given within the limits of its established service regulations to the divers needs of the trade of Tsing-tao.

With these two understandings, the Japanese delegates waived all the privileges formerly enjoyed by the Germans in relation to the maritime customs at Tsing-tao. The provisional agreement between Japan and China relative to the maritime customs office of Tsing-tao of Aug. 6, 1915, will be automatically abrogated when the above-mentioned decision comes into effect.

Mr. Hanihara, the chief Japanese negotiator, issued a public statement on the same day, in which he explained in some detail the Japanese view in respect to Shantung. The salient points of the statement were as follows:

The American people believe that the Japanese have overrun this Chinese province, that they control the railways, the Government and everything else. This is untrue. The actual condition is this: There is a north and south railway which crosses the province, a section of the main line from Peking to Nanking. A part of that line is controlled and operated by the Chinese themselves and a section by British interests. From that main road runs a line eastward to the port of Tsing-tao, Kiao-Chau Bay. That line, 289 miles long, is now held by the Japanese. Policing it and stationed at the terminals at Tsinan-fu and Tsing-tao, we have 2,700 men guarding the line. The charge that this small force is holding the whole province, with its 40,000,000 Chinese, in subjection pays Japan a great compliment. * * * The leased territory of Kiao-Chau covers an area of only 200 square miles, which is less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the area of the whole province. We took it from Germany, not from China. Not only did we take nothing from our colossal neighbor, we have actually offered to restore the port to her and to give her a half right in the former German railway. We Japanese considered that for the cost we paid in blood and money we had some right to compensation, but we planned that that compensation should come from Germany only. What we have intended is that those mining rights which the Germans held and a half share in the railway—not all the railway, but the 289 miles that run from the port to the provincial capital—should be our compensation. Our way of thinking may be peculiar, but we generally doubt whether Englishmen or Americans, placed as we are in the Far East, in absolute need of raw materials and markets for our manufactures, would have made so generous an offer to China. * * *

We, for our part, have nothing but friendly feelings toward the Chinese, and we are willing to come to an amicable understanding with them. But we do not want the railway or the mines to fail to function. If they did the Chinese in Shantung, who live by means of these enterprises, would suffer equally with the Japanese, who would be deprived of raw materials and of markets. We have already agreed to withdraw 2,700 men as soon as the Chinese authorities provide guards to protect the line. We have agreed to hand back Kiao-Chau, the leased territory, to China, if she will open it and other places along the railway for the trade and commerce of all foreigners—not of Japanese alone. We have agreed in the general conference to the policy of the open door, which we Japanese have not everywhere obtained nor enjoyed up to the present. The other matters in dispute in the question of Shantung are of insignificant importance. The Chinese authorities are in control of Chinese affairs everywhere throughout the province.

The separate negotiations regarding Shantung continued in secrecy for the next two weeks. The main obstacle to agreement lay in the conditions attached by Japan to the return of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-fu Railway. China rejected a Japanese loan and asked the right to purchase on three years' time; Japan sought to spread payment over twenty years; China finally consented to ten. The Japanese yielded on a five years' option to complete the purchase. The two delegations, however, finally reached a deadlock over initial payments and Japan's demand to put Japanese officials in control of the line. The final communique said:

At the seventeenth meeting of the Chinese and Japanese delegates (Dec. 20) the two delegations discussed the plan of payment in cash of China's liabilities regarding the Shantung Railway properties and also an alternative plan of the payment in Chinese Treasury notes, having special reference to the question of the appointment by China of Japanese experts in the service of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-fu Railway, as proposed by the Japanese delegation. These questions involved points on which it was found necessary for the Japanese delegation to consult with its home Government.

News reached Washington on Dec. 19 that General Chang-Tso-lin, the powerful military Governor of Manchuria, had entered Peking, and

that the Chinese Cabinet had resigned as a preliminary step toward a complete reorganization of the Government. It was stated that negotiations had already been begun for the reunion of the two warring sections of China under a new President. The overthrow at Peking had no immediate effect upon China's disarmament delegation at Washington.

LAND ARMAMENT

After Premier Briand's address of Nov. 21 setting forth the attitude of France regarding her army, and after the responses of the different nations (all published in the December CURRENT HISTORY), the Committee on Armaments referred the whole subject of land armament to a committee consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five powers. This committee discussed the subject for two hours on Nov. 23, and finally referred it to a subcommittee of five, consisting of a delegate from each of the leading nations. The full committee issued a report of the proceedings, as follows:

The committee on the subject of the limitation of armament met in the Pan American Building on the morning of Nov. 23. All the members were present, except Baron Shidehara and Signor Meda. After a general discussion of the subjects relating to land armament and the agencies of warfare, these were referred to the subcommittee, consisting of the heads of the delegations, with instructions to bring in an order of procedure with regard to these subjects and to appoint subcommittees to deal with the questions relating to poison gas, aircraft and rules of international law.

The subcommittee, which met at 5 o'clock, made public a communiqué outlining the result of its deliberations, as follows:

"The subcommittee decided to create three boards of experts, each member of the subcommittee to nominate the members of these boards as follows:

"1. With respect to aircraft, their quantity, character and use.

"2. With respect to poison gases.

"3. With respect to appropriate rules for the conduct of war.

"The experts are to conduct their inquiries under the direct supervision of the subcommittee, composed of the heads of the five delegations. As each subject is prepared for the discussion of the full committee it will be reported to it."

Mr. Briand took leave of his colleagues,

expressing his regret at being obliged to depart. The other members of the subcommittee expressed their regret that he was obliged to leave them and their appreciation of the great part he had taken in the proceedings.

The committee then adjourned, subject to the call of the chair.

BRIAND'S FAREWELL STATEMENT

Just before his departure from Washington, Premier Briand made a statement before the Committee on Land Armaments supplemental to his public address. In this farewell statement he expressed his views as to the maximum disarmament possible by his country consistent with safety. The official summary of his speech was as follows:

M. Briand asks the floor in order to express his keen regret at being forced to give up his collaboration in the work of the conference, as this day is the last one that he will spend in Washington. He considers it one of the greatest honors of his political life to have been able to participate, even for a time, in the work of the conference, following the noble, generous and courageous initiative taken by the American Government.

He wishes to say once more something which he was unable to express at the last plenary session with all the emotion which he felt; how deep was his gratitude to his colleagues for the words spoken by them and addressed to France. It is certain that the exchange of friendly declarations which has taken place before the whole world has enabled Europe to take a great step forward on the road to peace; it has, in fact, brought about that moral situation without the existence of which it would have been hard, indeed, to reach a positive result.

No longer will any one be able to say that the armaments of France mask offensive intentions. Speaking frankly, it was practically a necessity for France that the words be uttered; she has been so sharply attacked; she has been credited with so many hidden motives that in foreign lands some have ventured to doubt her real purposes.

Tomorrow—and this is one of the reasons for which M. Briand must return to Paris—the French Government and the French Parliament will take up the consideration of the military problem as it presents itself after the war and the victory; they will take it up with a desire to make the greatest possible progress in the realm of the reduction of military burdens. The duration of military service will very probably be reduced by one-half. Thanks to the words spoken at Washington, these decisions will be reached in a serene atmosphere.

M. Briand wishes to add that he departs

without anxiety, since, in his place, he leaves M. Viviani, who, during his previous trips to America, created for himself universal sympathies which have almost made him an American citizen. It is certain that in his hands the interests of France will be well safeguarded.

The French Parliament, as M. Briand indicated in this statement, was then about to act upon a bill decreasing the period of compulsory military service in France from three years to eighteen months and the number of classes from three to one and a half. A class numbers about 250,000 men. This law contemplates the reduction of the French Army by about 50 per cent., in accordance with the program laid down by M. Briand in his speech of Nov. 21 before the Washington conference. Before the war France had an army totaling about 900,000. The present strength of her army, according to a report of the Army Commission laid before the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 30, is 818,000, made up of 591,000 whites, 117,000 natives of North Africa and 110,000 natives of other colonies and foreigners. M. Briand's program aims to reduce the total to about 525,000, made up of 375,000 Frenchmen resident in France and 150,000 Moroccans, Algerians, Senegalese and Indo-Chinese. The main reduction is in the home forces, which numbered 750,000 before the war. The Army Commission's report, however, made public a few days after M. Briand's speech, estimated that under the Government plan the army would still be 661,000 strong next Summer.

THE CURZON EPISODE

Premier Briand left Washington on the morning of Nov. 24. Members of the French delegation and representatives of the State Department, headed by Secretary Hughes, saw him off. That night at a dinner given by the Lotos Club in New York he made a similar plea for France's need of a comparatively large army, and his words left a deep impression. The Premier sailed from New York on the 25th. Before leaving, he was interviewed regarding the sensational

address delivered by Earl Curzon in London on Nov. 24, in which the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, referring to France's treaty with the Turkish Nationalists and to her large standing army, warned her against a policy of isolation, which, he intimated, would lead her to disaster. Lord Curzon said in part:

In what lies the real strength and protection of our great ally across the Channel? * * * It exists in the fact that the conscience of the world and the combined physical force of the world—and in that I include America—will not tolerate the reappearance in the heart of Europe of a great and dangerous power which is always rattling the sword in the scabbard and which is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world. * * * The sole question of the recovery of the peace of the world is not the old idea of splendid isolation by any individual power—there is not much splendor in isolation, after all—it is harmonious co-operation of powers as a whole.

M. Briand's informal reply to Lord Curzon contained these sentences:

As regards disarmament, France will have gone as far along this road as any other country without exception. In effect, on land, in spite of the dangers which she undergoes, she has already spontaneously reduced her "metropolitan army" by a third. In spite of the law which keeps three classes with the colors, there are actually only two. Furthermore, the Government has introduced a bill into Parliament which reduces the period of service by half, and in consequence the number of effectives in the same proportion. It is much more than the other nations will do as regards navies, since the naval reductions envisaged do not exceed 40 per cent. * * *

France, which has 60,000,000 subjects in her colonies, whose coasts are on three seas, which consequently needs a navy, has seen her capital ships reduced by the effects of the war from three squadrons to a single squadron. She is prepared on this ground to realize an accord with her friends and allies for the same proportional reduction.

Consequently in the sum total of her forces of national defense, land army and sea army, it can be said that France will have made an effort at reduction superior to that of any other nation, and the merit will be greater because she is in veritable danger. Our English friend ought to recognize the fact that the German fleet is at the bottom of the sea, and that consequently it is no longer a menace either for England or for us. But the seven million men of the German armies are still very much alive and available. It is a fact that France must realize and consider.

This incident, together with the belief in allied circles that France would

demand a submarine tonnage equal to Great Britain and a capital ship tonnage equal to Japan's, caused sharp comment. The comment was not made less by Premier Briand's ironical remark that "no doubt England needed her capital ships to fish for herring, and France needed her submarines to study marine flora." The French press at first was filled with hostile references to Lord Curzon and to England, but by the time M. Briand landed at Havre (Dec. 2) its tone had become calmer. The incident apparently was closed, but it left a profound impression of the danger that threatened the Entente.

Premier Briand's speech on France's army had contained charges that Germany was still armed. Chancellor Wirth on Nov. 28 read a note before the Reichstag Committee on Foreign Affairs denying the truth of M. Briand's assertions and protesting against the calumnies in his speech. It was at first intended that this note should be sent to Secretary Hughes at Washington, but after a heated debate the committee decided against sending it.

NAVAL ARMAMENT

Provisional agreement on the question of naval ratios was reached on Dec. 20. The attempt to fix a ratio acceptable to the three main powers—the United States, Great Britain and Japan—and to bring this into a suitable relation with the capital ship proportion to be allotted to France and Italy, proved to be one of the most difficult tasks which the conference was called upon to perform. The Committee on Armaments discussed all phases of the subject in repeated sessions in camera held through the last week in November and the first two weeks in December. The details of how the committee solved the problem of satisfying the Japanese desire to retain her new large battle cruiser—the Mutsu—by a readjustment of the original American plan, will be found in the introductory pages of this article. The established ratio (5-5-3) for the United States, Great

Britain and Japan was preserved—after allowing the last named country to retain the Mutsu—by Japan's consenting to scrap the Settsu, a ship of an older type, while the United States and Great Britain were similarly allowed to retain certain capital ships originally to have been destroyed, and to scrap others that were to have been retained.

This whole agreement, however, was made contingent on the reaching of a proportionate ratio for France and Italy. The French delegation, headed by M. Albert Sarraut, held out for a proportionate ratio of 3.5, to be represented by a squadron of ten capital ships of 35,000 tons each, construction on which was to be begun in 1925, and which were to be fully completed by the end of the ten-year naval holiday accepted by all five powers. The French argument was that a naval armament of this size was necessary for France's protection against Germany. Secretary Hughes, however, supported by the British and Italian delegates in the Naval Armament Committee, opposed such a large ratio for France, and when his counterproposal of 1.75 was rejected by the French delegation, laid the whole controversy before Premier Briand through Mr. Harvey, the American Ambassador at London. Premier Briand, following his interview with Mr. Harvey, cabled to the French delegation at Washington accepting the 1.75 ratio on condition that France be allowed a strong proportion of auxiliary craft and submarines. At the meeting of the Subcommittee on Naval Limitation held on Dec. 20, Secretary Hughes read the text of a long cable message which he had sent to Premier Briand, explaining in detail why acceptance by France of the 1.75 ratio was absolutely necessary; he also read M. Briand's reply consenting to this ratio with the reservations stated above.

HUGHES'S FORCEFUL LOGIC

After sketching the revised plan, Mr. Hughes pointed out that the change from the original plan was

slight, but that the sacrifices agreed to were substantially the same. Sixty-eight capital fighting ships were to be scrapped by the three chief naval powers—a total of 1,861,000 tons—as against the sixty-six ships of the original proposal, representing a total of 1,878,000 tons. Secretary Hughes then emphasized the fact that this final agreement depended on “an appropriate agreement with France and Italy.” Italy, however, was anxious to reduce her capital ships because of the requirements of her economic life, and would make no opposition to the new scheme if France agreed; hence, the note added, the success or failure of the plan depended on the attitude of France. Secretary Hughes thus

marshaled the reasons why France should agree:

France has seven dreadnoughts, with a tonnage of 164,500. Reducing in the same proportion as the United States has reduced, her tonnage of capital ships would be fixed at 102,000, or if the pre-dreadnoughts of France were taken into calculation on her side, although omitted on the side of the United States, the total tonnage of France's capital ships being taken at 221,000, a reduction on the same basis would reduce France to 136,000 tons.

This would be the sacrifice of France if she made the same sacrifice that has been made by the other powers. We do not ask this. We are entirely willing that France should have the benefit of an increased tonnage, which would preclude the necessity of her scrapping her dreadnoughts; that is to say, her present strength in dreadnoughts is about 164,000 tons, and there is not the slightest objection to allowing this and an

[American Cartoon]



Rosamund Robinson

—Baltimore Sun

“Keep your eye on that conference, my boy; they may save you from becoming a hero”

increase over this, or a total of 175,000 tons, which would be more than 70,000 tons over what she would have on the basis of relative strength as it exists.

If it be said that France desires a greater relative strength, the obvious answer is that this would be impossible of attainment. If such an agreement as we are now proposing were not made, the United States and Great Britain would very shortly have navies of over a million tons, more than 6 to 1, as compared with France, and France would not be in a position to better herself, much less by any possible endeavor to obtain such a relative strength as has been suggested.

In short, the proposed agreement is tremendously in favor of France by reducing the navies of powers who not only are able to build, but whose ships are actually in course of construction, to a basis far more favorable to France than would otherwise be attainable. The proposed agreement really doubles the relative strength of the French Navy.

Under these circumstances, said Secretary Hughes, the French proposal to construct a new fleet aggregating 350,000 tons, was excessive, and, he was convinced, impossible of realization. He further cited France's economic needs, and deprecated the placing of hundreds of millions in battleships, ending with an earnest request that the French Premier give careful consideration to the points cited.

FRENCH PREMIER'S REPLY

Premier Briand in his reply assured Secretary Hughes that France wished

to do all in her power to reconcile the conflicting viewpoints compatible "with the vital interests of France." He then stated that he had "given instructions to our delegates in the sense that you desire." But though France thus accepted the 1.75 ratio for capital ships, he stated, this acceptance must be conditional on the obtaining of a larger proportion of auxiliary craft and submarines. The salient part of his argument was as follows:

In the question of naval armament, the reoccupation of France is not the offensive point of view, but uniquely the defensive point of view. * * * So far as the defensive ships are concerned (light cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines), it would be impossible for the French Government, without putting itself in contradiction with the vote of the Chambers, to accept reductions corresponding to those which we accept for capital ships under this formal reserve which you will certainly understand.

The idea which dominates the Washington conference is to restrict naval armaments which are offensive and costly. But I do not believe that it is the program to deny to a nation like France, which has a large extent of coasts and a great number of distant colonies, the essential means of defending its communications and its security.

This correspondence left the problem still far from a solution, and a meeting of the Committee of the Whole was called for Dec. 22 to wrestle with it.

THE SCAPEGOAT OF THE MARNE

FIELD MARSHAL KARL VON BUELOW, who commanded the German Second Army in France in 1914, died in Berlin on Aug. 31, 1921, aged 75. He had been on the retired list since June, 1916. Born in 1846, he won distinction in the wars of 1866 and 1870. On the outbreak of the World War in 1914 he entered Belgium in command of the Second Army, a brigade of which occupied Liège on Aug. 7, and pressed on to the Marne.

His own explanation of Germany's defeat, published by him in 1920,

was that von Kluck had removed two of von Buelow's corps on Sept. 7. During the retreat that followed, which was really the beginning of the end for Germany, and during the battle of the Aisne, the First and Seventh Armies were placed under von Buelow's charge by the German High Command, and the venerable Field Marshal was thus made the scapegoat for von Kluck's incompetent handling of the advance on Paris, as a result of which all Germany's hopes of a swift termination of the war were dashed to the ground.

GREAT PERSONALITIES AT THE ARMS CONFERENCE

BY CORNELIUS VANDERBILT JR.

Eyewitness descriptions of the dominant figures of the various delegations—Pen portraits of Balfour, Briand, Viviani, and the enigmatic Japanese delegates, Kato and Tokugawa—Young China represented by Dr. Sze and Dr. Wellington Koo

WHEN President Harding issued his historic invitation to the great powers, not overlooking China, the event was considered by them of sufficient importance to justify them in sending their foremost statesmen to Washington. War rumblings were being heard over the earth. Naval armaments were piling up.

Aside from the question of great dreadnoughts, the vital importance of a congress of nations to the world's economic interests was realized. With Europe an economic desert, world interest was centring on the Pacific and the Far East. China loomed as the great prize of the nations. She lay under the ominous shadow of Japan's far-flung ambitions. The "Open Door" to the Orient, as defined by Hay and Roosevelt, was well on its way to being shut. Its further closing would create a serious obstacle to Occidental trade with the Orient. Other questions were involved, but they were secondary to the two great outstanding ones—naval armaments and the "Open Door."

The world's foremost personalities came to Washington to thrash out these intricate problems. They arrived with an apparent unanimity of purpose that spoke well for the success of our President's great adventure into a new field of diplomacy. The Monroe Doctrine has stood steadfastly for a hundred years. History will probably refer to the great principle governing this conference as the "Harding Doctrine," a great instru-

ment for peace welded into definite form by our twentieth century statesmen, Hughes, Root, Lodge and Underwood, and given the stamp of world ratification at the hands of Balfour, Geddes, Briand, Viviani, Kato, Tokugawa and Schanzer.

To obtain a clear perspective of these powerful personalities it will be necessary to view them actually at work in the foreground of the conference and under the arc light of world observation. Let us imagine ourselves present at one of the plenary sessions of the conference. At one end of the council table sit the Americans in whose keeping our forty-eight States have placed a sacred trust. The dominant figure is Hughes, who became the statesman of the hour when he sent his famous "Naval Armaments Must Cease Now" address thundering round the world—Hughes, the dignified and imperturbable lawyer-statesman, spokesman of new world diplomacy and frank Americanism. Tall, straight, legal-minded, doubly determined, icy cold in temperament—that is Hughes, the Secretary of State, conceded by all to be the right man for the place.

Next to him sits the scholarly and oratorical Massachusetts Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, frail of body, but with a wisdom in statecraft that would guarantee safety to any ship of State. He is very much the Boston gentleman. Lodge has a peculiarly individualistic relation with this conference. Mainly through his opposition the Versailles Treaty went

to the Senatorial guillotine; his influence helped to conceive another great experiment, the "Four Powers Pact," which must go through the same treadmill. He is, perhaps, a greater aristocrat than Hughes, and his classical oratory is generally far above the heads of college undergraduates, and further above the heads of the people. Nevertheless, he is a statesman through and through.

Beside him sits the venerable Elihu Root, who has trod every parliamentary path in Washington and Europe, besides being an ex-Secretary of State, ex-Secretary of War, and this country's representative at The Hague Tribunal. In his face are the iron-willed qualities that make for successful statesmanship. Though he does not address the conference, he commands the greatest respect from the foreign delegates, most of whom have had diplomatic dealings with him in the past. He carries his years somewhat heavily—he is 76 years old—but his brain is as keen as an eagle's eye. Watching his movements and mannerisms, one says to one's self that Roosevelt knew his man when he chose Root for his Cabinet. Harding did well to seat him at this conference.

Oscar W. Underwood is the sole Democrat of the delegation. This rotund Alabaman, with a face as set as the features of a Rodin statue, is by no means the least of the delegates. Like Root, he is the essence of silence, but when he speaks it is with authority. He seems more of the people than his three colleagues.

Britain's ablest statesmen sit at the left of the Americans, and are certainly a match for them. Balfour, Geddes, Beatty, Lee and Cavan form a group of interesting but noticeably diverse personalities.

The famous Balfour, of towering stature and commanding personality, is acknowledgedly one of the outstanding figures of the conference. He is the essence of smiling urbanity; he is the British aristocrat to the nth degree; every word and movement of his denotes the noble Cecil

stock from which he sprang. Despite these qualifications of birth, he seems to lean more toward the people than our statesmen—or is it by virtue of transatlantic diplomacy that he does so? His features, softened by age, are really spiritual. As an orator Mr. Balfour is not a Briand, or a Lodge, or a Viviani. His delivery is somewhat hesitant, but it sounds wholesome and extemporaneous and does not appear to detract from the forcefulness of his argument. There is a warmth and an air of unaffected democracy surrounding this old fighter for the British Empire that pleases Americans.

The heavy-limbed, rugged-faced Briand looms above the French delegation like a Teneriffe. Out in Arizona or New Mexico he would be taken for one of the prosperous citizens of the town—a product of hard work and extreme frugality. Like most of his countrymen, however, he is emotional and given to gestures. He is by far the most convincing speaker at the table. Watching him, one gains the conviction that Briand is a man who would shrink from no effort, no sacrifice, which would be for the good of France.

Viviani has not the magnetism of the French Premier, though he is Briand's equal in speech. Their personalities are as far apart as the poles. Briand is slow in action, Viviani as quick as thought. Both statesmen constitute a perfect balance in bringing out the French viewpoint. Briand is carefully groomed; Viviani more carelessly so. France did well in sending these two statesmen to the conference.

What of the mystifying and paradoxical personalities of the Orient? The clannishness and self-isolation of the Japanese are noted by every one. Are these mannerisms due to difference in thought and language or to shyness and supermodesty? This question puzzles the Occidental. The British, French, Americans—even the Chinese—are "mixers," more or less, but the Japanese have a pen-

chant for keeping to themselves. None of the Oriental delegates matches the average Westerner in stature; in fact, all appear as if their chairs were much too low for comfort at the table. There is one noticeable feature concerning them: they are eternally busy, either studying cryptic messages or whispering like chain-lightning among themselves. They realize the importance of this conference. They realize that they are its pivotal centre.

The best known among them to Americans is Kato, Admiral and Minister of the Japanese Navy. His features are startlingly gaunt; his body frail as a youth not yet arrived at maturity; his sea-tanned complexion darker than that of most Japanese. Though short in stature, he has an abnormally large head, sheltering a brain well able to cope with Occidental diplomacy. He speaks no English beyond "I thank you."

Then there is the polished Tokugawa, Prince, President of the House of Peers, and last of a long line of feudal Shoguns whose imperial rule ended with the restoration of the present dynasty in 1868. He is an English scholar of more than ordinary merit. He is the antithesis of Kato, being short but physically massive, and having more the bodily appearance of those famed, great-bodied wrestlers of Nippon. These two emissaries constitute the backbone of the delegation from the land of the Rising Sun.

China's delegation, metaphorically speaking, is one of "many voices." Not a few of the delegates are in sympathy with the South China Government. Apparently "Young China" is at the helm in Washington in the persons of Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze and Dr. Wellington Koo, while "Old China" holds the actual reins of Government in Peking. Sze and Koo are graduates of American universities, and have absorbed much of our democracy, which they hope to implant in China if those of the old Mandarin school will permit

them. Sze is modeled along the lines of frank American statesmanship, while Koo would feel more at home in the secret councils of Europe than in Washington. In Paris Koo was outspokenly pro-Chinese, while in Washington he seems to have applied the brakes, with respect to the larger questions, quite noticeably. Neither is a match for Kato, or Shidehara, or Hanihara.

Without underrating the value of Sze and Koo, the Chinese delegation may be said to contain many others who are their equals, if not their superiors. Particularly does this apply to General Hwang-fu, who abruptly resigned early in December through a disagreement regarding "the principles" of the delegation. Hwang-fu is an out-and-out Chinese, frank to the borders of indiscretion. On the surface Sze and Koo seem to control China's destiny, but there is considerable going on behind the scenes of which the public knows little. For example, there is Dr. Mon-lin Chiang, Acting President of Peking University, who is in Washington as a representative of the Chambers of Commerce and educational institutions of the Chinese Republic. More explicitly, Dr. Chiang is attending the conference as "watch dog" for the Chinese people. He possesses great moral influence with the delegates. In fact, many of the recent resignations were dispatched to Peking on his advice, the Chinese fearing to return home except with a "good conduct" card visaed by Dr. Chiang.

As foreign advisers to the delegation we have Robert Lansing, Dr. John S. Ferguson, Thomas F. Millard, W. W. Willoughby and Lenox Simpson (Putnam Weale).

Senator Carlo Schanzer, President of Italy's delegation, is a successful banker, born in Austria. He is wiry, slight of build, nervous in temperament and frigidly reserved. In fact, his manner is one of Alpine coldness. He speaks English passing well; he addresses the conference in our language.

Belgium is ably represented by Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Belgian Ambassador to this country for many years, who is really a composite study of the European diplomat. He is a knight of the aristocracy, and, leaving his monacle aside, seems to belong to medieval times. All in all, he is a most agreeable gentleman and highly popular in Washington.

Though Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the chief delegate for the Netherlands, Americans have come more in contact with Jonkheer W. H. de Beaufort, present Dutch Minister to Greece and alternate delegate to the conference. He is a powerfully built, extremely handsome gentleman, with all the wholesome

breeziness of our Far Western Americans. Van Karnebeek is a terse-spoken Hollander of our old Knickerbocker type; thoroughly well informed, he is satisfied to "accept" principles that can be safely applied to Holland, and to let it go at that.

Viscount d'Alte, Portuguese Minister in Washington for fourteen years, heads the delegation from that country. Portugal's interest in this conference is altogether centred in her diminutive colony of Macao, close to Hongkong. It contains only four square miles, but as thousands of Eurasians along the China coast have been endowed with Portuguese citizenship, it is obvious that that country could not be left out of the conference.

BELGIUM'S TWO LANGUAGES

THE visitor to Belgium before the war spoke French wherever he went. Everywhere, however, he observed that all public notices, in streets, on buildings, in tramways, were in two languages, one French, the other a language resembling Dutch. If he was well informed, he knew that this was Flemish, the second national language in Belgium. In the parks of Antwerp and other cities, as he sat on a bench enjoying the music of the band, he noted that Flemish was spoken by virtually every one, though, as he very well knew, all these people also spoke French. As the visitor went up north, however, and especially through the country districts, he found that Flemish alone was spoken and understood. The writer on one occasion found that he could make himself better understood by talking English than by talking French. Between a low German dialect and English the likeness is often startling.

This question of a double language has long been a threatened source of political disunion between the two parts of Belgium. Flemish is the language of the north, French is spoken by the Walloons of the south, often in a dialect or patois form which is absolutely incomprehensible to one

who speaks the classic tongue of France. Ever since 1830 French in practice has been the only official language of Belgium, and it is this fact that has aroused bitterness. For many years the "Flamingants" have worked to put Flemish on an official equality with French. Germany tried to exploit this linguistic scission during the war, but Belgian loyalty was too strong in the face of invasion.

The Flemish faction, however, has at last won a victory. The Bulletin Mensuel du Parti Ouvrier Belge, in its issue of Sept. 10, printed in full the new language law, in the passing of which the Belgian Government redeemed its promise made after the war that the two languages should be placed on a national and official equality. Flemish is made the administrative language of Antwerp, Western Flanders, Eastern Flanders, Limourg-Louvain and the region around Brussels; French is the administrative language of Liège, Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault and Nivelles. Both tongues are to be used by the Central Government, by Government officials, and in the Civil Service. The passing of this new law, and its full operation, will have the effect of making Belgium at last a united nation.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

Text of the epoch-making treaty between the British Government and the Sinn Fein leaders, by which the whole of Ireland except Ulster is to become a free nation within the empire.

THE Irish question came nearer to solution during the month of December, 1921, than at any time in all the centuries of warfare and friction between Ireland and England. A treaty, the text of which is appended hereto, was signed at London, Dec. 6, by the British Cabinet and by the conference delegates of the Irish Dail Eireann. This agreement, which was reached in a dramatic manner after an all-night session, was entirely unexpected; the delegates had seemed to be far apart, so that the failure of the conference was believed to be at hand.

The treaty was received with enthusiastic approval by the press of Great Britain and the United States—almost without exception—and it was announced that all the Governments and Parliaments of the Dominions of the British Empire had expressed approval of it and that the Chiefs of State of all the allies during the war had congratulated the British Government on the compact. The one exception to the general approval throughout the United States was the hostile attitude of a small faction known as the Friends of Irish Freedom.

The British Parliament was called in special session to ratify the treaty, and was opened Dec. 14, with great pomp. The King read his speech to the peers in a firm voice, which gave evidence of the deep satisfaction that he felt. "It was with heartfelt joy," he said, "that I learned of the agreement, reached after negotiations protracted through many months, and affecting the welfare not only of Ireland but of the British and Irish races throughout the world. It is my earnest hope that by the articles of agreement now submitted to you the

strife of centuries may be ended, and that Ireland, as a free partner in the commonwealth of nations forming the British Empire, will secure fulfillment of her national ideals." The address to the throne was moved by Sir Samuel Hoare, and was seconded by George W. Barnes, the labor leader. In the upper house the address was moved by the venerable Lord John Morley, the last survivor of the Gladstone period.

The treaty was scathingly denounced in the upper house by Lord Carson, the Ulster leader. Colonel John Gretton, in the House of Commons, moved an amendment to the address, in effect rejecting the treaty. The treaty was supported in the House by Andrew Bonar Law, by former Premier Asquith, and by all the labor leaders; in the Lords, Viscount Bryce, Lord Birkenhead and other leaders spoke for it. The debate lasted two days. The amendment to the address of the King was rejected by the Peers, 156 to 47, and was defeated in the Commons, 401 to 58.

On Dec. 19 the British Parliament was prorogued, without waiting for the decision of the Dail Eireann on ratification of the Irish treaty. It was to meet again before Jan. 31, 1922, to consider legislation with relation to the treaty, in the event that this was ratified by South Ireland.

In Ireland the first note of opposition to the treaty came from Eamon de Valera, "President of the Irish Republic," in a statement in which he intimated that the plenipotentiaries had exceeded their authority in signing the treaty. The Dail Eireann was to meet in special session Dec. 14 to consider the fate of the agreement. On Dec. 13 the hierarchy of Ireland met at Dublin, with Cardinal

Logue in the chair, and the question was discussed. Although, unofficially, all the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops had endorsed the treaty, it was considered inadvisable to do so officially. A resolution was passed to the effect that the Bishops of Ireland hold in highest appreciation "the patriotism, ability and honesty of purpose in which the Irish representatives have conducted the struggle for national freedom."

When the Dail Eireann assembled on Dec. 14 the deliberations were secret for the first three days. The first public session was held Dec. 19, when the debate indicated that there was a wide split over the treaty. Mr. de Valera made a bitter attack. The treaty was strongly defended by Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins and Robert Barton. The resolution to approve it was seconded by C. M. McKeown, known as the "Blacksmith of Ballinalee," who had been released after a sentence of death. Speeches of opposition were delivered by Erskine Childers and Count Plunkett, among the leaders. The debate was still in progress when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

The Ulster Cabinet, in a letter written to Premier Lloyd George, rejected the invitation to enter the Irish Free State. It was contended that the altered oath meant a lowered standard of loyalty and was not acceptable to Ulster, while the financial provisions of the agreement would introduce tariff wars with England and internal disputes in Ireland. For these and other reasons Ulster chose to retain her British citizenship and refuse to subordinate herself to the Sinn Fein Government. Exception was taken in the reply to the Boundary Commission, it being contended that it was not in accord with British precedent that territory should be removed from the control of any Government without that Government's sanction.

As an evidence of good faith, the British Government on Dec. 10 released all Irishmen interned in Ireland. The British steamship com-

panies resumed their calls at Queens-town. It was announced at London that all British troops would be withdrawn from Ireland as soon as the treaty was ratified.

[American Cartoon]



'Brooklyn Eagle

LAND!

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

The official text of this momentous treaty, which the British and Sinn Fein representatives had signed at the Premier's office, 10 Downing Street, London, on Dec. 6, 1921, was as follows:

Article I.—Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for peace and order and good government in Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

Article II.—Subject to provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State, in relation to the Imperial Parliament, the Government and otherwise, shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or representative of the Crown and the Im-

[English Cartoon]



—Daily Express, London

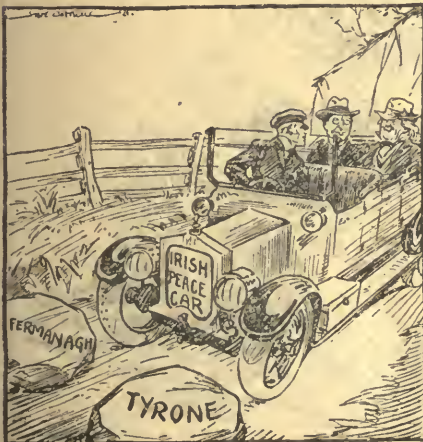
THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

[Lloyd George finds himself called in many directions at once]

perial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

Article III.—A representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in making such appointments.

[English Cartoon]



—Daily Express, London

THE LAST OBSTACLES

LLOYD GEORGE: "Now will you gentlemen please help to move those rocks?"

Article IV.—The oath to be taken by the members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form: "I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to his Majesty King George V., and his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Article V.—The Irish Free State shall assume liability for service of the public debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date thereof and toward the payment of war pensions as existing on that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard for any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counterclaim, the amount of such sums being determined, in default of agreement, by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

Article VI.—Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defense, defense by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by his Majesty's imperial forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the revenue or the fisheries. The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defense.

Article VII.—The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to his Majesty's imperial force (a) in time of peace such harbor and other facilities as are indicated in the annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State, and (b) in time of war or of strained relations with a foreign power such harbor and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defense, as aforesaid.

Article VIII.—With a view to securing observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defense force, the establishment thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

Article IX.—The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on the payment of the customary port and other dues.

Article X.—The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation, on terms not less favorable than those accorded by the act of 1920, to Judges, officials, members of the police forces and other public servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance of the hereof paragraph.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the auxiliary police force or persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

Article XI.—Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland act of 1920 shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be

held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for the constituencies of Northern Ireland unless a resolution is passed by both houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland in favor of holding such elections before the end of said month.

Article XII.—If before the expiration of said month an address is presented to his Majesty by both houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland act of 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect, subject to the necessary modifications:

Provided, that if such an address is so presented, a commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland, and one, who shall be Chairman, to be appointed by the British Government, shall determine in accordance with the wishes of

[English Cartoon]



DECIDING ON THE NAME

—The Star, London

the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland act of 1920 and of this instrument the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such commission.

Article XIII.—For the purpose of the last foregoing article the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland act of 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland, shall, after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted, be exercised by that Parliament.

Article XIV.—After the expiration of said month, if no such address as mentioned in Article XII. hereof is presented, the Parliament of the Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred upon them by the Government of Ireland act of 1920, but the Parliament of the Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters, in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not the power to make laws under that act (including matters which, under said act, are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland), the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed to in the manner hereinafter appearing.

Article XV.—At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the Provisional Government of Southern

Ireland, hereinafter constituted, may meet for the purpose of discussing provisions, subject to which the last of the foregoing article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and these provisions may include: (a) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland; (b) safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland; (c) safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade and industry of Northern Ireland; (d) safeguards for the minorities in Northern Ireland; (e) settlement of financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State; (f) establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the defense forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland, respectively, and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included among the provisions subject to which the powers of Parliament and of the Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article XIV. hereof.

Article XVI.—Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on the account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend school receiving public money without

[English Cartoon]



BUT HE GOT OUT ALL RIGHT

—John Bull, London

attending the religious instruction of the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of the different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

Article XVII.—By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and a Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of the Members of Parliament elected for the constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland act in 1920 and for constituting a Provisional Government. And the British Government shall take steps necessary to transfer to such Provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such Provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

Article XVIII.—This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by his Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and, if approved, it shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

Signed on behalf of the British delegation:

LLOYD GEORGE,
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN,
BIRKENHEAD,
WINSTON CHURCHILL,
WORTHINGTON-EVANS,
GORDON HEWART,
HAMAR GREENWOOD,

On behalf of the Irish delegation:

ART OF GRIOBHATHA (ARTHUR GRIF-
FITH),
MICHAEL O. O. SILEAIN (MICHAEL
COLLINS),
RIOBARD BARTUN (ROBERT C. BAR-
TON),
E. S. DUGAN (EAMON J. DUGGAN),
SEORAS GHABGAIN UI DHUBHT-
HAIGH (GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY).

Dated the 6th of December, 1921.

ANNEX

An annex is attached to the treaty. Clause 1 specifies that Admiralty property and rights at the dockyard port of Berehaven are to be retained as at present date and the harbor defenses and facilities for coastal defense by air at Queenstown, Belfast, Lough and Loughswilly to remain under British care, provision also being made for oil, fuel and storage.

Clause 2 provides that a convention shall be made between the two Governments, to give effect to the following conditions: That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside of Ireland established, except by agreement with the British Government; that existing cable rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government, and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside of Ireland; that lighthouses, buoys, beacons, &c., shall be maintained by the Irish Government and not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government; that war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes, subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

Clause 3 provides that a convention shall be made between the two Governments for the regulation of civil communication by air.

ANTIQUITY OF IRISH PROBLEM

The Irish question first appeared dimly on the far horizon of the Middle Ages as born of the rivalry between the native chiefs and the Anglo-Norman nobles settled in Ireland. This early clash of interests was aggravated by the unjust code of laws enforced by the English Kings upon the Irish. It began to take definite form and direction as a national issue with the determination of Henry VIII. to force the Protestant religion upon Ireland, with himself as supreme head of the Church, as defined in the Act of Supremacy of 1534. At the same time the civil power of the King was enhanced by an act declaring Henry "King of Ireland" instead of "Lord of Ireland," as had been customary from the time of King John.

The effect of these measures, together with the tyrannical character of the Dublin Government in striving to impose English customs and preferences upon the Irish, produced the Shane O'Neill rebellion in 1551. This, with varying fortunes and short intervals of peace, continued until the death of O'Neill in 1567. In 1567 re-

ligious differences were mainly responsible for the Geraldine rebellion, in which the great families of Desmond and Ormond took sides, respectively, against and for the English. That rebellion ended with the killing of the Earl of Desmond as a hunted fugitive in 1583. A treacherous act on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, Sir John Perrott, prompted Hugh O'Neill to rise in rebellion in 1595 and to continue fighting until 1599. The first general land confiscation of those even remotely involved followed shortly after. At the same time the settling of Protestants on the lands of dispossessed Roman Catholics was introduced as a Government policy.

The reign of James I. was marked by the revival of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. British Protestant land settlement took place in Ulster, and a first National Parliament was called to extend uniform protection of the law to English and Irish alike. The result of the latter was of hardly more than nominal benefit. Meanwhile, corrupt officials aided the King in obtaining large sums of money by disputing the ownership of landed estates. Intolerable civil and religious abuses against the Catholics moved Roger O'Moore to lead the rebellion of 1641; he was presently joined by the more famous Owen Roe O'Neill, and fighting went on continuously until, by 1651, Cromwell had gained control of the island. Nearly all the land was then confiscated.

With the restoration of Charles II. a Court of Claims made a redistribution of the land in favor of the Protestants, and Anglican Church rule was re-established. These measures, however, were considerably reversed in favor of the Catholics during the short reign of James II. After the flight of the latter monarch from England, the Irish sided with him against William of Orange. They received James as their rightful sovereign in Ireland and supported him in arms. The turning point of the war was at the Boyne, where the army of King James was defeated, July 1,

1690. James promptly fled back to France, and though the struggle was bravely carried on by the Irish, devastation and poverty finally compelled the acceptance of the peace terms offered by King William under the Treaty of Limerick, Oct. 3, 1691.

Though the Catholics were three times as numerous as the Protestants, they remained in possession of only one-seventh of the island. Under the title of the Penal Laws, 1695-97 and 1793-94, and the Test Act of 1728, passed by the Protestant Parliament of Dublin, the Catholics were deprived of all religious freedom and suffered a complete disfranchisement. Moreover, under the blighting influence of oppressive trade laws, industry and commerce sank into ruin. At the same time agriculture was stifled by the grasp of the middleman and the extortions of the "rack-renter."

In the parliamentary contest to obtain redress from this misrule, the names of Swift, Grattan, Flood and Edmund Burke stood out as brilliant leaders of the Patriotic Party, formed in opposition to the Court Party, whose sole aim was to increase despotic English influence. Considerable moral assistance was lent to the Irish patriotic movement by the revolt of the American Colonies in 1775, with which the Irish Protestants sympathized as striving for the same end: "No taxation without representation."

BEGINNING OF REFORM

These efforts resulted in the Act of Renunciation, passed Jan. 22, 1783. By this measure England formally abandoned the claim to make laws for Ireland, relinquishing the same to the King and the Irish Parliament. So desperate, however, had the condition of the peasantry become, so unavailing the demand for parliamentary representation and Catholic emancipation from the British Government-controlled Dublin Parliament, that the rebellion of 1798 broke out. It centred mainly around Wexford, being ably led by Father John Murphy,

a Catholic priest, who did everything in his power to discountenance counter-outrages against the Protestants for the horrible atrocities committed by the Government militia. This rebellion collapsed in the following year, due considerably to the belated arrival of promised help from France. General Lake, the British commander, court-martialed and hanged every leader he could catch, including Father Murphy.

On Aug. 1, 1800, William Pitt, the English Premier, achieved his plan of uniting the two countries under one Parliament in London. This was accomplished by means of unlimited bribery in inducing the Irish Parliament to abolish itself, though all Ireland was bitterly opposed to the act. So far from proving any immediate blessing for Ireland, the combined Parliament at Westminster, when not ignoring that unhappy country, enacted fresh repressive measures. It was at this period that Daniel O'Connell rose to fame as the national leader who forced the concession of the Act of Emancipation, March 30, 1829. Various remedial measures, due to the parliamentary efforts of O'Connell, followed, but came too late to prevent the horrors of the great famine of 1845-47, during which 2,000,000 died of starvation. In the succeeding half century more than 4,000,000 emigrated, chiefly to America.

The English Government was so impressed by the famine that it adopted a more liberal trade policy. The Corn laws were gradually repealed, thus permitting the free entry of wheat into Ireland and a lowering of the price of bread. But remaining discontent developed into the Fenian revolt of 1865-68. While this revolt ended with the rounding up of its leaders, it at least served to awaken England to Ireland's wrongs, and this gave impetus to Gladstone's act for the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland in 1869. Parnell now came to the front as the champion of the Land League, an agrarian movement with the im-

mediate objects of fair rent, fixed hold and free sale, but with the ultimate aim of the return of the land to the people. Gladstone passed a bill granting the foregoing "Three F's" in 1881, but was halted in further progressive measures by the Phoenix Park murders in May, 1882, which caused a reaction.

On returning to power in 1886, however, Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule bill, but it was lost through a split in the Liberal Party. The first Land Purchase act to enable tenants to buy their farms from the landlords was passed by the Conservatives in 1885, and the second and third bills, fathered by Mr. Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, were passed in 1888 and 1891. Gladstone's second Home Rule bill was rejected in 1893 on the ground that it gave Ireland the right to interfere in English and Scotch affairs. A bill for Irish Local Government through thirty-two County Councils was passed in 1898, and Wyndham's Land Purchase act of 1903 began the restoration of the land to the people.

With material burdens now immeasurably lightened, Irish aspirations turned to an ever-increasing demand for absolute control of domestic affairs. To this, however, Ulster Protestant opposition grew equally apace, so that the grim spectre of rebellion again rose over the land. But this time it was the Protestant minority of the North that, led by Carson and 100,000 volunteers, threatened to revolt, should the Liberal Premier, Asquith, attempt to force his Home Rule bill of 1914 upon them. The bill had been approved by Redmond for the Irish Nationalists, and was before Parliament when the great war broke out and action upon the measure was postponed, with a promise to put it into effect when peace was restored.

Then came Roger Casement's landing from a German submarine, and the vigorous activity of the new Sinn Féin Party of extremists, who, on April 25, 1916, boldly proclaimed a republic, hoisted their flag over the

Dublin Post Office, and designated Patrick H. Pearse as Provisional President. A revolt simultaneously broke out, known as the "Easter Rebellion," which lasted until April 30. During the fighting \$10,000,000 of damage was done to Dublin; many were the casualties, and hundreds of Sinn Fein prisoners were captured. Within a few days 40,000 British troops were poured into Ireland to enforce martial law. Following the execution of Provisional President Pearse, with six other prisoners, Eamon de Valera was elected "President of the Irish Republic."

An attempt to compose the differences between the Irish parties in the Summer of 1917, under the Chairmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett, failed, mainly owing to the absolute refusal of Protestant Ulster to join in an all-Ireland Parliament.

GROWTH OF SINN FEIN

The remarkable growth of the Sinn Fein movement after the "Easter Rebellion" enabled its leaders to supplant the Nationalists entirely as the authority for Southern Ireland; this was manifested by the capture of seventy-three constituencies at the British general elections at the end of the World War, and the organization of the Dail Eireann, or Irish Parliament, in Dublin. In the face of a British order of repression leveled against the Dail Eireann and all other Sinn Fein organizations (Sept. 12, 1919) the great majority of the people of Southern Ireland continued to regard it as their lawful government.

Meanwhile a guerrilla conflict between the Crown and Sinn Fein forces grew in bitter intensity as it spread over the island. Destruction of life and property went on, wholesale, as one side visited reprisals upon the other.

In December, 1920, the British Government passed a new Government of Ireland act. It provided for Northern and Southern Parliaments, and for a Central Council containing representatives of both the North and the South to act as a harmonizing

body with the ultimate purpose of a united Parliament. De Valera promptly denounced the plan in view of the Sinn Fein declaration of a republic independent of the British Crown; but Ulster presently faced about and accepted it, after having, for scores of years, declared she would fight were any such separatist government thrust upon her. In the elections subsequently held the Sinn Feiners again swept the South, winning 124 out of the 128 seats. But they refused to organize under the Home Rule act, declaring the new members elected would constitute a new Dail Eireann.

On June 22, 1921, the Ulster Parliament was opened in state by King George and Queen Mary. In a moving speech the King said:

I appeal to all Irishmen to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and forget, and to join in making for the island which they love a new era of peace, contentment and good-will.

The favorable effect of these words in all places moved Premier Lloyd George to issue an invitation on July 9 to de Valera and Ulster Premier Sir James Craig to confer with him in London. While the invitation was being considered, an agreement was entered into between the Crown and Sinn Fein forces to cease all hostilities in a truce pending the outcome of the London parley. These negotiations lengthened from days into weeks and weeks into months. At last, however, Mr. Lloyd George found a formula to bridge the impasse, and a conference assembled in London for the first meeting on Oct. 11. Again came a period of suspense and frequent crises in the negotiations. Finally, when the night seemed darkest, and the British-Sinn Fein conference hovered again on the verge of civil strife, it was announced at 2:30 A. M., Dec. 6, that an agreement by treaty had been reached to declare Ireland a Free State within the British Empire, the Ulster difficulty having been overcome by leaving her to join in the new State or retain her present status, as she was pleased to decide.

CANADA'S LIBERAL LANDSLIDE

BY JOHN R. BONE

Of The Toronto Star

General election overturns the Meighen Government and places W. L. Mackenzie King in the position of Premier—The Victorious Liberals pledged to a downward revision of tariff duties

CANADA'S first post-war general election, held on Dec. 6, 1921, indicated, in an unexpected degree, a return to normal political conditions. Decline in party spirit, collapse of party organization, widespread unrest, and more specifically the spectacular rise of the Farmers', or Progressive, movement, cutting across both the old parties, had created a conviction that none of the groups could secure a "working majority." It was feared that in the ensuing situation the government of the country could be carried on only by some sort of coalition or bargain which would be at best insecure, and might in other ways be gravely objectionable. Therefore, among moderate elements of the community there was a sense of relief on finding that one of the historic parties had achieved a position to form a Government that could proceed along traditional lines.

While Liberal representation in the new House (apparently 117 seats out of the 235) accounts for only about one-half the total, its position is fortified by the fact that the other half is divided into two sections which are hopelessly incompatible. The Liberals occupy middle ground between the Conservative group on the one side and the radical Progressives on the other. It is difficult to imagine any issue on which these two groups could unite as against the Liberals, unless it be possibly the question of rail-

way nationalization. To this some elements in the Liberal Party have been expressing opposition, whereas both Conservatives and Progressives are committed to existing Government ownership and operation. But on other issues, such as the tariff, there seems no possibility of co-ordinated action between Conservatives and Progressives. If the Liberals find it necessary to oppose free trade proposals put forward by Progressives they can surely depend on support from the protectionist Conservatives. If, on the other hand, Liberals think it wise on their own account to advocate tariff reductions, they cannot only count on support from the Progressives, but can, if necessary, call on them for an advance guard for the campaign, to say nothing of high explosives.

An outstanding feature of the election was the utter collapse of the Government forces known recently as the National Liberal and Conservative Party, successors to the Unionist Coalition formed for war purposes in 1917 by a union of the old Conservative Party with a section of the Liberals. Whereas Sir Robert Borden secured 150 supporters in 1917, his successor was favored in 1921 with only 51 seats in a House of 235. No other party in Canada has ever suffered such a disaster. In five provinces out of nine—Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan—not a single

Government supporter was elected, and only one in Alberta.

While few expected so complete a debacle, the defeat of the Government was inevitable from the day that T. A. Crerar, a member of the Union Cabinet, resigned to assume the leadership of the Progressive Party. His defection marked the break-up of the Union. It implied that Western Canada, having helped to bring down the Germans, henceforth proposed to devote its energies to bringing down the tariff. Mr. Crerar declared that at least the three prairie provinces, which had been a unit in supporting the Government's war policy, were fully united in support of his position on a domestic peace policy, and no one then or since has gainsaid him. Sir Robert Borden, weary from his war-time efforts and in impaired health, retired from the Premiership. Mr. Rowell, chief of the Liberal contingent in the Union Cabinet, retired simultaneously, an incident which marked the termination of any distinctive Liberal support for the coalition, though some former Liberals in the meantime had merged permanently with their new colleagues.

CAUSES OF THE LANDSLIDE

Mr. Meighen succeeded to the Premiership. But he had succeeded to the command of a sadly decimated army, and he had no promising recruiting ground. Furthermore, the shadow of the Province of Quebec hung over him like a Nemesis. Quebec had been irrevocably alienated through controversies extending over a long period of years and culminating in issues arising out of the war. With Quebec and the West arrayed solidly against it, the Government was beaten before it began the race. Resentment against unchecked profiteering, against the extortions of monopoly, against all the favoritism and inequality which came to light during that hectic period, showed itself to be awaiting the first opportunity to chastise the Government, even if that

Government's war record, as war records go, was creditable.

Mr. Meighen valiantly tried to save the situation by representing his party as the savior of protection. He was perhaps justified in his declaration that the tariff was in danger, because both the Liberals and the Progressives, in their platforms, had advocated radical reductions. But the people refused to become alarmed. And when Mr. King and even Mr. Crerar declared that the tariff was only one of many issues in the election, and that there was no danger of free trade, the declaration was accepted at its full value. On every side Mr. Meighen found himself against a blank wall, and while he conducted his campaign with rare courage and ability, which deserved a far richer reward than some of his alleged friends were disposed to concede in the bitter hours of defeat, there was for him no possible avenue of escape.

Another feature of the result is the appearance of a new, cohesive and aggressively independent party. In the West, as predicted, the Farmers and Progressives swept everything before them. In Ontario they fell short of their expectations, and instead of electing forty or fifty members there, as some hoped, they secured only half of what they expected. Nevertheless, Mr. Crerar returns to Ottawa at the head of sixty-five enthusiastic followers, fourteen more than the Conservatives have, and constituting more than one-quarter of the House. His group will be formidable not merely from numbers, but because of the zeal and crusading spirit of its members.

Failure of the Farmers to achieve their expectations in the pivotal Province of Ontario has elicited much comment. The record in office of the Farmers who have had control of the government of that province for two years has been cited in explanation, but another view is that this Farmers' government was a source of strength rather than weakness to the

movement. Another suggestion is that even Farmers in Ontario, a province traditionally protectionist, took alarm at the extreme low-tariff proposals of their Western colleagues. It is further claimed that the allegiance of many Farmers to their new organization was not sufficiently rugged to stand the strain of a heated national contest, with the result that as polling day approached numbers of them reverted to type. Another circumstance that may have had some influence was the fact that the business side of the Farmers' organization, its co-operative company, had, in common with many other trading organizations, suffered losses in the past year.

The outstanding handicap on the new party was undoubtedly the fact that it was not nationally organized. East of the Ottawa River it had only a semblance of organization and a handful of candidates, not one of whom was elected. As soon as the realities of the situation were appreciated it became apparent that, with the greatest success possible, the Progressive Party could not hope to win more than ninety seats; and while this number might have been sufficient to make the largest group in the new House, it would not have been sufficient to enable the Progressives to organize a stable government. Toward the close of the campaign this fact undoubtedly had great weight with many electors, who thereupon transferred their allegiance to the Liberal Party.

The causes of the Liberal victory are to some extent indicated in the foregoing description of the weaknesses of the Government and of the immature Progressive Party. But it would be ungracious to withhold credit from W. L. Mackenzie King for a success which was in many respects a personal triumph. It will undoubtedly be represented that Mr. King is to be dominated by Quebec, but the other side of the shield is that Mr. King dominated Quebec, at least to the extent that he attracted its confidence to a degree quite without precedent.

Even Laurier, in the heyday of his ascendancy, never achieved a solid following of sixty-five members from his native province. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, also, elected solid groups in support of Mr. King, and the representation he secured from Ontario is the best showing the Liberal Party has made there since 1908. Only in the western stronghold of the Progressives was he unable to make much impression.

CAREER OF MR. KING

Mr. King represents a type almost unique in Canada, having deliberately designed his life for a career in public service. His *flair* for politics is undoubtedly derived from his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, the leader of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, which resulted in responsible government and was the beginning of the modern British Empire. Mr. King entered public life by way of the civil service. He was the first Deputy Minister of Labor in Canada, and from this post he was taken directly into the Cabinet by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who, it is said, forecast his ultimate elevation to the Premiership. Critics express disappointment at the character of Mr. King's campaign speeches, but the calibre of his mentality and his sense of public service may be judged by the fact that at the age of 25 he declined a professorship at Harvard, preferring to remain in his home land at half the salary, in a subordinate position, in the newly organized Labor Department. Sociology, then as later, was his specialty, a fact which after the Liberal disaster of 1911 led to his accepting temporarily a directorship in the Rockefeller Foundation. No Canadian on his first appeal to the public as a national leader has had a more auspicious reception. His further career will be followed with keen interest.

The election, while much more decisive than anticipated, leaves many questions unanswered. What, for example, is the future of the Progressive Party? Has it reached or passed



(© Wide World Photos)

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING
*Liberal leader and next Premier of Canada,
 succeeding Mr. Meighen*

the crest of its wave? And what is to become of the Conservative Party, reduced to unprecedented proportions numerically in Parliament?

Answering the last question first, it may be said at once that there is no prospect of the disappearance of what may appropriately be described as a Conservative Party. The country is full of conservatives, whether they belong to the party of political Conservatives or not.

The victorious Liberal Party includes in its ranks all shades of political opinion. Messrs. Gouin, Lemieux and other Quebec Liberals are outspoken protectionists, opposed to public ownership, and probably antagonistic to many of the social and industrial policies which are advocated in Liberal circles. On the other hand, while undoubtedly many advanced Liberals have thrown their fortunes

in with the new Progressive Party, there still remains in the Liberal Party a considerable leaven of radicalism, particularly in urban communities to which the Farmers' Party has not yet appealed. Mr. King himself is liberal in outlook and on most concrete issues. For example, on the industrial issue he advocates in his book, "Industry and Humanity," the joint control of industry, and develops the idea that modern industrial machinery is as autocratic and as benighted as political machinery was in the days of despotic monarchies. How fast will he be able to make his party step along the path of liberalism, and how far will he be content to sacrifice his convictions to the cause of expediency? It is the problem of liberalism the world over, and Canada's distinction at this juncture is that it has grasped the opportunity to give liberalism in office a chance to show what it will do with the problem.

With respect to the future of the Progressive Party, there are many prophets to declare that already the end of the movement is in sight; that the inevitable fate of nearly all third parties on this continent is approaching. Such judgment may be premature. The West, the home of the Progressives, rejoices that it has at last at Ottawa an independent representation which no longer forms a part of any party which has given hostages to the big interests of the East. This is a spirit which is not likely suddenly to subside. In its less attractive aspects it has developed in Eastern Canada as well as in the West a bitter prejudice against urban dwellers which surpasses the party animosities of former days.

Mr. King was in the Cabinet that advocated reciprocity in 1911, and Mr. Fielding, who negotiated the agreement at Washington, is still with him. But the experience was disastrous from a party standpoint. The reorganized party stands pledged to revise the tariff downward, in the interests both of producers and consumers, and there is little doubt that a serious effort will be made to keep the pledge.

HORTHYISM A MENACE TO CENTRAL EUROPE

By DR. OSCAR JASZI*

Former Minister of National Minorities in Karolyi's Cabinet

Hungary's present Government depicted as a militaristic despotism that is trying, through terrorism and chicanery, to revive the Feudal System and restore medieval bondage—A more serious danger than Red Bolshevism

THE second attempt of Charles of Hapsburg to regain the throne of Hungary has ended in a miserable, ludicrous failure. After playing with the idea of Hapsburg restoration for almost two years, the Entente has decided that it has had enough. Charles is in Madeira, definitely out of the running. But this does not mean that the problem of Hungary is solved. The crisis of that unfortunate country, after all, is but a surface symptom of a deep-seated antagonism underlying the general crisis in Central Europe. To Americans this may sound like an exaggeration; nevertheless, it is literally true that the solution of the Hungarian question will determine whether Europe is to have peace and consolidation or is to drift further toward dissolution. Hungary is the Archimedian fulcrum of Continental politics.

Hapsburgism is defeated, but Horthyism remains; and Horthyism, now strengthened by the victory over its rival, aims to accomplish the *restitutio in integrum* of the big landholders, the magnates and prelates, the host of army officers thrown out of work by the disarmament clauses of the Peace of Trianon and the junker officials forfeiting their places by the nation's territorial losses. Horthyism aims at restoration, in a word, of all the elements that were dispossessed of their former easy and comfortable positions and unearned increments by

the defeat and dismemberment of the country and the contingent economic collapse. To secure for these groups their former opulence at the expense of the workers and peasants—this impracticable, anachronistic, absurd and shameless scheme is the reality behind the "Christian national" regime of Admiral Horthy.

An aim like this cannot be openly championed without being rejected instantly, even by the untutored Magyar masses. Brutal and bloodthirsty anti-Semitism, nationalistic demagoguery, Ku-Kluxism, irredentist conspiracies, semi-officially supported; export of pseudo-Bolshevistic propaganda to trouble the social atmosphere of the neighbor States and to prepare the ground for the advent of Horthy, the Communist Killer—these are the means by which Horthyism tries to deceive the people as to its real purpose.

The psychological situation determines this policy. There are but two paths open for "Rump-Hungary," as the present regime is sardonically nicknamed. On the one hand, it may develop its productive capacity by inaugurating a thoroughgoing land re-

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form, introduce a modern educational system, establish all-round political democracy and enter good relations with the surrounding States on the basis of economic co-operation and cultured interchange. The alternative is to restore pre-war Hungary, to refuse land to the peasants, rights to the workmen, business and professional opportunity to the middle classes—all this in order to save the feudal privileges and unearned increments of the nobility and gentry. The choice of the second alternative necessitates diverting the attention of the masses from its real meaning by aid of the drugs of nationalistic megalomania, revanche and gory anti-Semitism.

This end, however, cannot be attained by merely flogging the dead horse of Bolshevism, which the Hungarian people as a whole have never ridden. The anti-communism of Horthy is a pretext, not a policy. What Horthyism really wants is to destroy the very roots of all those forces and tendencies of the last quarter of a century which in Hungary stood for liberty, democracy, government by and for the people, land reform, separation of Church and State, racial autonomy, a modern school system, anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, a democratic foreign policy—in a word, the soul of modern Hungary, the spirit of the anti-Hapsburg revolution of October, 1918.

INSIDIOUS HORTHYISM.

This is why the national, democratic and liberal October revolution must be identified, by hook or crook, with the Communist March revolution of 1919. This is why Karolyi, President of the Republic, and his collaborators must be slandered all over the world as thieves and murderers; why all progressive intellectuals must be driven from their offices and their lecture-chairs; why the freedom of the press and every civic right must be annulled. Instead of the expropriation of the big landed estates, therefore, a new sort of semi-feudal

system of tenure must be created. For the same reason poor, hard-working and progressive Jews must be murdered, and the usury and profiteering of certain big Jewish financiers must be backed up. Hence, also, treaties on which the ink of signature has not yet dried must be violated and worked against by every device of an unscrupulous Machiavellism and of a sham-Bolshevism exported by official agents provocateurs.

But the inexorable logic of facts drives Horthyism even further. Mere pre-war methods of oppression, such as class suffrage and bureaucratic corruption, no longer suffice. A reduced capacity for production postulates keener instruments for exacting unearned increment from the toiling masses. Nothing short of a return to medieval bondage will serve the purpose of today. A caste of soldiery or of reliable peasant landholders is instituted, bound to perform military service at the call of the feudal lords. Corporal punishment is introduced for merchants, styled, for convenience, profiteers.

The number of Jews admitted to higher educational opportunities is restricted in accordance with their percentage in the population. Highly qualified Jews are excluded from all public offices. Socialist candidates for the National Assembly are imprisoned, and their constituents interned. Progressive writers are arrested and jailed, as, for instance, the excellent Zoltan Szasz, the only journalist in Budapest who had the courage to raise his voice against Bela Kun's despotism. Terror detachments are organized in colleges, universities and municipal offices. The medievalization of public life is carried out consistently along all lines.

It is here that the real danger lies. For even a country of peasants, once impregnated with the needs of modern life and furnished with the means, however rudimentary, to satisfy them, cannot return to stark feudalism. The mere attempt must break up the whole system and lead to the

most hideous forms of organic decay. This is just what happened in Hungary. Practically, political power is wielded exclusively by a secret society of several thousand White officers. Their visible heads are Colonel Pronay and Lieutenant Hejjas, prominent in the recent upheaval as Horthy's supporters. The revival of torture, now generally practiced on suspects and prisoners, attaches to their names. Both have frequently boasted in public of the atrocities committed by them personally. Hejjas is the mass-murderer of Orgovany, where several hundred persons, kidnapped from the prisons at Kecskemet, were violently put to death. Colonel Pronay has recently bullied Mr. Rakovszky, President of the National Assembly, into resignation by threats of violence. For this outrage he was "punished" by Regent Horthy with thirty days' confinement to his rooms. Horthy has publicly called Hejjas and Pronay his best officers. He himself is but a puppet in the hands of the military Mafia in whose bloody crimes he is entangled.

The units of this Mafia are called "detachments" or "battalions" in common parlance; "gendarmierie" or "customs guards" for the benefit of Entente officials, or, whenever they commit a particularly nasty outrage, "irresponsible criminals unlawfully wearing the uniform of the national army." These detachments are in charge of the recruiting, canvassing, irredentist propaganda and secret service. They blackmail rich Jews, rob and murder poor ones, plunder villages, prey upon traffic.

TERRORISM AND CHICANERY

Another terror organization is the Society of Awakening Magyars. They also engage in political murder, religious persecution and general plunder. They silence or spirit away witnesses, browbeat juries, terrorize Judges, whip newspapers into line. The press is obliged to fill up blanks caused by the censorship with irrelevant type. Trade unions are

robbed of their funds. Friendly societies of the workers are expropriated; even the Free Masons are expelled from their clubhouses. Profitable State licenses, such as cinemas, tobacconists' shops, &c., are confiscated and distributed among "the boys." These terror organizations have even their own prisons and torture chambers.

But it is in the field of foreign relations that this general disorganization works its most pernicious effects. The atavistic principles which form the core of White Bolshevism may turn out as fatal to Central Europe as Red Bolshevism threatened to be. Hungary, supposed to be a link in the *cordon sanitaire* intended to localize Red Bolshevism and confine it to Russia, has become the centre of the White Bolshevism of nationalistic-militaristic anarchy, endangering European civilization. In Poland, Bavaria and Hungary this White Bolshevism is uppermost; in Croatia, now a part of Yugoslavia; in the Slovak parts of the Czechoslovak Republic and in Austria it may, fostered by Magyar agents, gain some day the upper hand. The time for a united effort approaches, and Horthy's Hungary will lead the dance. There can be no peace in Central Europe so long as this White incendiaryism is at large at Budapest.

The alternative faced by Hungary broadens and extends to Central Europe as a whole. The succession States must embody in their policies without reservations the spirit of democracy and racial equality and succeed in restoring economic and cultural co-operation of the Danubian peoples, thus healing the wounds caused by artificial boundaries. Otherwise, there will come about an alliance of Hapsburg and Wittelsbach monarchists, a reactionary bloc including the Bavarian militarists, the Austrian clericals, the Magyar feudalists, the Polish magnates, possibly the reactionary elements in Slovakia, Croatia and Transylvania as well—in a word, a close-knit mutual insurance

organization of feudal-nationalistic interests in all Central Europe.

This latter scheme would suit the purposes of French chauvinism, which plots to disrupt German unity, and would masquerade as the barbed-wire fence against Bolshevism. But this fence would be more dangerous than the evil against which it is to be erected. The vital energies of peoples kept down by force would later break forth in terrible explosions of anarchistic and national Bolshevism.

STRATEGIC CENTRE OF REACTION

It is this alternative that today renders Hungary the Archimedian point of Europe. If Horthyism is downed, the road is open to liberty, democracy and peace. If Horthyism succeeds, Central Europe—and ultimately Europe as a whole—must proceed on the downhill road to feudalism, militarism and war. Horthy's Hungary is the symbol and the strategic centre of Old World reaction.

Three events in the last few months indicate the fatal implications of Horthyism. At the same time they show its power of growth. The attempt of ex-King Charles to seize the throne last Easter was frustrated only by the energetic and timely intervention of the Little Entente. In the middle of August, the City of Pecs, with the surrounding district of Baranya, important because of its coal mines, was evacuated by the Yugoslavs and entered by Horthy's troops. This was under the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon; but the population, overwhelmingly Magyar, protested against the annexation by Horthy, and asked to be allowed autonomy under Yugoslav protection. To no avail; the White Terror army arrived, but by then over 10,000 Magyar coal miners had fled across the Yugoslav border. The Magyar occupation was followed by the customary outbreak of White Bolshe-

vism, with all its bloody excesses. Thirdly, there is the recent "Kor-fantyade" in the Burgenland, where the Magyar monarchist troops and irregular "bands" have for two months brutally bullied defenseless Austria and defied the will of Europe. The Burgenland events, culminating in Charles's ill-fated coup, have—or ought to have—brought home the reality of the dangers that threaten the general peace on the part of the Magyar reactionary plungers.

But even the Burgenland coup and the subsequent Karlist raid are nothing but symptoms. They signify that the ulcer of White Bolshevism has broken at last. Dethronement of the Hapsburgs by legislative act is a surface remedy. The core of the problem of Hungary is not the Hapsburg issue, but disarmament. Hapsburgism is merely an effect, not a cause. The militaristic and feudalistic forces of White Bolshevism gravitate toward Legitimism in order to find a sanction for their privileges. The essential danger of Hapsburgism can be averted only by a conscious democracy of peasants and workers—those who labor both with hand and with brain. In the absence of such democracy, the magnates, Bishops and other reactionaries will reinstate their Hapsburg puppet at the first opportune moment. But a Hungarian democracy is incompatible with the present system of terrorist detachments and Ku Kluxism. Without a full and relentless execution of the disarmament clauses of the Peace of Trianon, the democratic inner reorganization and pacific foreign reorientation of Hungary are impossible. Disarmament is the remedy; everything else is a mere palliative. Unless the remedy is applied the wound will reopen, possibly in a different form, probably in a much more vicious degree. Central Europe is too small for both Horthyism and peace. One or the other must go.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Proclamations by President Harding declare the former state of war terminated with Germany, Austria and Hungary—Cuts in Army and Government costs—Bills passed by the Extraordinary Session of Congress—President's message at Regular Session

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1921]

BY a proclamation signed by President Harding on Nov. 14, war between the United States and Germany was declared to have terminated July 2, 1921, the date on which the President affixed his signature to the joint peace resolution of Congress.

The proclamation did not declare that the legislation adopted for the duration of the war was repealed, that matter having been settled March 3, 1921, by the signature of another joint Congressional resolution. The main effect of the proclamation was that, for the purposes of war claims and other legal affairs connected with the war, it definitely established the fact that war terminated with the signature of the joint resolution July 2 and not with the exchange of ratifications of the Berlin Treaty on Nov. 11.

A similar proclamation dated Nov. 17, 1921, declared the state of war with Austria-Hungary, as formerly constituted, to have terminated on July 2, 1921. This proclamation included the text of the separate treaty with Austria signed at Vienna Aug. 24, 1921.

The Hungarian National Assembly, on Dec. 12, ratified the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Hungary. Count Albert Apponyi, Chairman of the committee in charge of the peace agreement, said, in an address to the Chamber after ratification: "Though we are not yet acquainted with America's future policy, this separate treaty is proof of

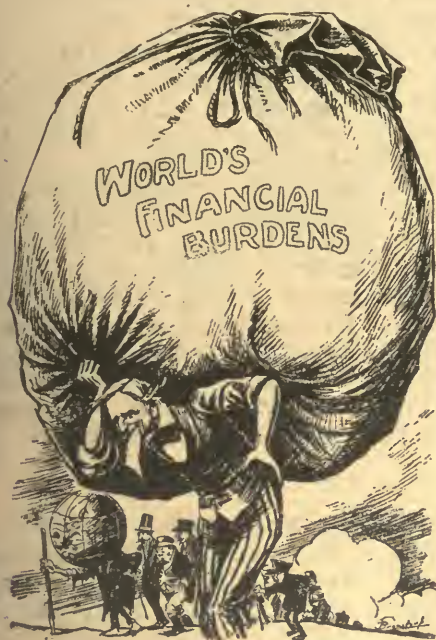
her disinterestedness and her sincere wish to help in the reconstruction of Eastern Europe. This single peace, which was not dictated, recognizes Hungary as an equal."

SENATOR WATSON'S CHARGES

Senator Watson of Georgia having made serious charges against officers of the American Expeditionary Forces, the Senate appointed a committee, of which Senator Brandegee of Connecticut was Chairman, to investigate the accusations. Senator Watson had charged that American soldiers were executed without trial, that officers had shot down enlisted men in cold blood, that officers had made courtesans of army nurses and had been guilty of other serious offenses.

At a session of the committee held Dec. 8, Colonel Walter A. Bethel of the Judge Advocate General's Department of the army, who was General Pershing's chief legal adviser in France and who in that capacity reviewed every court-martial record in which a sentence of death was imposed on an American soldier, testified that the death sentence had been carried out in only eleven cases and that in every instance the man who forfeited his life was guilty of a crime the atrociousness of which would be difficult to overestimate. He further stated that in every instance where the death sentence was carried out the condemned man had every possible legal safeguard and that in no instance was a man sent to the gallows

[American Cartoon]



—San Francisco Chronicle

HE'S STRONG ENOUGH, BUT SHOULD HE CARRY IT?

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

TRYING FOR A SEPARATION

until his case had been thoroughly investigated and passed upon by General Pershing. Of the eleven men executed, two were white, one was Indian and eight were negroes. One was hanged for murder, the other ten for attacks upon women and girls.

At a subsequent session of the committee, Dec. 9, Senator Watson grew greatly excited and berated the testifying witness, Major Cocheu, who, however, retained his self-control. The Senator was quieted with difficulty. The Chairman announced that, if necessary, every ex-soldier or other person who had made an affidavit alleging knowledge of acts such as charged by Senator Watson would be brought to Washington for examination by the committee. Senator Watson, it was stated, would be afforded opportunity to cross-examine all witnesses.

TO BEAUTIFY WAR GRAVES

President Harding on Dec. 14 gave full approval to plans, drawn under supervision of the Fine Arts Commission, for the beautification of American military cemeteries in France, England and Belgium. It was estimated that about \$800,000 would be necessary for the work to be done in 1922. The President was informed that \$11,000,000 had been spent by the Government in returning bodies of the soldier dead to this country.

ARMY COSTS CUT

A difference of \$22,516,941 was shown in the cost report of the Quartermaster General of the army, issued Nov. 15, between the cost for supplies, clothing, food and other Quartermaster properties bought for the quarter ended Sept. 30, 1921, and for the same period of 1920. The report was said to reflect for the first time in official records the reduced cost of supplying the smaller army of 132,000 men, as compared with that of about 200,000 in 1920. Another difference of \$4,301,306 was shown in the net cost of operation of the

Quartermaster depots for the same periods. For the quarter ended September last the cost was only \$3,213,-189, against \$7,514,496 in the same period of 1920.

NAVY PERSONNEL REDUCTION

The New York Navy Yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., received orders Dec. 13, providing for a reduction in the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy of approximately 5,000 men. The orders set forth that any enlistment might be canceled by resignation, with the result that, a few hours after the orders were posted, naval officers were deluged with resignations coming from all classes of the enlisted service. A number of vessels, it was said, would necessarily be laid up as a result of the drastic cut, because full complements would be needed on first-class ships.

FOREIGN TRADE SHIP GROWTH

The tonnage of American vessels registered in foreign trade at the end of the last fiscal year was almost eleven times greater than in 1914, according to the annual report of the Commissioner of Navigation, made public Dec. 15. The report showed a total of 28,012 vessels of all kinds, totaling 18,282,136 gross tons, under American registry on June 30. This was an increase of 1,958,114 gross tons, or 12 per cent., over the preceding fiscal year. Of this total, the report showed that 5,951 vessels of 11,077,398 gross tons were in the foreign trade, 21,478 vessels of 7,163,136 tons in the coastal trade and 583 vessels of 41,600 tons in the fisheries. Vessels built in the course of the fiscal year numbered 1,361, of 2,265,115 gross tons. American ships lost during the year totaled 183,200 tons; these sold to foreign flags, 116,572 tons.

SHIPPING BOARD LOSS CUT

Shipping Board losses for ships in service were reduced by \$850,000 between June and October, according to

a report by Vice President J. B. Smull of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, issued Dec. 12. The reported voyage losses for last June, he stated, approximated \$1,250,000, whereas for October, the last month reported, they were only \$400,000 and were still decreasing.

There were 75 managing agents of the board, operating 674 steel ships, on July 24. Of these, 12 were running tramp services with a total of 125 vessels. It was estimated that on Jan. 1 there would be only 43 active agents of the board, handling a total of 321 ships. By that time all tramp steamers, it was expected, would be withdrawn from service.

HIGH SURTAX PASSED

The President's wishes were overridden in the House on Nov. 17, when nearly one hundred Republicans joined with an almost solid Democratic phalanx in voting to make the maximum income surtax rate 50 per cent.

The President had written to Chairman Fordney of the Ways and Means Committee, suggesting 40 per cent. as a compromise between the maximum rate of 32 per cent. proposed by the House and the 50 per cent. sanctioned by the Senate. Conservative Republican leaders in the House expected to make the rate 40 per cent., but ninety-four recalcitrant Republicans broke from the party leadership and joined with the Democrats in a vote of 201 to 173 for the higher rate. Only three Democrats—Campbell of Pennsylvania, Deal of Virginia and Hawes of Missouri—voted with the Republican majority for the lower surtax.

TAX BILL ADOPTED

The last act of the Senate in the extraordinary session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, which adjourned sine die Nov. 23, was to pass by a vote of 39 to 29 the 1921 Revenue bill in the form in which it was finally agreed to by the conferees of the two Houses of Congress. The Presi-

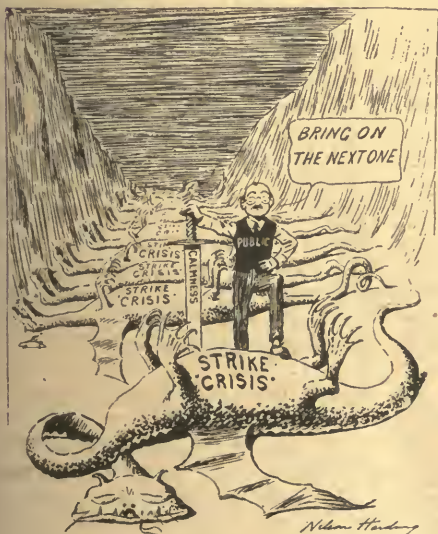
[American Cartoon]



NEXT:

dent signed the bill on the same day. The chief bills enacted at the extra session were thus listed by Mr. Mondell, the Republican House leader: The Emergency Tariff law, Budget law, Revenue act of 1921; peace resolution, Volstead Anti-beer law, Immigration Restriction act, Veterans' Bureau act, Farm Loan act, Maternity

[American Cartoon]



THE MODERN ST. GEORGE AND HIS
DRAGONS

law, Packers' Control law, good roads appropriation of \$80,000,000, act for the Apportionment of Waters of the Colorado River, the War Finance Agricultural Loan act, Grain Exchange Futures law, appropriation for the Shipping Board, naval appropriation measure, army appropriation measure, Cable Control act and the Indian Bureau act.

REGULAR SESSION OF CONGRESS

The first regular session of the Sixty-seventh Congress convened at noon Dec. 5. President Harding addressed Congress in person in a notable message which was a frank expression of the hopes and wishes of the Chief Executive. He had a distinguished audience. Occupying seats of honor directly in front of the House rostrum were statesmen of Europe and the Orient, who were representing their respective countries at the Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

The President proposed flexible tariff and labor regulation and asked Congress to extend the powers of the present Tariff Commission. He was in favor of funding foreign debts. He hoped for changes in the Merchant Marine act. He declared against tax-exempt bonds. He made a strong appeal for the united support of Congress in the accomplishment of legislation that he considered vital to the peace, prosperity and security not only of the United States, but of the world.

CUT IN 1922 EXPENSES

The effort which the Government has been making to get national expenditures within a bearable limit was reflected in the first report of Director of the Budget Dawes, which was sent to Congress on Dec. 5. Mr. Dawes estimated the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, exclusive of postal expenses paid from postal revenues, at \$3,967,922,366 and for the fiscal year 1923 at \$3,505,754,727. The latter figure is approximately \$500,000,000 below the sum

which Treasury officials recently estimated would be required annually to run the Government for some years to come. It also is \$2,032,285,962 less than the \$5,538,040,689 actually spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921. It was estimated that when all factors relating to war and the maintenance of armed forces on land and sea were taken into consideration the cost to the taxpayers from such sources would total no less than \$2,900,000,000 annually, thus making the cost of government as estimated for 1923 for civil purposes not much in excess of \$600,000,000.

"OPEN SHOP" RAIL DECISION

A decision promulgating 148 new working rules to govern the employment of the six federated railroad shop crafts and supplanting the national agreement entered into by the employes with the United States Railroad Administration on Sept. 20, 1919, was handed down by the United States Railroad Labor Board on Dec. 1. The decision recognized the "open shop" principle as applied to the railroads and meant to them an annual payroll saving of about \$50,000,000. It immediately affected 400,000 employes, and this number, it was thought, would be increased to 850,000. It was believed that the decision would form the groundwork on which the adjudication of further wage disputes between the roads and their employes would be based.

Employees of Armour & Co., Chicago, 26,000 in all, through their Plant Governing Committee, on Nov. 18 agreed with officials of the packing house that a wage reduction was necessary and fixed the amount. The cut was to date from Nov. 28. This was the first time in the history of the industry that a wage reduction was arrived at in such a manner. The reductions ranged from 8 to 3 cents an hour, and applied to plants in Chicago, St. Paul, Sioux City, Omaha, St. Joseph, Kansas City, St. Louis and Denver.

IMPROVEMENT IN BUSINESS

The bi-monthly survey by the National Industrial Conference Board of industrial-economic conditions in the United States, issued Dec. 4, revealed that opportunities for employment were becoming more numerous, especially in the Eastern States. Wage deflation continued, although against considerable organized resistance, and, with lower wage scales, business activity tended to increase.

The cost of living had been affected by seasonal fluctuations, and on Nov. 1 was 63.8 per cent. above the July, 1914, base, according to the board's preliminary estimate. Prices of raw materials were in some cases below those of 1914, and the prices of manufactured articles were generally lower than the peak prices, though they were still maintained from 25 to 120 per cent. above the 1914 level, because of continued high labor costs, high taxes and high costs of transportation. Though at the beginning of the President's unemployment conference the number of unemployed was placed at about 3,500,000, the latest Government figures place the number at about 2,000,000.

The outstanding feature of wage changes in industry had been the effort to reduce wages in trades in which closed union shop conditions had prevailed, or in which a large proportion of the labor was organized in trade unions. Reductions ranged from 10 to 15 per cent., but more radical reductions in individual cases were reported. Preliminary figures of a research study by the board showed reductions in weekly earnings ranging downward from 38 to 5.2 per cent. in industries for which the study had been completed.

RADICALS' INFLUENCE ON LABOR

The first annual report of Attorney General Daugherty, sent to Congress on Dec. 8, stated that "the movement launched by the Third or Communist International at Moscow to gain control of the trade and industrial unions throughout the world" was "meeting

with marked success as far as it related to syndicalist unions in the United States." Communist parties in this country, Mr. Daugherty said, had united to carry on propaganda more effectively, and their policy was to endeavor to gain control of the labor organizations through the control of the Executive Committees or other governing bodies therein. "Many of the leaders of this movement are American citizens," he said, "though they are subject to orders from Moscow as to their action and activities in the United States."

He pointed out that the only remedy available to the Federal Government was the deportation of such agitators as are aliens, and that it could act most effectively by co-operation with State authorities. Ten of the States, he said, had anti-anarchy statutes, seventeen of them criminal syndicalism statutes, four of them anti-syndicalism statutes, eleven of them sedition statutes, ten of them statutes on sabotage, twenty-four of them statutes regarding membership in ultra-radical organizations, twenty-one of them statutes regarding attendance at ultra-radical meetings, twenty-nine of them anti-red flag laws, and six of them laws against seditious conspiracy.

SENATE FOR BEER BAN

The Senate, on Nov. 18, by a vote of 56 to 22, adopted the conference report on the anti-beer bill, despite the fact that the two leaders of the Senate, Messrs. Lodge and Underwood, opposed it. The so-called Stanley amendment, which the Senate adopted, and which forbade the search or seizure of a person's home or property without a warrant, was substantially modified by the conferees. The bill as finally passed required prohibition agents to obtain search warrants only in the case of private residences. Offices, stores, vehicles and the person might be searched without the authority of a warrant. It was stipulated, however, that officers who searched without "probable cause"

or "maliciously" might be penalized. The bill also prohibited the prescription of beer or other malt liquors for medicinal purposes, and limited the quantities in which other spirituous liquors might be prescribed. The bill was signed by the President on Nov. 23.

HELP URGED FOR ALASKA

More liberalized laws with an administration co-ordinated and brought nearer home were stated to be the paramount needs of Alaska in the first annual report of Governor Scott C. Bone, made public Dec. 6. "Capital and people are needed to develop the resources of the Territory," ran part of his message, "and until it is made easier for these two necessary factors to obtain a foothold, the Territory will not progress. Under the present long-range system of government, individual initiative has been halted and the pioneer spirit maimed."

Recommendations made by the Governor were: Liberal mining and land laws, framed to meet distinctive conditions in Alaska; a colonization plan to be worked out in conjunction with the operation of the Government railroad, to bring under cultivation the vast area of agricultural land in the interior; improved transportation facilities and more equitable freight rates, through private enterprise, if obtainable, and under governmental regulation and control; more liberal mail subsidies, to enable the Post Office Department to function better in Alaska.

Governor Bone said that the population had decreased 10,000 during the last decade and that the Territory had not progressed or prospered during the last fiscal year.

"TILE TRUST" MEN SENTENCED

As a result of the activities of the Lockwood committee, four business men, prominent in the so-called "Tile Trust," received prison sentences Nov. 23 from Federal Judge William C. Van Fleet in New York City. They were also fined. Twenty-nine other

individuals and nineteen corporations were fined.

The four business men—Arthur Schilstone, Albert Schalle, Frank H. Nobbe and Herman Petri—had pleaded guilty, so that they were barred from making an appeal. It was therefore practically certain that they would serve their sentences, which were two months in jail for Petri and four months for the three others. In that case they would be the first business men to see the inside of a jail for violating the anti-trust section of the Sherman act during the thirty-one years that it has been on the statute books.

NATIONAL HEALTH

According to the findings of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the American Engineering Council, appointed by Secretary Hoover (these findings were made public Dec. 4), the duration of life in America has been increased by five years since 1909. Morbidity surveys, it was stated, showed an economic gain to the nation of many millions through lessened disability and sickness. The report estimated that 2,400,000 people were continuously ill. Tuberculosis was stated to be still the worst epidemic disease, though its ravages were decreasing. Government and State action were included in an elaborate program suggested to minimize illness and prolong lives. There was no reason, it was declared, to believe that the race was physically advancing. But that national vitality was increasing was the general conclusion reached by the investigators.

Pneumonia, influenza and typhoid fever were shown to be the most important communicable diseases among adults. Typhoid fever filled more than 150,000 sick beds annually



SCOTT C. BONE

*Recently appointed Governor of Alaska,
formerly publicity man for the Re-
publican National Committee*

and took about 15,000 lives, mostly in the working ages. Influenza and pneumonia in non-epidemic years took about 35,000 lives in the working ages and thus accounted for at least 350,000 cases of illness. Hookworm infection was present in a large industrial area to the extent of at least 5 per cent. among the laboring population.

KEEPING OUR ARMY READY FOR DEFENSE

BY JOHN W. WEEKS

Secretary of War

How the United States is organizing an efficient citizen army by salvaging the trained personnel left from the World War—Two million real soldiers to be quickly available in an emergency

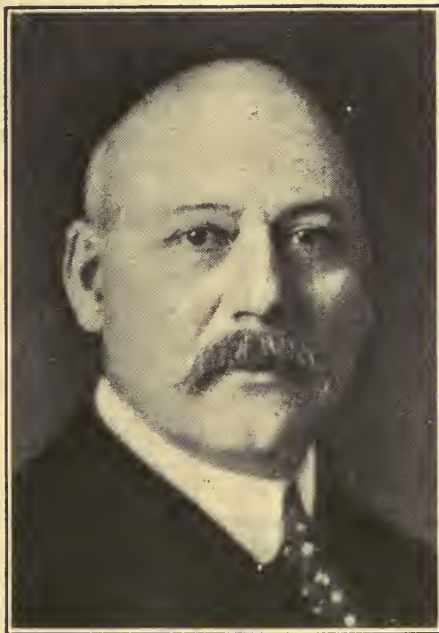
FOR the first time in the history of the United States we now have an operative as against a merely theoretical military policy. Hence it is my good fortune to be the first Secretary of War able to announce definite plans for establishing in time of peace a national defense organization which follows the traditional military program of the nation, but which has never before been applied in actual practice.

The essence of the country's military policy now, as it always has been, is dependence on the civilian manhood of the country for defense in case of war. It presumes the smallest standing army that practical needs will permit, but one that is capable, in case of emergency, of rapid expansion into a larger non-professional war army.

So far as the standing army goes, we have always adhered to that policy. We are adhering to it now. Three

years ago at this writing, there were approximately 4,000,000 Americans under arms, a force almost twice as large as the country ever knew before. Today we have a standing military force of only about 165,000 officers and men. Demobilization after the last war, all elements considered, was as rapid and as radical as it was after previous wars. While our present standing army may seem large in comparison with the forces main-

tained twenty-five years ago, it is still, in a relative sense, quite as small. For we must consider our growth in population and wealth, the development of our world relations and the acquirement of overseas possessions which absorb a considerable part of our Regular Army. Likewise, modern warfare has so extended the range of the professional soldier's peace-time duties and studies that there is little more than elementary similarity between what



(© Harris & Ewing)

JOHN W. WEEKS

Secretary of War in President Harding's
Cabinet

was required of the regular army in the pre-Spanish war period and what is needed from it today by way of preparation for emergencies that still may arise.

In the past, our policy of expanding a small peace establishment into a great war establishment has been a theoretical one only. For we have always deferred its application, or intelligent preparation therefor, until serious emergency arose. That was a serious defect. It greatly and unnecessarily enhanced the cost, the hardships, the difficulties and the dangers of our important wars. To correct that defect without giving any basis for the fear of militarism—indeed, to correct it in such manner as to lessen the danger of militaristic influences—is the intent of the National Defense act now being applied.

That act contemplates a national defense organization to be known simply as the Army of the United States. That term no longer implies only those expert and well-drilled soldiers who make up our regular establishment. Potentially it includes every man, uniformed or not, who might be expected to fight for his country in case of need. In peace-time practice, however, it includes only those brought within some form of organized control or designation for immediate, casual or extreme emergency military operations. While the regular army is the nucleus around which all will revolve, it will be in a numerical sense only a part, and a relatively small part, of the whole—only the key, so to speak, in the arch of national organization for defense, the whole to be known as the Army of the United States.

NEW NATIONAL GUARD

There will be two other main branches, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves, both having to do with the potential defensive strength represented by the civilian manhood of the country. The National Guard practically will be as it has always been; that is to say, chiefly

a State force for use in casual emergency, but effectively organized for prompt employment as a part of the national forces in the event of war. It will be controlled and officered by the States as heretofore, but equipped and technically supervised by the Federal Government. Its present strength is about 126,000, but the plans for its development contemplate gradual and systematic expansion toward the legal maximum of 425,000, to be allotted equitably among the different States. As a part of the Army of the United States, it will constitute eighteen infantry divisions, which will have the designations and so far as possible the territorial identities of the National Guard organizations which took part in the recent war. Most of New York State's National Guard, for example, will continue to comprise the Twenty-seventh Division, Army of the United States, as it did during the World War. Regimental designations will be left to the States, but so far as practicable those under which fame was won during the World War will be retained and perpetuated.

The Organized Reserves likewise will be formed into divisions corresponding, so far as practicable, in both designations and territorial identity, with those evolved from the National Army during the World War. The Organized Reserve forces in New York City and most of its vicinity thus will be in the Seventy-seventh Division of the Army of the United States.

Hence in many respects the A. E. F. goes on. Its traditions, its memories, its experience, will be preserved, and its actual organization perpetuated in at least skeleton form. It is pleasing to note that its commander at the front, General John J. Pershing, as Chief of the General Staff, has the duty of re-energizing it, in so far as may be practicable, and of re-establishing so much of its framework as can be salvaged and preserved for possible future use.

Thus the traditions upon which we build are not in any respect those of

a military class, but rather those of the historic Army of the United States, composed mainly of the citizen soldiery—traditions, too, that will always be safeguarded against changes prejudicial to our institutions.

AVOIDING CENTRALIZATION.

The different branches of the Army of the United States will meet and be tied together, so to speak, into corps area organizations, which will be the intermediate headquarters between them and the War Department in Washington. For we aim to accomplish the very difficult task of decentralizing the organized military activities of the country. Toward centralization and concentration the spirit of militarism trends, and therein may lie its chief danger. Hence we view as among the most constructive features of the new military law the division of the country into nine corps areas of substantially equal population. In each of these areas there will be two divisions of the National Guard and three skeletonized divisions of the Organized Reserves. The commanders of these areas, with their staffs, will constitute the agencies for decentralized administrations.

Each corps area commander—generally an officer of high regular army rank—acting under general policies emanating from the War Department, but with the fullest initiative allowed, will be charged with the duty of developing all units of the Army of the United States within his assigned territory. He will also have supervision of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, the citizens' training camps, and all other agencies through which patriotic citizens who so desire may be prepared for military service in case of national emergency. These corps areas thus form a permanent machinery for decentralized military administration in peace or war. The establishment of these corps areas, based upon the distribution of military population, is one of the most

far-reaching provisions of the amended National Defense act.

The General Staff, which has general supervision as well as full control of all plans for general strategy and operation in case of war, is no longer an isolated and exclusively regular army institution. Both the National Guard and the Organized Reserves are guaranteed representation upon it. In fact, the law requires that any General Staff board or committee having to do with policies affecting the citizen forces of the country must contain as many National Guard or Reserve officers as regulars. Therefore, no policies affecting the citizen forces can be adopted, except with the participation of representatives of those forces at the centre of control. As practically all military policies will affect the citizen forces, representatives directly from the civilian life of the country will share in virtually all War Department actions that relate to national defense. This obviates any danger of the development of an exclusive army hierarchy in Washington, and gives assurance that all preparation for the national defense will be made along truly democratic lines.

LIKE THE SWISS PLAN

The military policy whose framework is above outlined follows in many essentials the plan of organization adhered to by the democratic army in Switzerland, the army that long has been viewed as a model for countries desiring adequate defense with a minimum permanent establishment. One basic feature of the Swiss system—universal military training—was not accepted by Congress when amending the National Defense act. But voluntary military training in our schools and colleges and in citizens' training camps is authorized by the law. Personally I believe that we can go far toward developing a powerful defensive military organization on the voluntary basis, for we are in a superb position with regard to the first element

entering into army strategy, which is numbers. The World War demonstrated how our young men at need will make sacrifices to defend their country. Our young men, in greater proportion, perhaps, than those of any other major power, love the out-of-doors and appreciate the benefits coming from moderate training along military lines. Hence we have every reason for believing that we can maintain an efficient overhead organization for mobilizing an army of 2,000,000 men in case of war. With adequate organizations fully officered and with initial movements planned in advance, the training of a large army becomes a relatively simple undertaking.

Every business man knows the all-importance of mere organization. The chief directors of a business concern may die, its working force may strike, the plant and even the offices with all records may be destroyed by fire, and yet, if its organization remains fairly intact, the establishment may be quickly revived. It is easier to build plants, to organize and train workmen, even to find and develop markets, than it is to develop efficient organization, which indeed must grow.

OUR WORLD WAR INVESTMENT

What we need most for the military defense of the country is an organization of selected and trained civilians, which, under expert professional guidance, can quickly be ready to function in case of an emergency. With such an organization, including 100,000 reserve officers capable of handling troops or directing the various technical branches of army mobilization and operation, we should be able to have a force of 2,000,000 men under training within a few weeks after the first threat of emergency. With the framework of organization such as we are now developing, many months' time would have been saved in preparing our troops for service in France, and much of the expense would have been saved.

It might be said that, whatever Congress might have decreed, we did not have the material for forming an officers' reserve corps of 100,000 prior to the last war. It would have taken many years' time and large expenditures to create that material. But suppose we had salvaged and organized a portion of the trained personnel that came out of the Civil War, and had used it as the years passed in steadily preparing young men to take its place as age and death removed it from availability. We would have been ready at any time to form a large citizen army within a few weeks from the taking of the first step in the direction of war. Mobilization for the Spanish War would have been a matter of mere selection, and many of the huge problems incident to the organizing of our big army for the World War would have been displaced by processes verging on the automatic.

The training of overhead organization for the Civil War represented an immense investment, which, after the war was over, was permitted to evaporate without an attempt to salvage any part of it. Likewise the training received by thousands of officers and men in the World War represents a huge investment, which can be safely and economically utilized in making such preparations as we may consider necessary for our future protection. Shall we disregard that investment, now that the war is over, rather than preserve and thus economize by reason of it?

That is what, under the National Defense act as amended by Congress last year, the present Administration proposes to do. So far as officers in the World War volunteer for it and are qualified, they will be retained in the reserve forces of the army of the United States. They will be supplemented and gradually superseded, as time passes, by others who in schools or colleges or voluntary training camps, or by technical fitness acquired in their daily life, become qualified for actual war service. Every member of the reserves will

belong to a localized organization. Perhaps in many cases it will be only a paper organization, yet it will exist, and that is the most important factor. Every reservist will have a specific thing to do, in case of call to the colors, and advanced plans will be made for filling out and perfecting every organization.

We already have 64,000 officers enrolled in the Officers' Reserve Corps. Most of them are veterans of the World War, and other veteran officers probably will enroll as the reserve organizations take form. Last year 90,811 young men were enrolled in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in our colleges and high schools. A considerable number of them will qualify eventually as reserve officers. Last year, also, 11,000 young men attended the citizens' training camps maintained by the War Department in the several corps areas.

SALVAGING A TRAINED PERSONNEL

All training is directed by regular army officers, whose greatest function from now on is to develop, maintain and energize the great framework of reserve organization, through which the forces in case of war can be expanded quickly and automatically, as it were, into a large citizen army.

Selected officers and enlisted men of the regular army will be assigned to the Organized Reserves, to supervise training, organization and equipment and to perform detailed administrative work. Thus civilians who become reservists will not be burdened, in peace time, with work that necessarily will interfere with their daily vocations. Tentative plans provide for calling them out for not to exceed fifteen days' training each year, whenever funds are available. This will enable them to keep abreast of military progress, to identify themselves with their organizations, and to undergo practical tests as to fitness for different duties and assignments and for promotion.

There also will be an enlisted reserve corps subject to expansion. While this is desirable, the greatest desideratum is officers properly selected and assigned.

The Officers' Reserve Corps will be a great reservoir for proved and prepared talent for military leadership. There is no limitation upon the source of that talent. It may come from the World War, from the schools and colleges, from the ranks of the National Guard or the regular army—even, in respect to technical activities, from workshops, offices, or laboratories. Fitness will be the single rule applied to admission to the ranks of the ready and the designated.

It will soon become apparent that only those can hope to lead in war who prepare themselves for responsibility in time of peace. The young man, for example, who thinks that in case of war he should like to be on mobilization something more than a high private in the rear ranks will be impelled to fit himself for leadership before mobilization is needed. There should and will be a gradual development of the idea that it is proper for every self-respecting young American to give a portion of his time during his youth to preparation for effective service, if his country should ever need it. He who relies upon mere potential fitness will trust to a slender thread; for when important assignments are made before war comes, there will be little room for the successful wielding of "influence" after activities begin.

Through the general development of an organized citizen army we can maintain an adequate national defense system at a minimum of expense—at negligible expense as compared with what it would take to keep up a standing force sufficient for any eventuality.

With such a system there will be no need, in case of future war, for long and wasteful delays while selecting and training officers, or for setting up great and expensive can-

tonments solely for purposes of military organization. When the young men of the country are called out, they will be mobilized in or near their own home communities, under officers whom they know and in organizations of local contingents.

LOCALIZED MOBILIZATION

Thus initially, for purposes of organization, there will be no tremendous housing or tantalizing transportation problems to solve. For in almost every community there already are shelters which can be extemporized—armories, court houses and other public or available private buildings—for local contingents. Hence most of the new recruits may remain near their homes and in touch with their home people until they have received their fundamental training. There will be no need for combining them into huge masses until concentration for military purposes becomes necessary. Hence we will avoid many of the troublesome “psychological” problems that went with the method of initial concentration in the big cantonments. These were unavoidable in the World War, because we were forced to concentrate in order to begin organization.

The development of a citizen army affords our regular establishment the greatest field for constructive work it has ever had. Instead of being a close and isolated organization, cut off in large part from the civic activities and general life of the country, its trained officers and men will spread out through the masses of civilian manhood which have always been and shall continue to be our main dependence in case of war.

Because of its isolation and concentration upon and within itself, in no war have we ever utilized to the full the highly trained skill represented by our small army of professional soldiers. General Grant, in his

memoirs, says it would have been better to disband the regular army at the beginning of the Civil War. This would have made it possible to use its expert personnel solely as framework for building the great citizen army which had to be raised. Under the new system which we are now developing, the trained experts, upon whom the success of the citizen army depends, will be identified with the organizations of that army in time of peace.

Also, as heretofore, regular army officers and men will be assigned for duty, as specialists, with the National Guard. On the other hand, both Reserve and National Guard officers will be assigned constantly to temporary duty with the regular army proper.

Thus the various components of the Army of the United States will be interlocked and made interdependent. As the whole, in peace time, will be predominatingly civilian; as the members of the army not in uniform will have means for impressing their views on the regulars in uniform; as the success of the regular establishment will be made to depend upon the success of the Organized Reserves and the National Guard; as all civilian service will be voluntary, and as the civilian forces will be distributed more or less evenly as to population, the very soul of the system will be democratic. Such an army by its very nature cannot be militaristic in the aggressive sense, in the sense of pursuing the science of war as an end sufficient unto itself, in the sense that contradicts democratic institutions and the peaceful instincts of our people. For it will respond readily only to the legitimate demands of national defense. In the words of President Harding, “Every patriotic citizen should encourage the development of these forces, each within its proper sphere.” The plan is economical, democratic—and safe.

MURDER TO MAINTAIN COAL MONOPOLY

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Extraordinary situation in West Virginia coal fields revealed in Federal court proceedings—Charge of conspiracy between western operators and miners for the purpose of destroying non-union competitors—Evils ascribed to the check-off system

BY filing in the United States Circuit Court at Indianapolis a suit in equity against the officers and members of the Executive Board of the International Organization of the United Mine Workers of America and all the members thereof—likewise against the Jackson Hill Coke and Coal Company, the Queen Coal and Mining Company, Rowland's Power Consolidated Colliery Company, Lower Vein Coal Company, all Indiana corporations, and P. H. Penna, J. K. Seifert, J. H. McClelland and W. J. Snyder—on behalf of itself and sixty-two other coal companies operating in Mingo County, W. Va., and Pike County, Ky., the Borderland Coal Corporation has at last placed in court records the story of twenty-three years of arson, assault and assassination in West Virginia.

In addition to this civil suit, indictments are also pending in the same court against substantially the same defendants—that is, against the leaders of the United Mine Workers' organization and the coal operators of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania—for conspiracy to increase the price of coal. No date has been fixed for trial under these indictments, but the Department of Justice is said to be preparing to bring the parties to trial at an early day.

As set forth in plaintiffs' bill, the long series of outrages in West Virginia, including 500 murders, un-

numbered assaults and lesser crimes, amounting on several occasions to nothing less than armed insurrections requiring the intervention of troops, which has cost the coal operators and the taxpayers of the State and of the country at large a good many millions of dollars, is the result of a conspiracy between coal operators in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Western



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JUDGE ALBERT B. ANDERSON
United States District Judge at Indianapolis

Pennsylvania, known as "the Central Competitive Field," and the officials of the United Mine Workers. The conspiracy was inspired, as recited in the bill, by the operators in the Central Competitive Field, who wanted to retain a monopoly of the coal market in the Central West, freed from the inconvenient competition of West Virginia, and by officials of the United Mine Workers, who wanted the aid of the operators in collecting millions of dollars from miners. By a formal agreement entered into Jan. 26, 1898, and continued in full force and effect to date, the United Mine Workers undertook to unionize the mines of West Virginia as the only effective way to make competition impossible, in consideration of certain concessions from the operators in the Central Competitive Field, including the "check-off" [a system by which assessments are deducted from union men's pay before they receive it].

Judge Albert B. Anderson, in the Federal District Court at Indianapolis, on Oct. 31, 1921, upheld plaintiffs' contention that a conspiracy existed, and therefore granted an injunction forbidding further efforts to unionize West Virginia as an attempt to monopolize the coal industry and as a violation of the Sherman act, and also enjoining further collections of money from miners through the "check-off."

Under their own constitution and by-laws and the agreement with the operators, officials of the United Mine Workers have the power to demand any sum they see fit to be deducted from the wages of miners by their employers and turned over to them. Sometimes the deductions collected by the operators amount to as much as \$3 a month, or at the rate of \$36 a year, per man. As the union claims a membership of 585,000 it will be seen that very interesting possibilities are involved. The actual gross revenues of the organization, including sums spent both by the national organization and by locals, it is alleged amount to \$15,000,000 a year.

Breathing threats of a nation-wide coal strike at every turn of the wheels, the union officials and their attorneys hurried to Chicago, where they applied to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for relief. It was granted on Nov. 4, the court allowing an order temporarily suspending the injunction against the check-off pending an appeal from the entire injunction to be heard Nov. 16. In all other respects but the check-off, the injunction was allowed to stand until disposed of by the court. On Nov. 16, Judges Baker, Alschuler and Evans of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals devoted the entire day to hearing arguments on the injunction. A decision was promised within sixty days.

THE MOTIVES INVOLVED

In order that this almost incredible story may be understood, it is necessary to explain certain conditions. West Virginia is pre-eminently a coal-mining State, having 9,500 square miles of coal lands, from which it is estimated that 60,800,000,000 tons of coal can be mined. All coal in the State is very high grade; the famous smokeless coal, such as is supplied to the navy, is the best known. Veins are unusually thick. Between Williams-town and Bluefield the Norfolk & Western Railroad passes through a tunnel cut entirely in a vein of coal. Most of the veins worked range from 4 to 11 feet in thickness. Most of the mines, being above water level, have been developed by drifts, the coal being delivered by gravity to the tipples beside the railroad track. Under these unusually favorable conditions the mining industry has developed rapidly, production increasing from 20,220,721 long tons in 1900 to 77,180,060 long tons in 1917, which was a little more than 15½ per cent. of all the bituminous coal mined in the country in that banner year.

Not being an industrial State, more than 90 per cent. of West Virginia's entire output of coal must be shipped through competitive coal fields to distant markets. The most important



(Wide World Photos)

Federal troops disarming miners who have been carrying on a private war for the unionization of the West Virginia mines

fuel market is the Middle West, including that part of the United States and Canada served by the Great Lakes. The bulk of West Virginia coal has always been marketed in the Middle West; but prior to 1897-8 the operators in the Central Competitive Field enjoyed a monopoly of the lake trade, being able to adjust prices to suit themselves.

Coals from the Central Competitive Field are not equal in quality to those from West Virginia, so the latter received the preference when offered in the lake trade. About 1898 West Virginia competition began to be felt. A further disadvantage of a majority of mines in the Central Competitive Field is that, owing to natural conditions, costs of production under any circumstances must be higher than in West Virginia, thus neutralizing the advantage of being nearer to market.

But the controlling factor is that the mines in the Central Competitive Field are virtually in control of the United Mine Workers. It is well known that the policy of labor unions

is to restrict production—to extort the highest possible wage for the smallest possible equivalent in work. Statistics show that the average daily production per man in non-union mines in West Virginia is 18 per cent. higher than in the union mines of Illinois.

To overcome these handicaps two means were open to operators in the Central Competitive Field—the discriminative freight rate and the union agitator. Both have been used, the latter proving by far the more effective.

CHARGES AGAINST THE UNION

Continuing the narrative from allegations set forth in plaintiffs' bill, it is charged that the conspiracy referred to was formulated at a joint conference of operators and miners from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania at Chicago on Jan. 26, 1898, in an agreement signed by both parties, the eighth paragraph of which was as follows:

That the United Mine Workers' organization, a party to this contract, do hereby

further agree to afford all possible protection to the trade and to the other parties hereto against any unfair competition resulting from a failure to maintain scale rates.

In union parlance "unfair" means "non-union." The only non-union field competing with the four States mentioned is West Virginia. Hence paragraph eight must be interpreted to mean that the United Mine Workers undertook to prevent West Virginia from becoming an effective competitor of the four States. The only way that could be done was by organizing the West Virginia mines, thus making it possible to restrict production and otherwise harass and impede the operators in that State.

It appears that for a number of years the proceedings of the joint conferences of the United Mine Workers and operators in the Central Competitive Field were reported by official stenographers and published—solely for the information of the two parties to the agreement; but the efficient secret service of the West Virginia operators procured copies, until, this fact becoming known, publication was discontinued.

Quoting from these official reports, plaintiffs' bill gives an outline of the progress of the alleged conspiracy. Thus at the joint conference in 1899 Ratchford, retiring President of the United Mine Workers, is alleged to have said:

The West Virginia miners, by reason of the efforts of our organization, have been hampered and injured more within the past year (i. e., since the alleged conspiracy was formed in 1898) than in any year they have been operating.

Quoting from the report of the joint conference of 1910, Mr. Maurer, coal operator from Ohio, is represented as saying:

The chief evil was the fact that districts which did not recognize the United Mine Workers and had no agreement with them produced coal much more cheaply than those districts which sustained contractual relations with that organization. In order to correct these most harmful conditions, a joint convention of operators and miners of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, at the solicitation of the miners' officials, was called to meet at Chicago in

1898! At this convention an interstate joint agreement was established. The granting of the eight-hour day by the operators, after making numerous other important concessions, was with the distinct understanding and explicit promise of the miners to give the operators of the four contracting States adequate protection against the competition of the unorganized fields.

It should be noted that while coal is produced much more cheaply in non-union mines, the men actually earn higher pay than union men. This fact is well authenticated.

William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers and one of the defendants, is represented as saying in reply to Mr. Maurer's complaint, among other things:

The United Mine Workers of America have diligently and aggressively attempted to carry out the promise made in Chicago in 1898; they have done everything in their power to redeem any promise they may have made to organize West Virginia. Since 1898 our organization has at various times spent hundreds of thousands of dollars trying to unionize West Virginia. We have also sacrificed human life in the attempt to redeem that promise.

At the joint conference of 1912 President John P. White of the United Mine Workers is represented as saying that

Every effort has been put forth to try to break down the conditions that are complained of here on the other side.

One of these efforts, presumably, was the strike on Cabin Creek and Paint Creek in 1912, which resulted in the calling out of the militia and the usual investigation, which carefully avoided revealing any fundamental facts.

At the same conference Duncan McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, is represented as saying in part:

Penitentiary doors have no terrors for us * * * If putting two or three hundred of our men in jail will organize West Virginia, we will send two or three hundred down.

As men are not usually sent to the penitentiary until after conviction of felonies, Mr. McDonald's alleged remarks are suggestive.

The foregoing quotations are fair



(Wide World Photos)

Soldiers guarding the coal mine at Blair, W. Va., a typical scene in the region long harassed by labor troubles

samples of many pages of similar material in plaintiffs' bill.

REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSES

Continuing, this amazing narrative recites that in 1912 the United Mine Workers definitely abandoned the trade union movement and became revolutionary, treasonable and anarchistic in character, quoting from the constitution of the organization and from speeches of its members to sustain the assertion. It is alleged that the Mine Workers, after obtaining complete control through unionizing the mines, purpose to seize the properties without compensation to the owners.

This appears to be generally understood throughout West Virginia, for in testifying before the Senate Committee "investigating" conditions in the State recently, W. M. Wiley, Vice President of the Boone County Coal

Corporation, declared that the Mine Workers meant to pull down the Government and put themselves in place of it.

It is charged that the object and aim of the United Mine Workers is to drive out of the market all coal produced by non-union mines; and that owing to the restrictions and unreasonable regulations imposed by the union on all organized mines, and on account of the constant bickerings, disputes and strikes arising therefrom, resulting in the loss of time to employes and loss of production at the mines, the cost of production is so unreasonably and unnecessarily enhanced that union coal cannot compete with non-union.

As an interesting sidelight on these conditions the fact may be noted that one of the grievances aired by operators of the Central Competitive Field at a joint conference was

that the good union miners, irritated beyond endurance by their masters, the union officials, were forsaking the beatitudes of the organized field and emigrating to the non-union fields of West Virginia, where they could work in peace and not be held up at the paymaster's window by the check-off.

Declaring that ever since 1898, when the alleged conspiracy was entered into, the parties thereto had energetically endeavored to bring about the results for which the conspiracy was formed, and that in furtherance of this object the United Mine Workers had used every form of threat, intimidation, violence, murder, insurrection and destruction of property to impose their will upon coal operators and their employes, some of the outstanding outrages in the State are described. These include the march in the Fall of 1919 of 5,000 armed men commanded by officials of District No. 17, United Mine Workers, from the union fields of the Kanawha, Cabin and Paint Creek districts, at a time when there was no strike or other labor trouble in these districts, with the announced intention of invading the non-union field in Logan County, fifty miles away, where also there was no labor controversy, to compel by force of arms the unionization of the field.

A similar invasion was staged in Mingo County about May, 1920, resulting in the declaration of a strike by the union about July 1, although there were no union miners there and the non-union men were satisfied with wages and working conditions.

The President of District No. 17 of the United Mine Workers, embracing Mingo County, West Virginia, testified that in the year ending July 1, 1921, the union had spent \$2,600,000 in the war in Mingo County. During the war they killed 22 men, some of whom were officers of the law. On this showing it costs the United Mine Workers \$118,000 a head to kill non-union men in West Virginia; but money is no object, for it is all collected through the check-off.

It is charged that the defendant companies, parties to the alleged conspiracy, knew at the time the agreement with the United Mine Workers was made that the sums they collected through the check-off and delivered to the union treasurer were to be used for the purchase of arms and ammunition and to maintain an armed force to murder non-union workers employed in West Virginia. They are further charged with the knowledge that the union men, victims of these compulsory collections, would not voluntarily contribute any part of their earnings for such a purpose. Without the check-off the union could not maintain a war chest, and hence the long period of outrages would automatically come to an end.

RESULTS OF OUTRAGES

The ruthless system of intimidation, outrage and murder described has resulted in the unionization of 53,000 out of the 88,000 miners in West Virginia. The operators who were thus involuntarily brought into the union fold have plenty of leisure to contemplate their condition, for most of the union mines in the State are idle. It is said that 90 per cent. of the mines in the unionized New River field are now shut down altogether. Organization has not proved to be the effective antidote for competition it was expected to be.

On the other hand, the non-union fields, since United States soldiers and State police took charge of the districts, are producing coal in peace now, although they are apprehensive of another outbreak just as soon as soldiers and policemen are withdrawn. The United Mine Workers are now maintaining three separate armed camps in the Mingo field with their guns hidden away, but ready at hand to be used as soon as the coast is clear. Those camps are nothing more or less than continuing threats meant to intimidate non-union men and their employers.

MR. VINSON'S CHARGES

Facts being as set forth in the foregoing, and as they are generally

known throughout West Virginia, it may seem incomprehensible to the outsider that legal action was not taken long ago to end an intolerable situation. Replying to a question on this point, Z. T. Vinson of Huntington, W. Va., senior counsel for the coal companies bringing suit, said:

"The war on Paint and Cabin Creeks in 1912 was financed to such an extent that the United Mine Workers had millions of dollars to back them up, to pay expenses and to furnish guns and ammunition. They were able to fight until these mines were practically exhausted and had to submit in 1914 to be unionized. At that time, of course, the war was going on in Europe and the market price of coal had begun to soar to such heights that competition between the coals produced in West Virginia and those mined in the Central Competitive Field no longer existed. The reasons for unionizing West Virginia mines did not come back into play again until the Summer of 1920, when the attacks by the Mine Workers' organization, with money furnished by the check-off system, began on the Mingo fields. The operators in this field felt that the military authorities of the United States as well as the State of West Virginia would restore peace and stop assaults of the Mine Workers' organization upon their mines, and consequently did not go into court until the present Summer. At last the Mingo mine owners decided to bring suit in order to stop the collection of money through the check-off, knowing that if they could accomplish this it would end the war and peace would be restored.

"You will appreciate the fact that the mine owners in the coal fields north of the Ohio River collected all this money from employes and turned it over to the leaders of the Mine Workers' organization to be used in maintaining this war, hiring men, purchasing guns and ammunition and dynamite with which to shoot and blow up the mines of non-union competitors in West Virginia and Kentucky fields. Of course we took the ground that this arrangement was not only illegal, as the money was to be used for an unlawful purpose, but was to the highest degree criminal upon the part of the unionized operators as well as the leaders of the Mine Workers' organization.

"There is not only a basis for criminal prosecution in this respect, but already indictments have been made against the United Mine Workers as well as the mine owners for this conspiracy, which indictments are now pending in the court of Judge Anderson at Indianapolis.

"One of the reasons, and I may say the particular reason, why these conspiracies have not heretofore been proceeded against criminally is because Congress in making appropriations for the Department of Justice always tacks a rider on providing that no part of the money so appropriated shall be used in the prosecution of labor organizations."

Putting Mr. Vinson's words into still plainer English, he charges that Congress, by formal enactment, recognizes a union card as a license to commit murder or any lesser crime.

HOW RESTRICTED IMMIGRATION WORKS OUT

BY WALTER W. HUSBAND
Commissioner General of Immigration

An authoritative study of the effects of the new law limiting immigrants to 3 per cent. of the number in the United States in 1910—Proportion of northern Europeans increased—Facts and figures on the various quotas

NOT only is immigration being kept within reasonable limits by the new immigration act, which became a law on May 19, 1921, but the percentage of immigrants reaching this country from Northern and Western Europe has been increased greatly by its workings; as compared with the percentage under the unrestricted plan in vogue in 1913.

Americans who return from Europe in these days bring back the information that millions from Europe would come here if economic and other conditions made it possible. The disturbances in the political and economic situation abroad are powerful incentives to emigration for the average man. Emigration to South America is said to be rapidly increasing; Germany, in particular, is showing much interest in the future possibilities of that part of the Western Hemisphere. But the United States, as it has been for decades, is still the goal of the average European who plans to begin life anew outside his native land, and the aftermath of war is proving so unbearable in many European countries that the prospect of migration to America seems to offer even more advantages now than in the past.

The depreciation in the value of European currency has done something to check the tide of humanity from swamping us, but that alone would not be sufficient. Congress

realized, when the flood of immigration came upon us a little more than a year ago and when the facilities for receiving the incomers were found completely inadequate, that there would be practically no limit to the movement toward this country unless restrictions were imposed by law. The result was the passage of a bill in the House of Representatives last Winter providing for a temporary suspension of immigration, and the acceptance by the Senate of a plan providing for a per centum limit. The latter proposal was accepted by both houses, and was ready for President Wilson's signature last March. The signature was not obtained, however, and as a consequence the present law was not enacted until last May, when the new Administration was in power.

The new plan is radical and far reaching. The act itself comprises only a few hundred words. It provides that the number of aliens admitted annually from countries covered by the act shall not exceed 3 per cent. of the number from those countries already in the United States in 1910. The 3 per cent. quota applies to all the European nations and to certain others.

There are numerous exceptions under the law, all designed to prevent hardship in individual cases and to facilitate the free movement of travelers. Aliens in transit through this country and aliens lawfully admitted,

who may be in transit through adjacent territory, are not affected by the act. The status of immigration from the Asiatic countries already covered by immigration laws is not affected. Aliens under 18 years of age who are the children of American citizens are likewise excepted from the operations of the law.

Analysis of the provisions of the act shows that it applies only to Europe, Transcaucasia, Turkey in Asia as it existed before the war, Persia, Africa, Australasia, the Atlantic Islands and part of the Pacific Islands. It is, of course, from just these parts of the world that immigrants have been arriving most freely, and the necessity for checking the migration had long been urged by many authorities. Southern and Eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey

had supplied large numbers of immigrants in the years directly preceding the World War, and it soon became evident, once steamship service was resumed after the armistice, that these regions would send more people than it was believed we could assimilate.

Naturally, the tendency in some cases has been to exceed the quotas, particularly the monthly quotas. Some countries, from which there has been comparatively little immigration, and which are only moderately represented in the cosmopolitan American population, are unfavorably situated as the act now stands. One of these countries is Spain. There were in 1910 comparatively few persons in the United States of Spanish nativity, and Spain's quota is accordingly very low. Yet the unfortunate economic situation in Europe has affected Spain as well as most of the other countries, and this country is, in effect, somewhat discriminated against. In view of the fact, however, that Spanish immigration normally proceeds to countries of Central and South America, which, for the most part, have Spanish-speaking populations, the hardship is less severe than it would be otherwise. Emigrants from Spain can ordinarily adapt themselves better to the life of Argentina, for example, than could those from non-Spanish-speaking countries.

The annual quota of immigrants who may enter this country has been fixed; under the terms of the new law, at 355,825. The greatest number that may be landed in any one month is 71,163—that is, 20 per cent. of the total. There is, of course, a greater tendency toward immigration at certain times of the year than at others.

The quotas assigned certain countries are interesting, and they may even prove somewhat surprising to persons not acquainted with immigration conditions. Austria, for example, is entitled to 7,444 immigrants annually, and Belgium to 1,557. Czechoslovakia may send 14,269 persons here; Denmark, 5,644,



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W. W. HUSBAND
Commissioner General of Immigration



(Photo Brown Bros.)
Slavonian children from Southeastern Europe playing "cat's cradle" in the wretched surroundings of their new home on the east side of New York City

and Finland, 3,890. The quota of France—5,692—seems small compared with these figures. Germany's quota, on the other hand—68,039—appears abnormally large. All these, of course, are based on the numbers of persons resident in the country in 1910, and who were born in the countries mentioned.

Some of the other figures follow: Greece, 3,286; Hungary, 5,635; Italy, 42,021; Jugoslavia, 6,405; Netherlands, 3,602; Norway, 12,116; Poland, 26,019; Eastern Galicia, 5,781; Portugal, 2,269; Rumania, 7,414; Russia, 34,247; Sweden, 19,956; Switzerland, 3,745; United Kingdom, 77,206; Armenia, 1,588. The quota of Spain is only 663 annually.

The unexpected action of this country in adopting restrictions would have led to great hardship in the case of many immigrants who were unaware of what had happened had not the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, handled the situation in a most humane and sympathetic way. Large numbers of immigrants were on the way here at the time the

act went into effect; they had not been informed of the changed status, and many were coming here at the express desire of relatives who had lived in America for years. Deportation would not only have wrought hardship to the new arrivals, but might have led to permanent separation of families.

There are certain exceptions specified in the immigration laws, in addition to those mentioned; actors and other professional people, for instance, are admissible under conditions quite apart from the per centum requirements. The number of immigrants actually admitted in July was 30,441 and in August 32,795. the quotas for those months were 28,496 and 30,315, respectively. The quotas, therefore, correspond quite accurately with the numbers actually admitted, and the numerous classes of exceptions do not bring any considerable number of persons into the country.

The actual excess of arrivals over the quota from June 3, when the act went into operation, up to June 30,



Fruit market in a border town of the Caucasus region, where Persian, Turkish, Armenian and Russian types are intermingled. Some of America's immigration problems have to do with nationalities from that part of the world

was 11,741. This excess has, of course, been charged to the quotas of succeeding months. These immigrants were, as has been explained, temporarily admitted on recommendation of Secretary Davis, and subsequently Congress legalized this action; so that the June excess immigrants admitted to the United States temporarily on bond will be allowed to remain.

Complete figures covering immigration charged to the quotas are available up to and including Nov. 23, 1921, about five and a half months from the time the act went into operation. Charges against the quota in that period were 155,604, leaving 201,505 admissible during the remainder of the year. The total admissions in excess of the quota to that time numbered 1,284, indicating that the surplus of 11,471 on June 30 had been largely reduced. Since immigration during the Winter months

is not very heavy, it is probable that the admissions charged against quotas for the first six months of the act's operation—that is, up to Dec. 3—will quite closely approximate one-half the total for the year, or 177,913, for that would imply the admission of only 22,309, to be charged against quotas, from Nov. 23 to Dec. 3. This figure is reasonable, for most of the immigrants affected by the act come through the Port of New York—probably more than 90 per cent. of them, at this time of the year—and total admissions during the weeks ending Nov. 9, Nov. 16 and Nov. 23, respectively, were 11,975, 7,744 and 5,533. The immigrants arriving at New York were, in each of these weeks, more than 90 per cent. of the total.

Naturally, the percentages of quotas admitted from various countries exhibit wide variations. Several countries have already exceeded

their quotas for the year; but these, for the most part, are countries whose quotas are exceptionally low in proportion to their population.

From those parts of Asia not comprised in the zone from which immigration is prohibited the excess over the quotas has been most notable. Turkey's annual quota, for example, was 141.8 per cent., filled in four months; that of Palestine 355 per cent., and certain other parts of Asia 537 per cent. The number of persons born in those regions and resident in the United States in 1910 was small. Other countries in excess of their quota were Spain and New Zealand. Spain's quota for the year has been filled in four months, with 9.5 per cent. over, and New Zealand's with 10 per cent. over. The admissions in excess of the yearly quota were all temporary, mainly in June, and their status will be determined later.

Countries which are approaching the limits of their quotas include Portugal, 81 per cent.; Yugoslavia, 82.5 per cent., and Greece, 86.7 per cent. Austria, Finland and Russia are the only countries of Southern and Eastern Europe that have not sent at least 50 per cent. of their quotas, but the Russian quota is so large that restrictions on movement from that country keep the average down for Southern and Eastern Europe as a whole.

In compiling immigration statistics, distinction is usually made between the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe and those of Northern and Western Europe. The former are mainly Latin or Slav, and the latter mainly Nordic or Teutonic types. Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was generally considered excessive before the war, and restriction applying to that area was continually agitated. On the other hand, the movement of aliens from the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and Germany had been decreasing for several decades.

The countries of southern and Eastern Europe, as has been shown,

exhibit a tendency to overflow their quotas. Immigration from Russia has, of course, been practically impossible, and as for Austria, it has been difficult for would-be immigrants to consider payment of transportation rates to this country in the depreciated Austrian money.

While the southern and eastern countries are showing this excess over their quota, however, the nations of Northern and Western Europe, except for Belgium and Luxemburg, have not exceeded 50 per cent. of the total annually admissible. Immigration from the United Kingdom in the first four months reached only 26.5 per cent. of the quota; Denmark, 25.9 per cent.; Norway, 18.7 per cent.; Sweden, 18 per cent., and Germany, 8 per cent. Figures for six months will approximate 30, 30, 23, 25 and 12 per cent. respectively. The exchange situation in Germany has probably had some effect on the movement from that country, though there was a steady increase during the Summer months. In July there were 697 German immigrants to America; in August, 966; in September, 1,756, and in October, 2,569. November figures will exceed 2,000. The northern and western countries of Europe, however, had exhausted only 20.3 per cent. of their quotas for the year in the first four months, and probably the figure will not reach much more than 25 per cent. now.

The effect of the law, of course, will be to restrict immigration largely to those countries which were well represented in the population of the United States in 1910, before the number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe became so great. In 1913, the last year of unrestricted immigration, only 14.91 per cent. of the total immigration from Europe to this country came from the northern and western countries, and 84.88 per cent. from the southern and eastern countries. The percentages under the new law to Oct. 1 were 33.76 and 95.96 respectively, and these figures probably have not

been materially changed since then. The relatively satisfactory political and economic conditions in northern and western countries of Europe which were less affected by war than the others tend to keep the inhabitants of these countries within their own borders. The operation of the

law to date, however, seems to indicate that it will not only prove effective in keeping immigration down to an amount that the United States can absorb, but will tend to introduce to this country people who, as past experience has shown, assimilate very readily.

EASTERN EUROPE'S JEWISH REFUGEES

LULLED by the strenuous activities of the American Relief Administration in Europe, and especially in recent weeks in Russia, the world, which on the whole knows compassion, has given little heed to a gigantic sum of human suffering on Europe's southeastern frontiers—that, namely, of the dispossessed and exiled Jews in the Ukraine, Bessarabia, Poland and near-lying territories. The nature of this suffering is indicated in a report made by Mr. Bender-sky, in charge of the Central Ukrainian Relief Committee at Kishinev. In Bessarabia, alone, he says, some 30,000 Jewish refugees are homeless and temporarily quartered; 6,000 pogrom orphans are in the Rovno (Poland) region; 28,951 had to be cared for by the Warsaw Bureau in the first seven months of 1921.

Dr. Noah Prelutzki, a former member of the Warsaw Diet, who came to America as a representative of the Central Relief Committee of Warsaw, declared in New York in November that there were upward of 50,000 registered Jewish refugees in Poland, and between 60,000 and 70,000 more in Rumania. He continued:

They have reached those countries after hardship and suffering almost indescribable. They represent practically every class of the population; there are those who were people of wealth and social position, but who are now reduced to beggary; there are teachers, lawyers and physicians; there are the middle bourgeoisie and there are artisans and the unskilled laborers and small tradesmen. They have suffered alike and are alike penniless. * * * How heavily the Jews have suffered can scarcely be realized. Villages in which Jews constituted from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population simply no longer exist. There is scarcely a single Jewish child less than 7 years of age left in the Ukraine. A few of the children have escaped to other countries; the rest have perished. I think it is safe to say that for every

Ukrainian Jew who has died of violence, two have died from exposure or disease incident to their flight. Emigration is prohibited by the authorities. This means that the refugees travel by night, hiding during the day in the forests. Few have enough food for their journey. They must go through the forests, and are the prey of banditti, who steal not only their goods, but their papers of identification, and even their clothes, leaving them half naked. * * * They come to us starving and shivering, barefooted and with only a few rags to cover their nudity. They pour into the already overcrowded cities, only to be herded into barracks. There is every chance for the rapid spread of typhus and other diseases. The mortality is consequently high, and the refugees are a distinct menace to the health of the community in which they find shelter.

Mr. Prelutzki appeared before the Executive Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee at the home of the Chairman, Felix Warburg, and made a plea for an increased appropriation from the Jewish Relief Committee funds (which the Joint Distribution Committee disburses) for work among these refugees in Poland.

Louis Marshall, President of the Jewish Relief Committee, made a public statement on Nov. 27, in which he stressed particularly the tragedy of the refugee children. He made it plain that the appeal for \$14,000,000 which is being made by the committee was a direct answer to the cry of 300,000 orphans, robbed by the war of their natural protectors, and now perishing from hunger and cold. Although Mr. Marshall placed what he termed "the children's tragedy" in the first category, he pointed out that it was, after all, only a part of the whole Jewish problem in Europe. Fifty per cent. of all houses belonging to Jews in Eastern Europe had been destroyed. In Rumania, Galicia, Eastern Poland, Southern Russia and Lithuania the destroyed houses approximated 90 per cent.

PORTO RICO'S PLAYFUL POLITICS

By H. P. KRIPPENE

A friendly glance at the persistent demand for independence, in view of the marked advantages which Porto Ricans enjoy under American rule—Industries and products of the is and

IT may be reasonable to assume that Santo Domingo has a claim to independence, for this little republic was somewhat brusquely deprived of its sovereign rights by a military government of the United States; but the insistent clamor for "this panacea of all social evils" which comes from the Island of Porto Rico more than passes human understanding. It has, perhaps, an explanation—petty politics.

Porto Rico was rightfully acquired from Spain by treaty and payment. At the time of the acquisition, the Porto Ricans welcomed the Americans with the greatest profession of friendship, and it must be said to the credit of the American Government that few nations have done more for any one of their possessions than the United States has done for Porto Rico. A little more than twenty years ago, when the American troops first landed in San Juan, they found the island as undeveloped as Santo Domingo is today, with perhaps one exception—the bases for the excellent roads which they now have had already been laid by the Spaniards. San Juan, the capital, was a squalid village, lying low on a marshy waterfront; the land in the interior for the most part was uncultivated or low in fertility because of centuries of planting; business was poor, and the people, as a whole, were impoverished.

Today Porto Rico is the pearl of the West Indies. As one enters the picturesque harbor of San Juan, one is impressed at once with its beauty. To the left looms up impressively against

the deep blue of the tropical sky the old fortress of El Morro; long stretches of mellow white buildings on the waterfront stand out sharply in relief against the green background of feathery palms; gleaming white roads wind out from the city and are lost in the luxuriant foliage of scarlet-flowered flamboyants; it is an artist's Arcadia, and an Arcadia tempered by trade winds. Within the city itself, narrow streets, a few low, heavy buildings with filigree balconies flung up against the sky, here and there a beggar or goat, competitive scavengers of tropical streets, are all that remain to mark a fading Spanish influence; all but the romance of effect which even modernism will never destroy.

The Porto Ricans of today are the descendants of the Spanish colonists who came to the island after it was discovered by Columbus and of the Borinquen Indians whom they found living there. The latter died rapidly under the harsh treatment accorded them by their conquerors, and negro slaves were eventually imported to relieve the labor shortage. These, too, by intermarriage—usually into the lower class—gradually became a part of the Porto Rican race. The country people, as a rule, constitute the lower class. They are simple, trusting, naturally courteous, charming to strangers, and usually honest, though not industrious. The upper class is composed of refined, cultured, and progressive men and women. Many of them have been educated in American colleges and universities, have

traveled extensively, and are cosmopolitan in ideas and customs. Very often the women are strikingly beautiful, their Spanish characteristics, combined with the American woman's independence, which they are rapidly acquiring, making them extremely attractive. What is especially pertinent at this juncture is that they have become, as a whole, thorough American citizens.

Spanish customs have prevailed for centuries in Porto Rico, but during this last generation a great change, essentially accelerated by the late war, has been taking place. Today the young women of Porto Rico ride their horses astride, à la Americana, though occasionally the shutters of some staid old Spanish home still rattle as they pass; suitors no longer watch wistfully the balconies of their novias, promoting flirtations from afar; an American sojourning in San Juan for the purpose of improving his Spanish is apt to forget the little he already knows. It is still possible to see here and there, as one loiters in the parks, passing delightful evenings, the brilliant colors of Spanish mantillas artistically thrown over heads and shoulders, and on warmer evenings to hear the ris-ras of fans as they, Castilianlike, are snapped open and shut; the poetry of Porto Rico still exists in effects, but the fundamentals are all American.

PORTO RICO AND THE WAR

During the war, after Camp Las Casas had been established on the outskirts of San Juan, about 17,000 men either volunteered or were drafted to the American colors. Most of the recruits came in from the country, and the majority of them were extremely illiterate, undernourished, and poorly clothed. Eighty per cent. of them, perhaps, had never worn shoes, and had eaten only rice and plantains since childhood. Three weeks after these men had been organized into companies they were taken on a short march, carrying no equipment, and they came back, a straggling, disordered, exhausted mass. Three months

later, under a hot tropical sun, they were taken on a twenty-mile hike with full packs, and not one of them dropped by the wayside. Expert medical and dental care, the daily army ration, and scientific physical exercise daily had changed weak men to workers, failures to fighters. The work did not stop here. The healthful camp life, constant medical inspections, good food, the daily bath, athletics and amusements, all contributed not only to a vigorous physical reaction, but to a quickening of the mental processes which also became noticeable. Peons who had entered camp with dazed, uncomprehending eyes, ignorant even of their own language, began to appear on the field with polished boots and well-pressed uniforms, carrying their heads erect, saluting with alacrity, and snapping to orders in a foreign tongue. They seemed to awaken to the fact that, they, too, were men, and the American uniform gave them the courage of their convictions. Eventually they began to express a desire to learn to read and write, and classes were formed and taught by non-commissioned officers.

It must not be assumed, however, that the bulk of the enlisted men who made up the Porto Rican army were necessarily typical Porto Ricans. American schools had been extending education to thousands of children since the time of the occupation, and the teachers had been building bodies as well as minds. Of about 800 officers, 80 per cent. were Porto Ricans, and they were, as a whole, strong, intelligent men, representative of the city type of the island. The enlisted man, however, was representative of the lower class living out in the hills; people, who, up to the time of the war, had scarcely felt the influence of American schools and their ideals. It may appear singular that the bulk of the army was made up of this type, but it can be explained, perhaps, by the fact that Porto Rico was passing through a period of exceptional business activity, and the educated and skilled workers were able to avoid the

draft to a great extent because they were extremely necessary in their various occupations, whereas the peon had little or no responsibility.

When the men finally returned to their fields and to their employers it was generally conceded that their efficiency had been increased tremendously, but the far-reaching result of their life as American soldiers will be shown in the next generation, for their children will certainly be better and stronger citizens. They carried home with them, also, the idea that they were Americans. The majority of Porto Rican families had a son as officer or soldier in the camp during the war, so that the interest in the troops was general. The civilians gradually became infected with the spirit of Americanism. Perhaps some of them were not entirely sure that they wanted the Germans defeated, until the Carolina, carrying Porto Rican passengers to New York from San Juan, was sunk by a German submarine; but then, "Hacia Berlin" (Forward to Berlin), a song written by a Porto Rican officer, was on the lips of thousands of men, women and children in the country.

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

When the Americans entered upon the task of developing Porto Rico they put into execution at once a well-conceived plan for public improvement. In the larger cities of San Juan, Mayaguez and Ponce hundreds of unsightly huts, considered dangerous from the standpoint of fire and disease, were condemned and destroyed. Sewers were constructed to carry away the filth which ran openly in the streets. Exquisite public buildings of reinforced concrete replaced the old mortar structures of the Spanish regime. Roads were quickly completed and efficient schools constructed. The sanitary commission, facing a problem of smallpox, malaria and bubonic plague, began the tremendous work of exterminating epidemic diseases. The plague was controlled by a persistent and scientific campaign of rat exter-



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E. MONTGOMERY REILY

Governor of Porto Rico, whose administration has met with organized opposition

mination; malarial swamps were drained, and a general public clean-up was ordered. Within a period of five years Porto Rico became a healthful winter resort.

Public improvements developed civic pride. Individuals began constructing homes and buildings with a view to beauty as well as service. An architect, who has lived in Porto Rico for years, has eventually developed a style which, though based primarily on Greek lines, has a decided Porto Rican atmosphere. During the year of 1918 a series of earthquakes affecting the whole island destroyed a greater part of Mayaguez, and many of the old mortar-type buildings in Ponce and San Juan also crumbled under the shocks. In nearly all cases the ruined buildings have been replaced by structures of reinforced concrete, for it was found that buildings of this type had not been affected by



(Wide World Photos)

ANTONIO R. BARCELO*President of the Porto Rican Senate and
leader of the Majority Party*

the shocks. As Porto Rico produces no timber, lumber is expensive, and it is natural to assume that concrete will be the building medium of the future. From the standpoint of beauty, this is especially fortunate, for the homes so built are usually not only more artistic in design, but the color of the cement mellows quickly under the tropical sun and never blackens in the soot-free air.

In the matter of schools, Porto Rico has been especially fortunate. Before the arrival of the Americans scattered Catholic missions furnished a grammar education to the few who could afford it, but the masses had no opportunity of self-improvement. Today Porto Rico boasts of the most beautiful schools in the West Indies. Fine, large concrete buildings with appropriate playgrounds can now be found in all parts of the island. The University of Rio Piedras, situated

on the outskirts of San Juan, not only offers letters and science, but it also has a Normal Department in which Porto Ricans are trained for grade work on the island, and efficient commercial, manual training and domestic science departments. The University of Mayaguez, on the other end of the island, with its modern experimental and agricultural stations, works in conjunction with the University of Rio Piedras.

Compulsory education, a modern curriculum, and a corps of American teachers, who almost without exception have been graduated from colleges and universities in the United States, offer to the young people of Porto Rico opportunities which no other people in the West Indies enjoy. The Normal Department of the university is making teachers of young Porto Ricans with the idea of eventually replacing the American teachers, who today still hold the higher grade, high school and university positions. Paul G. Miller, Commissioner of Education, a former professor in the University of Wisconsin, is largely responsible for the rapid progress which has been made in all branches of education in Porto Rico.

PRODUCTS OF THE ISLAND

Porto Rico is still an agricultural State, though this is true partly because of her peculiar relationship to the United States, for the exhausted state of her land does not warrant this condition. Cocoanuts, fruits—chiefly oranges, bananas and grapefruit—and coffee are produced in large quantities, though thousands of tons of fertilizer are necessary annually to produce fruits of good quality. Fruit growers, as a whole, have not found fruit-growing a profitable occupation, for the high cost of fertilizer, coupled with the fact that the average grapefruit tree lives only about sixteen years in Porto Rico, reduces possible profits to a minimum, and this minimum is usually absorbed by the brokers in New York through the manipulation of the fruit market.

Tobacco production has been devel-

oped to a state of perfection. Most of it is now shade-grown, and brings usually a high price in the tobacco market. Two years ago Porto Rican tobacco was selling for \$1.25 a pound in New York, though now, because of the disorganized condition of the market, it is worth very little in comparison. Although approximately 25,000,000 pounds of an inferior class of tobacco are produced annually in Santo Domingo, the low price of this tobacco—it usually sells for about 8 cents a pound *f. o. b.* Santo Domingo—would make it attractive to some American purchasers but for the fact that because of Porto Rico's peculiar status Porto Rican tobacco pays no duty into the United States, while Dominican tobacco pays 35 cents for leaf and 50 cents a pound for stripped tobacco. One of the large American corporations interested in tobacco in Santo Domingo last year stripped and fermented thousands of pounds of the finest Dominican leaf, and was able to place it in the Custom House in New York at 50 cents a pound at a profit, but the high duty of 50 cents a pound made it impossible to compete with Porto Rican tobacco, which was selling slightly under \$1 a pound.

Dominican tobacco, up to the present time, has not been cultivated to any extent, and as a result it has never been considered a high-grade tobacco. The land is still so rich that the tobacco grows rank; the seed is usually planted and the tobacco then receives no care until it is ready for market, the fermentation taking place within the seroon in which it is packed, instead of being considered a process in itself. Some of the planters, however, have of late been importing Cuban seed and growing it under shade. This tobacco, carefully tended during the growing season, and later fermented and stripped, is being used by several cigar manufacturers on the island, and in many cases the cigars are considered superior to those of Porto Rican make. It is reasonable to assume that it is only a question of time before Santo Do-

mingo will be producing a leaf which will compare favorably with Porto Rican tobacco, and if Porto Rico, in the meantime, should gain the independence which she is constantly demanding, she may as well relegate her tobacco industry to the burial ground where her sugar industry should long have been, had it not been for the protection of the American tariff wall. Santo Domingo will always be able to produce tobacco and sugar much more cheaply than Porto Rico.

Perhaps the largest industry in Porto Rico is sugar production. Porto Rico cannot be considered a first or even a second class sugar country, and were it not again for the fact that her sugar enters the United States free of duty, whereas the Dominican and Cuban sugars do not enjoy this privilege, it is doubtful whether Porto Rico could continue to produce sugar at a profit. Though large quantities of fertilizer are used in Porto Rico, it is necessary to replant the cane every third season, whereas, in Santo Domingo, without the use of fertilizer, the cane continues growing as long as fifteen years without replanting. Field labor in the latter island is obtainable for 40 cents a day; in Porto Rico a man doing the same work receives approximately \$2 a day. In Porto Rico an expensive chemical control is necessary. A high sugar content is essential since it is not permissible to produce alcohol from the molasses residue. In Santo Domingo, however, most of the mills are not operated under chemical control, for the molasses is distilled into alcohol and rum, both of which bring good prices. It is obvious that if Porto Rico is to hold her commercial position in the West Indies she must retain the privileges she now receives from the American Government.

WHY "INDEPENDENCE"?

Viewing, as a whole, the advantages the Porto Ricans now enjoy because they have become American citizens, it is pertinent at this point to question their motives in constant-

ly clamoring for independence. It is significant to note that only about 270 people registered to retain Spanish and other citizenship when the Jones Act made American citizens of the people. This bill did not force American citizenship upon the people. Any one who did not wish to become an American citizen had only to register his desires at the proper consulate, and it is also important to note that of the few who did so very few were Porto Ricans.

The Jones act, though it granted citizenship to the natives, did not define the status of Porto Rico itself, and there has been much discussion as to whether the island should be considered a territory or a possession. It is possible that the State Department has not considered it opportune to define her status, for, as she is neither a territory nor a possession, Porto Rico has been able to retain a very much needed half million dollars annually in the form of internal revenue which, under normal conditions, would revert to the National Treasury.

A singular situation arises when it is considered that in the face of the universal acceptance of American citizenship the Unionists, who have always led the cry for independence, control practically every political office in the island. Since this question has arisen the Republican Party has always advocated statehood, but from the recent elections it appears that it has lost rather than gained adherents. Porto Rico today practically enjoys home rule, for, with the exception of the Governor, who holds his office by Presidential appointment, every political office is in the hands of the Porto Ricans.

There can be but one explanation—petty politics—or in other words, the insistent cry for independence is merely political propaganda, for it is conceivable that the intelligent leaders of the Unionist Party realize that Porto Rico, without the aid of the United States, from the economic standpoint would die overnight. Among the Latin-Americans the cry

“independencia” has always exerted a magic influence, and in the case of Porto Rico it appears to be the wand which the politicians wave over the masses to produce political offices.

EDITORIAL NOTE—Since this article was written the following additional developments have taken place (up to Dec. 10): Representatives of the Unionist Party of Porto Rico arrived in Washington on Dec. 1 to demand the removal of the Governor, E. Montgomery Reilly of Kansas City, who was appointed by the President last Spring. They charge maladministration in office by arbitrarily removing Judges and court officials without trial. They say Governor Reilly took with him from Kansas City six politicians whom he appointed to responsible positions in the island and went out of his way to give offense by appearing in public with Senator Santo Iglesias, a Socialist and alleged supporter of the Russian Bolshevik régime.

Antonio R. Barcelo, President of the Senate, headed the delegation and stated that Governor Reilly had sought to give the impression that the Unionist Party demanded independence; this, he said, was far from the truth, as the party only wanted self-government under the United States. The Unionists polled 120,000 votes in the last election, against 63,000 Republican and 61,000 Socialist ballots. They elected 15 of the 19 Senators. Thirty-nine of the 58 members of the Porto Rican Assembly sent a cable dispatch on Nov. 22 to Felix Cordova-Davila, Resident Porto Rican Commissioner in Washington, asking for the Governor's removal and containing the same charges as those brought later by Senator Iglesias. A resolution in the San Juan Chamber of Commerce to support the Governor's policy was overwhelmingly defeated. The extraordinary number of Americans in Government jobs in Porto Rico since Governor Reilly's advent caused the Senate on Dec. 7 to adopt a resolution calling for a list giving the number and names of Americans employed by the Government of Porto Rico.

Governor Reilly himself arrived in the United States on the steamer Tanamo, which entered New York harbor on Nov. 20 with fire in her hold and sank at her pier the next day. Members of the Governor's party charged that the fire was the result of a plot against his life. On the other hand, the Unionists denied there was any conspiracy and said the Governor's sympathizers were trying to make political capital out of an accidental fire. About a hundred of his opponents awaited the Governor at the steamer pier, hooting and denouncing him and displaying derogatory placards on taxicabs. The Governor eluded them by taking a launch and landing at another pier. He arrived in Washington on Nov. 23 and was later entertained at luncheon by President Harding. He conferred with Secretary Weeks on Dec. 1, defending his administration and suggesting the advisability of constitutional changes in Porto Rico, especially in regard to elections.

HOW THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION WAS BORN

BY THOMAS R. DAWLEY JR.

A dramatic chapter of recent history, as related by an American eyewitness in Guatemala City—How a good Bishop's sermon overthrew Cabrera—Social conditions that raise doubts as to the new republic's ability to survive—Fall of Herrera

TO a salute of twenty-one guns, on the morning of Oct. 1, 1921, the flag of the Central American Union was raised in Guatemala. To another salute at 10 o'clock the cathedral bells pealed forth, and the President of Guatemala, Don Carlos Herrera, read before a crowded auditorium in the Centennial Palace a proclamation—signed at Tegucigalpa on Sept. 9—of adhesion to the Constitution of the new republic formed of three of the five Central American States. From a rostrum at the side of the stage an oration was read, a cadet from the Polytechnic School in scarlet cap, scarlet trousers, gray coat and drab leggings bore upon the stage a new silken flag of blue and white, and Don Carlos, stepping to the other side of the stage, unveiled a painted shield with five volcanoes rising out of a sea of green, with a red liberty cap sending out rays of light above them. The spectators cheered, bugles sounded and the band played. Government officials, members of the President's Cabinet, Generals and staff officers took the oath of allegiance to the new flag and the Constitution; more cheering, more music and more bugles followed; the army, marching in review, swore its fealty, and the federation of the Central American States was declared a fact. Both the flag and the escutcheon with its five volcanoes, emblematic of the country's turbulent state after its declaration of independence one hundred years ago, are

the flag and escutcheon of the republic before its breaking up into five independent oligarchies called republics.

According to the new Constitution, the use of Guatemala's flag and coat of arms, with the scroll and emblematic bird, the quezal, is prohibited. Carlos Herrera becomes Chief of State, or, as we would say, Governor, of the State of Guatemala. The Presidency of the republic is vested in a council of representatives, one for each State forming the union, the legislative authority in a congress of Senators and Deputies, and the judicial authority in a supreme court. The seat of the new Government is to be at Tegucigalpa, five days' journey from the Atlantic seaboard by muleback, and the armies of the States forming the union, with all arms and ammunition, must be turned over to this Government. In the future no State can make any purchase of arms or munitions, except such as may be necessary for the use of the police.

Theoretically, the idea of the union of the five little oligarchies into a nation of federated States is a sound and healthy one, worthy of every encouragement, but that should not inhibit a fair presentation of facts and the discussion of them, in order that an opinion may be formed concerning the probability of the federation's ever becoming anything more than a theory.

For nearly three centuries the an-

cient kingdom known as Guatemala, consisting of six intendencias or provinces, Chiapas, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala, extending from the frontier of Mexico to that of Panama, embracing a territory of nearly a quarter of a million square miles, was governed by a Captain General at Guatemala City, and peace was maintained with an army of only 300 soldiers. The people, although poor, were industrious, self-supporting, simple in their habits and requirements, enjoyed complete autonomy in their municipal affairs, and were quite independent both politically and economically. But the flame of insurrection was started on one side in South America, and on the other side in Mexico, and on April 10, 1821, the aged Captain General, Gaivino Gainza, issued a proclamation denouncing the insurrection in Mexico under Iturbide. Iturbide's movement, however, became successful, and he set up an empire. The news filtering through to Guatemala, three

municipalities in Chiapas declared for independence, and by the middle of September an assembly of the dignitaries of Guatemala had declared for separation from Spain. The revolution spread to the other Central American countries, and they regained their independence, but only to plunge into a century of local wars and general chaos. Chiapas joined Mexico, and the other republics went through a seemingly endless series of upheavals, tyrannies and sufferings.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

It is not because the people of Central America are intrinsically bad that they have suffered these abuses for the last hundred years. On the contrary, they are a simple, childlike, inoffensive people. Their conception of right and wrong is vague, to say the least. They do not reason. They know only the power of the strong, of those in authority, of those who are well to do, who wear shoes,



President Carlos Herrera and His Cabinet: Around the President, who is seated, are standing Señor Mendoza, Minister of War; Padilla, Minister of Agriculture; Escomilla, the Interior; Orla, Public Instruction; Zacina, Estates; Orlas, Administration; Aguirre, Foreign Relations

and good clothes. The environment in which they are raised is such, and such their fear of independent action, or even of expressing themselves sincerely, that they simply agree with everything that is **done** to them or told to them. It is the prevailing spirit of the Toltec, the aboriginal inhabitant, whose submissiveness to the tyranny of his rulers existed long before the coming of the Spaniards.

That the conditions may better be understood it should be borne in mind that two-thirds of Guatemala's population consists of this aboriginal element. The other third is classed as "ladino," the name given to the creole element, the major part of which is also Indian. For example, the Indian who casts aside his ancestral garb and adopts the clothes and language of the creole element enters the ladino class. The ladino class may again be divided into two distinct elements, the proletariat and an upper element, which consists of the wealthy, landed proprietors, professional men, merchants, the educated, the would-be rich and the military men and oligarchs who govern.

A glance at the social and economic conditions of these three elements is illuminating. First we have the Indian population, which, taking the total number of inhabitants as 2,100,000, according to the only census available, gives us a population of 1,400,000 Indians. This population has not only been reduced to a condition of servitude, but for the most part is little better than so many beasts of burden. The Indians' lot is so hard that when one of their number dies, and the body is prepared for its long journey, it is spun around several times in order that the departed soul may not find its way back to this hard old earth.

The proletariat is formed for the most part of the indigent. They are illiterate and own no property, as a rule; few if any of them wear shoes, and they generally lead a hand-to-mouth existence. Nearly all of the artisan class belong to this element. Such homes as they may have, with

the exception of a few of the more advanced type of artisans in Guatemala City, consist of a roof over four mud walls, or an empaling of stakes driven into the ground, with the earth for a floor. They are fortunate if they



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CARLOS HERRERA

Former President of Guatemala, whose Government has been overturned by a sudden revolution

have a table at which to eat, and an extra plate or two for their food. Knives, forks and spoons rarely form any part of their domestic economy. Their cooking arrangements in the city usually consist of an elevated hearth of mud; in the country the fire is on the ground; their cooking utensils are of clay, the entire outfit, perhaps, purchasable in the market place for less than the equivalent of 50 cents.

THE UPPER CLASS

Although the dividing line between this proletariat and the upper class is indistinct, the difference in conditions of life is remarkable. While the proletariat is barefooted, meanly clothed, indigent, the upper class, especially in Guatemala City, has homes which may be truly termed commodious if not elegant. The houses usually sur-

round an open court, with flowers, shrubs and trees. Their furnishings and decorations are the best that money can buy, and, what is more remarkable still, considering that I cannot say it of some of the other Latin-



(National Photo Co.)

DR. JULIO BIANCHI

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and member of Federal Council of
Central American Union*

American countries that I am familiar with, these homes are excellently well kept, neat and clean. Nothing is lacking for the requirements and comforts of a regulated household. And the same may be said of the occupants. The señoritas and señoritos are powdered and perfumed, and the parents, with few exceptions, are dressed in the latest New York or Paris fashion.

There is no racial difference separating these two elements of Guatemalan society. The son of my friend's washerwoman of a generation ago, a poor woman washing clothes for a living at a public font, is today a Minister in the President's Cabinet, and, of course, belongs to the upper stratum. While education furnishes a

means to the end, the lack of it is not necessarily a bar to one's entering this stratum of society; neither is the individual's moral turpitude, a fact that might be illustrated by numerous instances. In general, the moral status of the country is reflected in the low esteem in which women are held. Exclusive of the Indian population, whose moral status is better, I should say that 75 per cent. of the children born are illegitimate.

While a literacy test is not always a safe guide in judging individual intelligence, it serves as a very good medium for judging the state of culture at which a people may have arrived. According to a recent report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 93 per cent. of the population of Guatemala are unable to read and write. A casual perusal of the last published census returns, coupled with this information, may give some idea not only of the people's culture but of the numerical difference in the two elements forming Guatemala's population, exclusive of the Indian. Taking 2,100,000 as the total number of inhabitants, 93 per cent. of which are illiterate, we have only 147,000 persons in the entire country able to read and write. Eliminating the 1,400,000 Indians, we have left a ladino or mixed population of 700,000. As we know that the Indians are illiterate, the 147,000 literates are among the ladino class, which gives 21 per cent. of this population able to read.

It may be laid down as a pretty safe rule, although I know many exceptions to it, that when the individual is able to read he wears shoes. After taking the exceptions into account, I estimate that there are 1,953,000 inhabitants who are habitually without shoes. We have, therefore—eliminating the Indians, who have no part in politics—a population of mixed races numbering 700,000, of which 553,000 are habitually barefooted as well as illiterate, and which can be safely classed as belonging to the proletariat. Of the remaining 147,000 able to read and perhaps write, and wearing



A busy morning in the market place of Guatemala City, back of the Cathedral. The white-walled building on the left is the permanent market, but the street also is lined with fruit vendors and others.

shoes—judging from observation in Guatemala City alone, which is the centre of the country's culture—fully one-half can be classed as belonging to the proletariat.

By this analysis an idea may be formed not only of the degree of culture attained in Central America but of the small element numerically constituting the ruling class. Nor is that class even as large as it seems, for the men of inherited wealth, the planters, merchants and foreigners, take no part in politics. Eliminating these, we have left the politicians, the governing class, the oligarchs who rise to power through chicanery, intrigue, by hook or crook or force of circumstances, and are supported by a military of the type referred to by Salvador Mendieta in his "Sickness of Central America," where he tells of an "old veteran of African origin, as faithful to the Government as a bloodhound to his master," who knew nothing about the Constitution, but who announced in the legislative halls that if the President ordered him to "cotch" all the members of Congress he would "cotch" them.

A BIT OF INSIDE HISTORY

With this sketch of social and political conditions in Central America, the reader may draw his own conclusions regarding the probable success of the union of three of the five oligarchies of which the vast territory extending from the frontier of Mexico to Panama is composed. But there is another side to the picture which shows what may be done with proper direction, proper handling, proper management.

In May, 1919, the Bishop of Faselli, Dr. Pinol y Batres, a member of one of the oldest families, after a long absence from Guatemala, delivered a series of sermons or lectures in the San Francisco church. The simple announcement of these sermons was sufficient to pack the temple with listeners. The sermons were not political. They were on morality and one's duty as a citizen and patriot.

There were nine of these sermons preached consecutively from May 1 to May 9. The eighth was on patriotism. The Bishop took for his text, "Happy are the people whose Lord is God." Though he did not name



(Photo Thomas R. Dawley Jr.)

Centennial Building, Guatemala City, in which the oath of allegiance was taken to the new Constitution and flag of the Central American Union. President Herrera and the other Government officials are in the balcony. The photograph was made a few minutes after the army had passed in review and taken the oath

Estrada Cabrera, his sermon was an indictment of the dictator, who for twenty-odd years had misgoverned Guatemala. "One's country," said he, "is not the inheritance, is not the mine nor the fountain of wealth of one person alone, but it is the birth-right of all; every one has the same right to its benefits, the same right of supreme aspiration to its progress and prosperity, and when one says, 'I am the country!' and converts to his own interests the efforts of all the others, and when one's only desire is to dominate, then the sentiment of patriotism becomes destroyed, resulting in a slave country, no longer the country of all, but the inheritance of one." Asking how many real patriots there were in the country, he answered the question himself by saying that perhaps there were not even six. "Every one," said he, "interests himself in his own personal welfare alone. If he can have a good house and maintain its com-

forts without danger to himself, he cares nothing about the welfare of others." But he counseled against any armed revolution; his remedy was protest and the molding of public opinion.

The Bishop was sent to prison. There were those who said he should have been shot. If Justo Rufino Barrios had been the President instead of Cabrera the Bishop probably would have been shot, for he had set some of the people to thinking. They hardly dared to think aloud, but a tailor, a tinker, a printer and a few others representing the working class got together and talked.

Eduardo Zamacois, the Spanish author, in his sketches of travels in Latin America, relates that late one night an excited individual, presenting himself before the guard at the Presidential residence, demanded to see Estrada Cabrera at all hazards, because the life of the President depended on his seeing him. The vis-

itor, being admitted before the President, exclaimed:

"Your Excellency! There are eight men in Guatemala who have sworn to assassinate you! I am one of the eight! But at the last moment my conscience reproached me, and I have come to give you the names of the others!"

The President, regarding the informer deprecatorily, pushed a button, and a guard of soldiers appeared immediately.

"Tie this man," he ordered, "and give him fifty lashes."

"But, sir. Why?" exclaimed the frightened individual.

"Because you are the last of the eight conspirators to inform me. All the rest, one after the other, have been here."

Another version of the same story is related as having occurred during the regime of Rafael Carrera, seventy or eighty years ago. Whether or not either of the stories be true, they serve to illustrate the character of the people. But in the case of the tailor, the tinker, the printer and their other companions—it is admitted as most remarkable—not one turned informer, although later the printer was accused. Contrary to the counsel of the Bishop, they talked armed revolution.

BIRTH OF THE UNION

On the other hand, five citizens, who had never taken any part in politics—five perhaps of the six possible patriots referred to by the Bishop—got together in the suburbs of the city, and discussed the Bishop's advice. The problem before them was how to stop the existing abuse of power without breaking the law and without incurring the usual penalty of imprisonment, flogging and exile, if not death. A solution was finally decided upon. It was to form a political organization ostensibly to bring about the union of the five Central American republics. No one could object to that!

In the meantime a woman, it is said, brought together the two con-



(Photo Thomas R. Dawley Jr.)

GUATEMALAN INDIANS

The old man is spinning in the market place while waiting to sell his pottery. The other has a bunch of wool in his hand

spiring elements, and on Christmas morning, nearly eight months after the Bishop's sermons, a neatly printed folder made its appearance boldly signed by the conspirators, with the names of some others who had been taken into the fold, announcing the formation of the Unionist Party, and declaring its purpose to obtain by pacific methods the restoration of the former Central American nation.

The folder caused a sensation. For nearly half a century any political party other than the so-called Liberal had been non-existent. Furthermore, the little folder stated the party's purpose "to work within the strictest compliance with the law, because the exercise of rights and the fulfillment of obligations on the part of the authorities as well as on the part of the citizens is the sincere and efficacious requirement of a

democratic republic, without which the union is an impossibility." That statement was a direct challenge to the despot who had ruled the country so long and so criminally.

As part of an effective propaganda a leaflet began to make its appearance as the official organ of the party, printed on a small hand press, found somewhere, for not a printing

pearance of another announced than there were a dozen or more ready to take his place. Cabrera could not arrest them all. At the end of two months the National Assembly, composed of representatives always selected by Cabrera himself, went over to the Unionists.

At the end of another month the Assembly attempted to impeach Cabrera by declaring him insane. Since the earthquakes which had ruined the capital, Cabrera had made his official residence at La Palma, a point dominating the city, which he had entrenched and fortified with artillery. He also had possession of two forts, with guns trained on the city and all the arms and ammunition. On the morning after his attempted impeachment he began the bombardment of the city, which was defenseless. The only conceivable reason for his



(Photo Thomas R. Dawley Jr.)

GUATEMALAN TYPES

Sacristan of the Church at Solola, and Indian boy spinning

press could be brought into the country or material bought without Cabrera's consent. As Cabrera controlled the press and newspapers, he at first attempted to combat the Unionist propaganda through this medium. These attempts were contested in the leaflets, and he was openly defied. The usual imprisonments, banishments, floggings and murders then followed; but no sooner was the imprisonment of one man or the disap-



(Photo Thomas R. Dawley Jr.)

INDIAN WORSHIPPER

Burning incense to his pagan god in the public square, near a Christian church, in a Guatemalan village

not having marched a battalion of his soldiers to the Central Plaza, which would have given him control of the situation, was his lack of military knowledge, personal cowardice and the decadency of the army itself.

AN ORDERLY REVOLUTION

Within the city the leaders of the movement, supported by the best element, both men and women, gave an unprecedented example of executive ability, courage and self-devotion. The proletariat not only behaved with fortitude, but demonstrated the ease with which it can be handled. Whatever police force had existed disappeared immediately with the commencement of the bombardment, and the city was left without police protection; but there were no disorders, robberies or anything of the kind requiring police interference. Furthermore, there was not a case of drunkenness, which is more remarkable still, considering that one of the most immediate sources of the wretchedness and consequent degradation of the lower classes is their prevailing habit of intoxication. This was due to the constant admonitions which had been preached to them during the organization of the movement.

No sooner had hostilities commenced than a printed circular was issued from the headquarters of the party, which said in part:

During the three long months of peaceful campaign during which we have not departed one iota from the law, each and every member of the Unionist Party has been the admiration of both our own people and foreigners alike. Today the contumacy of Estrada Cabrera obliges us to leave the peaceful struggle in order to defend the Constitutional Government of the Republic with arms in our hands, and as our country will exact the extreme sacrifice of many of its sons on the altar of liberty, Constitution and right, the country also exacts that its sons conduct themselves with the decency of soldiers fighting for liberty, and not as undisciplined mobs of wrongdoers.

True Unionists! Conduct yourselves in the rational manner that your title of soldiers for the right rigorously demands. Abstain from all unnecessary acts of violence, of rapine, looting and any other acts of which you may later be ashamed. Especially refrain from the use of alcoholic

drinks, which cloud the intellect and cause men to descend to the position of irresponsible beings. Those who require alcohol to be brave are not brave!

The thoughts expressed in this circular not only show the sentiments of the few resolute men who brought about the situation, but the strict compliance with the same gives the lie to those who represent the people as unruly and incapable of being governed by any other methods than those employed by the tyrants who have ruled the country almost consecutively since its independence.

I witnessed the events that followed. As the barefooted, ill-clad, badly fed proletariat gathered in defense of the cause that had been shown them as a just one, armed with a few guns, rusty old machetes, knives tied on the ends of poles, and even sticks of firewood, my sympathy went out to them, and all I could do was to help them by directing their efforts in such manner as my knowledge and experience dictated. I found them not only willing but appreciative of my interest in their affairs, which were of supreme moment to them. It seemed a contradiction of human nature that a people displaying the calm, fearless spirit of self-devotion that they exhibited when it came to the test should have suffered all their lives from a despotism that had kept them in penury.

FALL OF CABRERA

The bombardment continued intermittently day and night from the morning of April 9 until the evening of the 14th (1920), during which time the people rose throughout the country, the defenses of the capital grew stronger, and Cabrera weakened accordingly. On the 14th his stronghold was completely invested and he agreed to capitulate. The morning following he surrendered himself to various members of the diplomatic corps, who escorted him and the immediate members of his family to the prison prepared for him. And now occurred the blot that marred the whole revolution.

During the hostilities uniformed military men anywhere within the city were conspicuously absent. The only pretense of a government, further than the direction of affairs assumed by the Unionist Party, consisted of the Provisional President selected by the Assembly on its attempted impeachment of Cabrera and his Cabinet, which quartered itself immediately after the beginning of the bombardment in a private house next to the Mexican Legation. On the preceding evening the commandant of the city garrison had gone over to this Government, and later he was quartered in an edifice used as a school, adjoining the cathedral. About the same time that Cabrera gave himself up several of his officers and others were brought in as prisoners and were turned over to the commandant, who, like a number of other military men caught within the city at the commencement of hostilities, did not show himself during the bombardment; but when the prisoners were turned over to his care he allowed the commanding officer of the Matamoros fort to be stripped of his uniform and turned out into the street with only his underclothing on; there, naturally, a large concourse of people had gathered, after following the prisoners. Among the crowd was a notorious woman who, mistaking the unfortunate officer for an influential member of Cabrera's Government, shot him, whereupon others in the crowd fell upon him, shouting and yelling until satisfied that life was extinct. This act turned the otherwise peaceful gathering of spectators into a frenzied mob, which, like beasts of prey, having once tasted blood, howled for more. Thereupon the commandant, like his military prototype in Mendieta's "Sickness of Central America," turned prisoner after prisoner out to the mob, until eight in all had been massacred. The massacre was stopped by the sudden appearance of José Azmitia, who had been directing affairs from the headquarters of the Unionist Party all through the bombardment. Address-

ing the multitude in a passionate speech, he told them that their behavior was a stain upon the good name that they had previously made for themselves, and, hanging their heads with shame, they dispersed.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The revolution over, what happened? Don Carlos Herrera was nominated for the Presidency because of his known integrity, his financial standing and his goodness. He was elected by an overwhelming majority of votes, and by the only fair, popular election that had ever taken place. But Don Carlos was no politician. He began his administration by trying to form a Coalition Government of the two antagonistic parties that have existed since the independence—the Liberals and the Conservatives. It was as though Mr. Harding, after taking his oath of office, had placed in his Cabinet William Jennings Bryan, Charles Murphy and ex-Governor Blease, and then, on meeting with the natural protest of the party that had elected him, he had substituted for the unsatisfactory appointments an ex-bandit, an impeached ex-Governor, and a convicted ex-boss. And the other appointments made by Don Carlos were along about the same lines. The Unionist Party was relegated to a secondary position, and the result has been only what might have been expected: Not only the return to power of some of the Cabrera element, but a breaking away from the Unionist Party of the Liberals that had joined in the movement for the overthrow of the Cabrera despotism. The Liberals now refused to recognize the Unionists as anything but Conservatives, and the old animosities between the two parties are revived with all the bitterness and hatred of former times. Each is struggling for the Government control, while the masses are like grains of corn between the upper and lower millstones.

As for the union of the five States which the small group had devised as the remedy for the political evils

from which they had suffered so long, only three of the oligarchies have agreed to it. And now that it has been agreed to by Guatemala, the Liberals have already made an effort to destroy it by alleging that the National Assembly which ratified the pact for the union, signed at San Jose, Costa Rica, was composed of Unionists whose elections were unfair, and that consequently the whole business is unconstitutional. In the meantime the Minister of Foreign Relations, the Minister of War, and all the other Ministers, military Governors, diplomats, consuls and chiefs, big and little, are holding their jobs as usual, while a congress at Tegucigalpa is continuing in session, drawing up laws for the internal government of the States, regardless of the views of the people who are to be governed by them.

Guatemala, Oct. 12, 1921.

PRESIDENT HERRERA OVERTHROWN

[By a sudden revolution, quickly successful, the Government of Carlos Herrera, President of Guatemala (or Governor of the State of Guatemala under the new Federal Union), was overthrown in the early morning hours of Dec. 5. Twenty-five persons were killed and scores wounded in the brief fighting with the police of Guatemala City, the capital. This threatens a disruption of the Central American Union, of which Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador are constituent States.

President Herrera and the members of

his Cabinet were made prisoners, and a Provisional Government was proclaimed, headed by General José Maria Lima, General Orellana and Miguel Larrave, former Under Secretary of War. Estrada Cabrera, President from 1898 until ousted by a revolution in April, 1920, who had been in prison since then, was released, but not restored to the Presidency, which was assumed by General Orellana.

Dr. Julio Bianchi, Guatemalan Minister to the United States, who had been elected to the Federal Council of the Central American Union, finds himself without the backing of his State, unless Honduras and Salvador should intervene to restore the constitutional Government—a proceeding of doubtful legality, considering that the permanent authorities of the federation will not take office until Feb. 1. The position of the revolutionists is similar to that of the people of West Virginia in the Civil War before its recognition as a new State. The Central American mission, seeking recognition for the federation by the United States, also loses the support of the Guatemalan delegate. The State Department, however, had decided not to recognize the new Government at this time. Delegates of the 3,000 Central Americans in New York met on Dec. 9, decided to oppose the coup d'état and chose Dr. Bianchi to act for them in making representations to the State Department at Washington.

The Guatemalan Congress, which was dissolved during the previous revolution, was recalled and met on Dec. 8, ratifying the selection of General Orellana as Provisional President, and declaring null and void all acts of the Guatemalan Legislature passed since the dissolution of the old Congress; that is, during President Herrera's Administration.]

TELEPHONE EXPANSION IN CHINA

MODERN methods of communication, especially by the telephone, are being boomed in the Flowery Kingdom, according to Clark H. Minor, former manager of the China Electric Company of Peking. The Chinese, he says, have grown weary of the difficulties of intercity communication by telegraph, as all messages, owing to the cumbersomeness of the Chinese alphabet, have to be sent in code and then decoded. The only intercity telephone line existing runs between Peking and Tientsin—a distance of about 100 miles. Under the stimulus of China's younger generation of business men, a long-distance line between Peking and Shanghai is nearing completion

at a total cost of \$500,000. Furthermore, new telephone exchanges are being erected in most of the larger cities to augment the 5,000 subscriber lines already in use. Hitherto all connection work has been done by men, but girls are now being trained in Shanghai. In the three years since its organization, says Mr. Minor, the China Electric Company, which is really a joint undertaking of the International Western Electric Company and the Ministry of Communications at Peking, has raised its capitalization from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000, a growth fostered by the increasing demand for telephones and other electrical material in the capital.

AMERICAN RELIEF FOR STARVING RUSSIA

BY VERNON KELLOGG

Extent and causes of the famine, and the agreement under which the American Relief Administration undertook to aid the sufferers—How the work is proceeding and what it has already accomplished—The "Food Remittance" system

FAMINE is such a strong word, and is so often used thoughtlessly, that when one hears or reads it in a newspaper the first reaction of the thoughtful man is likely to be one of skepticism. "Famine in China," "famine in India," and now "famine in Russia." But is there really famine in Russia?

I have only recently come away from the Russian famine region, and

I have seen that there is famine there. It is not all of Russia that is truly famishing, though over all that great land there is food shortage, and the first thought of almost all of its many millions of inhabitants is, How shall I get food for today and tomorrow? It is an obsession, an obsession so complete as to exclude almost every other thought.

The part of Russia that is truly in



Three of the leaders in American relief work in Russia: Colonel William N. Haskell (in the middle) and Colonel Lonergan and Mr. Seldards in front of the American Relief Association headquarters in Moscow

the throes of famine is a part that is normally blessed with plenty. It is the great Volga basin from Kazan south to the mouth of the river, stretching also to the north and east, including parts of the Provinces of Vyatka, Perm and Ufa. This is precisely a region to which, under normal circumstances, Russia looks for part of its supply of bread-grain with which to feed other parts of the country—parts that are forested, or largely industrial, including and surrounding Russia's greatest cities. The Volga basin normally produces a considerable surplus of wheat and rye, a surplus that even helps to feed part of Europe outside of Russia. Now it is this very region that is crying aloud for food.

The centre of the famine area is that including the Volga Provinces of Kazan, now called the Tartar Republic, the eastern half of Simbirsk, and Samara and Saratov.

In this famine area there are at least 15,000,000 people, and, in the region of acute food shortage adjacent to it another 15,000,000. The extent of the area affected and the great number suffering make of the situation a veritable catastrophe.

Perhaps the province (or "government") of Samara presents the most critical situation. Under normal circumstances Samara regularly produces a considerable surplus of grain above the needs of its own population (about three and a third millions). Certain statistics which I have just brought out of Samara, and which are as nearly accurate as can be obtained, will reveal the situation much better than general statements. These figures were assembled by the Samara Government's Bureau of Statistics, in charge of an intelligent, well-educated and, I believe, honest civil engineer. His helpers were field agents of much knowledge of Samara agriculture.

In the years 1912-17, inclusive, the average annual acreage in Samara planted to wheat, rye, oats and barley was approximately a little more than two and a half million dessiatines.

(One dessiatine is about two and a half acres). The specific figures are: 1912, 2,543,398 dessiatines; 1913, 2,738,433; 1914, 2,895,353; 1915, 2,815,647; 1916, 2,417,285; 1917, 2,674,711. In 1918 and 1919 the planted acreage dropped to 1,716,366 and 1,174,866, respectively. In 1920 it was 989,285, and in 1921, 979,921. From the 2,500,000 dessiatines of pre-war and war years up to and including 1917, the acreage dropped to 1,000,000 in 1920 and 1921. Before attempting to explain the causes of this reduction I will give the even more significant figures of production.



(Wide World Photos)

ONE OF THE FAMINE VICTIMS
A Russian child who died of starvation shortly after being brought to the relief station

CAUSES OF FAMINE



(© Harris & Ewing)

PROFESSOR VERNON KELLOGG

Executive Secretary of National Research Council, active in European relief work since 1915, and a trusted aid of Herbert Hoover. He is a member of the Stanford University Faculty

I see three major contributing causes. First, six years of continuous international and civil war, with all its waste and devastation; second, the fatal error of the Soviet Government, openly admitted by them now as a terrible mistake, in requisitioning, or attempting to requisition, in conformity with extreme communist principles, the surplus grain produced by the farmers, and in making private sales of grain illegal; and, finally, in 1921, an act of Providence, or Nature—a drought so absolute that simply no crop at all was produced in a great part of the planted acreage. I have myself seen miles and miles of grain fields in which no attempt at harvest was made. When I asked the peasants what crops they had, the answer was, simply and positively, “No crops.”

The significance of such a situation for Samara province and for the other provinces in the drought region—as also for the rest of Russia—is obvious. The grain consumption of Samara province is estimated by the local Government bureau to be about 2,000,000 poods a month, or a little less than one pound a day per person of the population. This is certainly not an overestimate of bread needs, especially when we remember how large a part of the Russian dietary bread is. What Samara produced in 1921 is about enough to provide its whole population with bread for a month and a half!

The situation as regards grain is little, if any, better in Kazan, Eastern Simbirsk or Saratov, all famous grain-producing provinces. But cannot grain be brought from other regions of Russia not drought-stricken into the famine region? Yes, a little, but not much. The Soviet Government has made, apparently, an earnest effort to do this. Some grain and other food have actually been sent into the famine region. Some children, gathered into children's detention homes from the streets and country roads, from the farm villages and the pathetic

For the pre-war years 1912 and 1913 the grain production of Samara Province was 119,101,000 and 132,515,000 poods, respectively. (One pood is about 36 pounds.) In 1914, a bad crop year, the production was 84,983,000 poods. In 1915, a good year, it rose again to 132,254,000 poods. Then began a significant reduction. In 1916 it was only 58,354,000 poods, in 1917 only 33,769,000 poods. In 1918 it rose to 91,184,000, but in 1919 it fell to 49,941,000, and in 1920 as low as 18,803,000. Then came, in 1921, a year of extreme drought, the awful break to but 3,000,000 poods (as carefully estimated by the bureau). Only three-tenths of an inch of rain fell in the Volga basin during the grain-growing months of April, May and June.

refugees' camps along the railways and the banks of the Volga and Kama Rivers, have been fed by the Government. Some of these children are orphans in fact, others orphans in effect, abandoned by their parents, helpless to keep them alive. The homes are dreadful sights: cold and bare rooms, crowded with emaciated and weak little ones, some with the horrible, protuberant "hunger belly" resultant from eating the bark and moss and chaff and "clay" (humus) bread, which is now the staple in the famine region.

I was in one of these homes in Samara at noon meal time. The meal consisted of sticky black bread, horse-meat—the peasants are killing and selling their farm animals—and "kasha," a brown porridge of grits of various grains and seeds. Many of the children were ill of malaria—and there was no quinine for them. The doctors and caretakers were helpless. The children were dying in these homes at an appalling rate.

To understand why the relief of the famine region is not "simply one

of better distribution of Russian grain," we must look to the first and second of the three contributing causes just mentioned. The waste and devastation of war, and the requisitioning by the Soviet Government of the farmers' surplus production, thus destroying all incentive to surplus production, have combined to produce a food shortage all over Russia in the last two or three years, whatever the rainfall. There is food shortage, or at least no food surplus, in other grain-producing regions outside of the drought area. There is no food, or but very little, to spare from elsewhere in Russia for the starving people along the Volga. Relief must come, if it come at all, from the outside. What is being done in this way?

RELIEF ACTIVITIES

There has been much talk and some action along relief lines. The talk has considered relief measures on a very large scale; the action, in comparison with the degree of the catastrophe, must be looked on as small; it is small,



(© Underwood & Underwood)

Russian families of the famine-stricken Volga district carrying their own dead to the cemetery



(Photo International)

Russian famine refugees being fed at the Relief Administration train at Samara. Starving children wait patiently in line for hours for their rations

relatively, although one part of it, entirely American in initiative and maintenance, is, taken absolutely, no small matter.

There has been much talk of a large international effort, essentially of the character of an extension of large credits to the Soviet Government, for the purchase of grain, of which there exist available surplus supplies in America, Rumania and Bulgaria, and perhaps elsewhere. An International Relief Commission, representing several European Governments, has been formed to consider and support, if found advisable, a combined international undertaking to provide credits to the extent of, perhaps, \$150,000,000 for the purchase of grain for food and seed. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen is to be the managing director of the undertaking, if anything comes of it, and he has outlined a formal project to distribute the

grain so provided through the co-operation of the Soviet Government—in fact, to turn over, in effect, the grain to the Soviet Government for distribution.

This feature of the proposed international undertaking has been severely criticised by many men and by a large part of the European press, so that Nansen, despite his strong appeals at the Geneva and Brussels meetings of the International Commission, has not much hope of seeing such an arrangement made. On the other hand, the Soviet Government has expressed its strong objection to the presence of M. Noulens, who was the French Ambassador to the Czar's Government at the time of the first revolution, as head of the commission. Altogether, there seems to be little encouragement to expect practical results from the International Relief Commission in the near future.

The relief that has been, and is con-

tinuing to be, actually extended to the famine region comes principally from the Soviet Government and, quite distinct from this and wholly independently, from the American Relief Administration. The American Friends Service Committee has a number of representatives in Russia and has provided relief to some families and individuals and to certain orphanages. This committee has been able so far to help about 50,000 children. The Swedish Red Cross has announced its intention of sending in a relief group with a certain quantity of food and medicines. Norway has promised Nansen a gift of about 1,000,000 kroner, and, more important than any other outside relief except that of the American Relief Administration, the Save the Children League of England has (according to Nansen's statement to me in London on Oct. 14) put at his disposal enough funds to provide food for 250,000 children for six months. The first food obtained in this way was sent by Nansen to Saratov. The relief afforded by the Central Soviet Government, either directly or acting through the Provincial Governments in the famine region, has been of value, but entirely insufficient to meet the situation. It has taken the form of sending in certain quantities of grain for food and for seed, some other food, and a number of sanitary trains with doctors, nurses and medical supplies, with also some special food for children, such as white flour and cocoa. These trains have been few and the medical supplies sadly deficient in amount and variety. For example, despite the serious ravages of malaria in the Volga Basin, almost no quinine has been sent.

AMERICAN RELIEF ORGANIZATION

The American Relief Administration, under the Chairmanship of Herbert Hoover, was organized immediately after the armistice, under the patronage and financial support of the United States Government, to extend aid and credits for needed food to the suffering peoples of Central

and Eastern Europe. It is now, and has been for the last two years, wholly a private organization supported by free contributions of the American public. The \$100,000,000 originally put into its hands by Congressional action was almost entirely used for the extension of credits to various needy Governments for the purchase of food in America; these credits are now represented in the United States Treasury to the extent of about \$90,000,000 by obligations of those Governments. After that fund was exhausted Mr. Hoover appealed to the American public for money to enable his organization to carry on the feeding of about 2,000,000 undernourished children in the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary. Certain special funds also were obtained for child-feeding in Germany, this feeding being intrusted to the American Friends Service Committee.

Such child-feeding has been carried on by the American Relief Administration from the armistice period up to the present date. And it is still going on in certain of the countries already mentioned—most extensively in Poland and Austria, in which two countries about 500,000 needy children are now being given a supplementary daily meal in the schools and relief "kitchens."

Thus, when the Russian food catastrophe began to attract the attention of the world, and an appeal was made to Mr. Hoover by Maxim Gorky to bring help to the starving people of the famine region, the American Relief Administration had an already active working organization and some funds available, so that a relief work of limited scope could be extended at once to Russia. It was decided by Mr. Hoover and his chief assistants and advisors that this relief, considering the limits made necessary by the funds available, should be restricted to giving to as many children as possible, until the harvest of 1922, a daily supplementary meal of the food value of about 800 calories. In other words, if a satisfactory arrangement could be

made with the Soviet Government whereby adequate transportation and protection of the food within Russia would be assured, relief work for the children would be undertaken along the same lines as in other Eastern European countries.

THE LITVINOV-BROWN AGREEMENT

A meeting at Riga in August, 1921, between Max Litvinov, Assistant Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Walter L. Brown, the European Director of the American Relief Administration, was arranged, and an agreement was signed on Aug. 20. This agreement covers many details set out in twenty-seven numbered paragraphs. Its salient features are as follows:

A full recognition by the Soviet Government of the ownership and control of all food brought in by the American organization from the time of its entrance until it is actually fed to the children, with specific guarantees by the Soviet Government not to requisition or interfere in the distribution of any of the food. The American Relief Administration is guaranteed full liberty and protection of its personnel while in Russia, including the extension of diplomatic privileges and all facilities for the entry into and exit from Russia, of the said personnel. In securing Russian and other local personnel the American Relief Administration shall have complete freedom as to selection, and the Soviet authorities will, on request, assist the American Relief Administration in securing such personnel.

All internal expenses of transportation, warehousing and storage, and distribution of the introduced food is to be borne by the Soviet Government. The introduced food is to be given free import, and the American Relief Administration is guaranteed the privilege of free re-export if for any reason it cares to send any of this food out of the country. It is provided that no individual receiving American Relief Administration rations shall be deprived of such local supplies as are given by the Soviet authorities to the rest of the population. The Soviet Government gives special guarantee to take every step to insure that relief supplies belonging to the American Relief Administration shall not go to the general adult population or to the army, navy or Government employes, but only to the children and sick designated by the American officials in Russia. It is guaranteed that the American Relief Administration shall be allowed to set up all necessary internal organizations and committees for carrying out its relief work

free from Governmental or other interference. The Soviet authorities shall provide, on demand of the American Relief Administration, all necessary premises for bakeries, kitchens, dining rooms, dispensaries, &c. All railway, motor, water or other transportation for the movement of the relief supplies and relief workers and such local personnel as may be necessary to guard the supplies, and necessary offices, garages, store rooms and residential quarters for the American personnel, shall be furnished and paid for by the Soviet authorities. The American Relief Administration shall have complete freedom and priority without cost in the use of existing radio, telephone, telegraph, cable, postal and courier service in Russia. The Soviet Government shall acquaint the Russian people with the aims and methods of the American Relief Administration.

The American Relief Administration agrees to supply, as rapidly as suitable organization can be effected and within the limits of its resources and facilities, food, clothing and medical relief to the children and sick. It guarantees that its relief distribution will be made without regard to the race, religion or political status of the beneficiaries. Its personnel in Russia will confine themselves strictly to the ministration of relief, and will engage in no political or commercial activity whatever. In view of the freedom of the American personnel in Russia from personal search, arrest and detention, any members of the personnel engaging in political or commercial activity will be withdrawn or discharged on the request of the Central Soviet authorities after submission by these authorities of the reasons for the request and the evidence substantiating them.

On Aug. 24, 1921, officials of the American Relief Administration met in Washington, together with representatives of the American Red Cross, American Friends Service Committee, Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus and Catholic Welfare Committee, all of which organizations had been associated with the American Relief Administration in collecting money in America for the feeding of children in Europe and for providing medical supplies and care. It was decided at this meeting that part of the funds collected and in hand should be used for Russian relief, but that as the whole need was apparently beyond

the resources of private charity the work immediately to be undertaken would be primarily the feeding of children and the provision of medical supplies. A memorandum was adopted, of which the following are the principal items:

The agreement between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration is accepted by the affiliated associations, and all relief activities will be conducted according to the terms of this agreement. A special area for the work of the American Friends Service Committee will be assigned, in which this Committee will keep its own identity and work according to its own ideals, but in conformity with the Litvinov-Brown agreement. One or more representatives of each affiliated association will be appointed on the staff of the Director in Russia of the American Relief Administration; this for the sake of assuring complete co-operation and co-ordination among the affiliated associations and the American Relief Administration. These associations shall conduct any and all relations with the Central Soviet authorities through or with the approval of the Director in Russia of the American Relief Administration. The affiliated associations shall be individually guided by their own views as to the collection of funds in America.

A week later a further special agreement was made between representatives of the American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross, the essential points of which were as follows:

Financial responsibility up to the amount of funds (about \$3,000,000) set aside by the Red Cross for medical relief in Russia is to be in the hands of the Red Cross, but the expenses inside of Russia incidental to the handling of transportation and distribution of the medical and hospital supplies are to be borne by the American Relief Administration. The Medical Director for Russia is to be a member of the A. R. A. Russian unit, and his staff is to be paid and cared for by the A. R. A. The distribution of the medical supplies is to be made by the A. R. A., which will submit frequent reports to the American Red Cross Headquarters in Washington, so that the A. R. C. may keep its membership fully informed of the work.

AMERICA'S SWIFT ACTION

Immediately after the signing of the Litvinov-Brown agreement, the American Relief Administration began sending supplies from its Ham-

burg and Danzig warehouses to Petrograd and to Riga, and from Riga to Moscow. The first American Relief Administration party, consisting of seven Americans in charge of Major Philip Carroll, left Riga for Moscow in the last week of August, and the first food train from Riga followed closely after. The first food train for the Volga, in charge of E. G. Burland, left Moscow on Sept. 15 for Kazan, and others to Kazan, Samara, Simbirsk and Saratov followed rapidly. The first train, which I had the privilege of accompanying, arrived in Kazan at 11 P. M. on Saturday, Sept. 17; it was unloaded and warehoused the next day, and the first meal was given the children of one of the detention homes on the following day. I shall never forget the excitement and joy of the children as they ate the white bread and rice with milk and sugar, so different from the coarse "kasha" (grits) and horse meat they had had before.

The work of organizing local committees to work under American supervision, and of setting up special kitchens and dining rooms and arranging with bakers was pushed as rapidly as possible. By Nov. 1 over 202,000 children were being fed, and by Dec. 1 the number had reached 750,000. It was certain that over a million children would be receiving food by New Year's Day, 1922. The present program calls for feeding 1,200,000 children, and probably early in January this whole number will be getting a daily meal of American food. If no breakdown in the shipping and rail transportation program occurs, 35,000 tons of food will have been sent from America to Russia by Jan. 1, and partly eaten and partly stored in the large American-controlled warehouses in Petrograd, Moscow, Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov and other cities and towns of the famine region. Up to Dec. 1, 30,000 tons had actually reached Russia.

There has been, so far, a complete co-operation of the Soviet central and provincial Governments in providing transportation, warehouses, guards,

quarters for kitchens, dining rooms and offices and living rooms for the American workers. Not a single case of seizure or large robbery of the imported food has occurred. Small pilfering always happens in the course of relief work anywhere. In addition, the assistance of local doctors, nurses and helpers of all kinds has been readily obtained without interference by the Soviet authorities in the selection of these assistants.

The special food sent into Russia for child-feeding includes white flour, rice, beans, sugar, tinned milk, cocoa and fats. It is cooked in bakeries and kitchens which are controlled by the Americans and not allowed to do any other cooking. It is fed to the children daily in special dining rooms and in children's homes on the basis of a weekly ration which provides for daily variety. The food is eaten by the children in the controlled dining rooms and not allowed to be taken home, except in the case of children too sick or weak to come to the dining rooms. Food is also furnished to nursing women and to women about to become mothers, for this is also, in effect, child feeding.

The methods of accounting for the food in detail in trains, warehouses, bakeries and kitchens are elaborate and are the same as those which have been developed through the long experience of the administration in other countries. The Americans are in complete control of the food from the time it enters Russia until it goes into the children's mouths.*

THE MEN IN CHARGE

The American Relief Administration's Russian unit now numbers

* The British Parliament acted favorably in November on a bill granting £100,000 (normally \$500,000) to cover the cost of sending medical stores to Russian famine sufferers. About the same time the French Parliament voted 6,000,000 francs (normally \$1,200,000) for Russian famine relief. President Harding's annual message to Congress on Dec. 6 recommended unreservedly an appropriation to supply the American Relief Administration with 10,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of seed grains for the famine victims in the Valley of the Volga. The Soviet Government has co-operated fully in facilitating the work of the American medical and food relief units.—EDITOR.

about eighty men, with Moscow as headquarters. The unit is in charge of Colonel William N. Haskell, who has had much experience in similar relief operations in Rumania, Serbia and Armenia. The heads of the principal divisions of the unit are J. J. Mangar, administrative division; P. H. Carroll, supply division; Dr. Henry Beenkes, medical director; A. C. Coolidge, liaison division; Elmer J. Burland, warehouses; J. P. Gregg, central local committees, and A. Tordy, accounting division. The men in charge of field work in the various provinces and large cities on Dec. 1 were: Petrograd, Carlton G. Bowden; Moscow, Donald Henshaw; Kazan, Iver W. Wahren; Simbirsk, Edward Fox; Samara, Will Shaffroth; Saratov, David R. Kinne; Tzaritzin, Preston Kumler. Lincoln Hutchinson is chief general investigator and statistician. As fast as the work is extended to other hungry provinces, such as Orenburg, Ufa, Perm and Vyatka, new chiefs will be assigned to have local charge.

Through all the famine region, warehouses and special kitchens and dining rooms, to which the children come for their food (consumed on the premises) are being rapidly established. In Kazan province, for example, 1,766 dining rooms were in use on Nov. 19, in addition to which meals were being provided in 296 child institutions (orphanages, temporary detention homes, &c.). In Samara province on the same date, 500 dining rooms and 89 child institutions were providing meals.

Besides arrangements and provisions for the feeding of 1,200,000 children, the American Relief Administration has arranged to supply food to both children and adults by means of special "food remittances," much like the "food draft" system used by the administration for other European countries. By this system any individual or group of individuals in America or any other country can, by the payment of \$10 (or more, in units of \$10), have that value in food—purchased at wholesale in America

—delivered to any individual or group of individuals in Russia. A food order is purchased in America by applying with cash, to the American Relief Administration, Food Remittance Department, 42 Broadway, New York; the order is made out to a specific beneficiary, with name and address, and is sent to this beneficiary, to be presented by him to the nearest American Relief Administration warehouse in Russia. If no warehouse is within easy reach, he sends the order by mail to the nearest warehouse. Here the food is delivered directly or sent by mail to the beneficiary, and a receipt is taken from him, which is returned to America and notice sent to the donor that the food has been delivered. If any remittance cannot be met by actual food delivery within ninety days, the

money paid for the remittance is returned to the donor. These deliveries by the food remittance system are now being made in large numbers. All the Moscow deliveries called for by the first lot of 1,400 remittances, and begun on Nov. 21, have been completed. Moscow reports that "consignees were overjoyed and astounded actually to receive packages containing American flour, fat, rice, sugar, tea." The average time of delivery from date of food remittance receipt was three weeks. Similar deliveries are now being made in Odessa, Kiev, and many other central Russian points. With the gradual perfection of the system the time between receipt of the remittance by the Moscow office and actual delivery to beneficiaries at central warehouses will probably be about two weeks.

WHY RUSSIA'S GREAT ARMY FAILED

A TRAGIC story is told by Major Gen. Sir Alfred Knox in his book, "With the Russian Army, 1914-1917," recently published in London. General Knox was military attaché at Petrograd before hostilities began; he was with the Russian Army practically throughout the war; he was an eyewitness of the first revolution, which placed Kerensky in power, and of the second or Bolshevik revolution, which drove Kerensky into exile. The Bolshevik success he attributes more to the weakness of Kerensky than to the energy of the Bolsheviks, to which, however, he gives full credit.

The book reveals the inherent defects of the vast army of imperial Russia, an army which, in allied circles at the beginning of the war, was regarded with such confident hope that it was dubbed the Russian "steam roller." Estimates given by General Knox indicate that Russia mobilized more than 15,000,000 soldiers. If victory could have been won merely by marshalling overpowering numbers, Russia would have ended the war. But the Russians lacked everything necessary in modern warfare; their railways were inadequate, the roads were obstructed by congested horse transport, and their army itself was so cum-

brous that it was like a muscle-bound prize fighter. Lack of modern equipment, combined with inherent national characteristics, brought about the inevitable downfall.

Everything about the Russian Army, or almost everything, says General Knox, was wrong. The Tartar domination and serfdom had robbed the peasants—that is, 75 per cent. of soldiers—of all initiative, of everything except the quality of patient endurance. The men were careless, inefficient and incapable of understanding why they fought. "A higher type of human animal was required to persevere through the monotony of disaster. For the fact that the Russian type was so low the Russian Government was largely to blame, for it had discouraged education and had allowed the brandy monopoly for many years to sap the character and grit of the people." Elsewhere General Knox says: "The Russians were just big-hearted children, who had thought out nothing, and had stumbled half-asleep into a wasps' nest." Even if the soldiers had been experts, moreover, they would still have been doomed because of the graft and corruption in the War Office at Petrograd, which sent them to the battle front barehanded, without weapons, to be massacred by tens of thousands.

WHAT SOUTH CHINA IS FIGHTING FOR

By JOHN C. GRIGGS,
Of the Canton Christian College

*How the South China Government was set up in Canton, and how
Dr. Sun Yat-sen, its President, and the Civil Governor co-operate—
State Rights in Kwangtung and Hupeh a sign of the new China*

THE next province north of us here in Canton is Hunan—"South of the Lake"—and beyond that is Hupeh—"North of the Lake." These two provinces, or rather certain purely local elements within them, are trying to throw off the dominance of outside force, to expel the military Governors and their armies, and to take the matter of governing into their own hands.

Hupeh, where the fighting has been going on, is mid-China. Astride of the great river, it contains the larger part of the Yangtse basin, and more important still the three closely clustered Wu-Han cities, Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang, where among other new industries that of iron already begins to rival Pittsburgh. Although these enterprises seem to foreign eyes simply the result of Western industrialism, to the Chinese they are proving a revelation to themselves of the potentialities of their own capital and their own natural resources. To both foreigner and Chinese the new industrialism looms large as a factor in the new political system. At Hankow, moreover, the two great axes of the country intersect; east and west is the river with its oceangoing steamers; north and south from Peking to Canton is the immemorial route of conquest, administration and trade, and the site of the railroad of tomorrow. In terms of both geography and communication, therefore, Hupeh is China's centre, as in industrialism it is a leader.

Thus it is with unusual interest that we in September, 1921, are

watching the struggle for self-government going on in the central provinces. And this both because in Kwangtung the same effort for State rights has within the past year come to a successful issue, and because State rights seem to many to be the most promising source to which we can look for a substantial national sovereignty and eventual unity. It is a paradox that the very doctrine which in the United States has usually seemed the antithesis of union is now in China, as it was in the thirteen colonies of 1776, the only enduring basis on which a union can be erected.

It should be noted that in Hupeh, as elsewhere, the war for local sovereignty is only incidentally a revolt against Peking. Primarily the revolt is against the "Tuchun" or despotic militarist, who, either as the direct agent of Peking or with its connivance, is oppressing the province. Forces are being rushed to Hupeh from North and from West, and the Government of the South has announced its purpose to enter the fight. The old Tuchun was forced to resign and leave at the first shock of rebellion in July. Entered Wu Pei-fu, the man of mystery, who only a year ago was the idol of the students of the North because of his advocacy of local freedom and local control for all parts of China. Reluctantly accepting the overlordship of the whole troubled region, he hesitated a few days and then by proclamation and by ruthless destruction showed himself the implacable foe of disunion. For the moment

hostilities have been slackened by a partial truce whose outcome can only be surmised. The picture is still not clear. As on a film which has had two exposures, we see clearly Wu Pei-fu as the relentless militarist, yet almost equally clearly he is also seen as a declared home ruler and the life-long intimate of one of the leading Generals of the opposing popular forces. Conferences are being held. Apparently there has been as yet no personal estrangement between the two. If they were playing only the accustomed military chess for power they might strike hands, call it a day and divide the spoils. But this cannot be done in the case of a popular uprising, and indeed these two men are commonly rated above a merely mercenary game.

THE CANTON LEADERS

Professor John Dewey says every one has for China a panacea beginning with "if." But there is certainly no "if" in what has been accomplished here in Kwangtung in the past year in the matter of local sovereignty. While the voice of the *demos* has been raised in no uncertain tone in Hupeh, hurling defiance at alien governorship and at the remote officialdom of Peking, this south province of Kwangtung has found not only the voice but the power to oust every alien officer and soldier, to set up and maintain from Canton and beyond an administration strictly native in personnel, in aim and in control. The Sun Yat-sen Government, indeed, in its local aspect, has already become a great achievement in self-realization. The erection of a well organized and orderly home soldiery under local and responsible leaders, the suppression of open gambling, the curbing of robbery in outlying districts with the demand that the authorities there shall assume responsibility for the elimination of all disorder, freedom from official extortion and graft, and the abolishing of execution for political offense, are all in sharp contrast to conditions a year ago under an outside military Governor and an alien

army. There can of course be no prediction that such things will supervene elsewhere in China in the near future, nor certainty that they will have permanence even here in Kwangtung. However satisfactory



DR. SUN YAT-SEN
*President of the rival Government of China,
located at Canton*

their aspect, their significance lies rather in the basis of altruistic idealism than in present accomplishment. Right here and now, however, there already exists a considerable realization of "social integration," new, real and spontaneous.

It is too long a story to tell how it all happened, if indeed any one person could know all the circumstances; but happen it did, and results are so apparent that they are not ignored even by the most hostile critics of the present regime. A Kwangtung army led by Kwangtung commanders in sympathy with the veteran "big three" leaders, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Dr. Wu Ting-fang and former Prime Minister Tong Shao-yi, and helped by contributions from emigrant Cantonese the world over, invaded the province, threw out the usurpers and

established in city and province a Government of, by and for their own people. This was war, of course—bloodshed—but the whole affair was managed with as much gentleness



GENERAL CHAN CHIUNG-MING
Civil Governor of Kwangtung, South China

and reason as was consistent with force. Looting and cruelty were not practiced by the incoming army, and so far as appeal, threat or bargain could manage it, the outgoing defeated army was kept from the ravaging and plunder which in most factional fights has been counted the soldier's dearest prerogative.

GENERAL CHAN'S WISDOM

To General Chan Chiung-ming, Commander-in-Chief, the greatest credit is due for his moderation and wisdom both during and since the campaign. It is noteworthy that he allowed himself to be elected civil Governor, instead of retaining the old title and autocratic power of military Governor. In a country where the military man still has unlimited

power over life and property, and where a civil Governor has been too often but a figurehead, it is no small thing for a man who in the flush of victory returns to his native province as an acclaimed deliverer to relinquish any of the traditional opportunity and popular glamour of a military hero, and to comprehend and assert the greater dignity and legality of the civil Governorship. General Chan is foremost in reform, in providing for the disbanded army of the former Administration, and in every constructive move.

With him came the three experienced advisers above mentioned. The proclamation of a national Government here as the only rightful central authority for the whole country, with the inauguration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President of China, soon followed. All the world knows the arguments upon which the claims of this Government are based. They are familiar to American readers and need not be here discussed, further than to say that the civil Governorship and the Sun Yet-sen regime are in their working out undeniably interdependent. The co-operation of General Chan with President Sun—at so many points where it was confidently predicted they would split—is sufficient refutation of the statements in foreign papers, both north and south, that these two men were at cross-purposes, and even bitter enemies.

Canton now has as Mayor the son of President Sun; a Board of Public Works which is carrying out municipal improvements worthy of the palmy days of city building in Budapest or Birmingham; a Board of Health which is attacking with vigor and success the insanitary conditions of markets, streets and housing. The police force in the city and on the river is admirable. In the interest of fairness, however, it must be said that some of these features were present even before the home rule restoration. An enthusiastic American friend, long resident here, told me two years ago that Canton was the most efficiently policed city in the

world; that street widening, bund building and other improvements had already well progressed, but that all local initiative labored heavily under the opposition, or greed, or false promises of a non-Cantonese Governor, who even in his best moods was indifferent and uninterested. The revoking of gambling licenses, with their millions of revenue, would have been then unthinkable.

THE LOCAL BATTLEFRONT

So far a fairly straight and understandable story. But in China more than elsewhere is it difficult to see through to the bottom of any affair. Last November, when the returning Kwangtung army was approaching from the east, and an attack on the city was daily expected, machine guns and sand-bag defenses were set up at important street corners, manned, of course, by the Kwangsi troops of the Governor then in power. But the anomalous thing was that the city's police force, strongly Kwangtung in personnel and sentiment and still nominally under the command of Ngai Bong-ping, remained on duty. Ngai Bong-ping himself, however, was one of the first instigators of the Kwangtung return and one of the right-hand men of General Chan, and actually at the moment in personal command of a large section of the attacking force. Though he himself had withdrawn from the city and was taking part in the attack, his own admirably disciplined police were still on duty. How could this be? Why did not the hordes of Kwangsi soldiers turn upon and overwhelm them, and then pillage the city and run? We foreigners could not understand, and never will know. Hundreds were being killed in the fighting so near the city that the guns were often heard, and wounded from both sides were being brought in to city hospitals. Occasional half-hearted attempts were made to disarm the police, and once some of our ladies got so near the altercation involved in the process that they had to dodge into a doorway to escape the bullets, but in general the city was quiet as

usual. We were at some pains to persuade the ladies to stay at home, but we ourselves, in necessary trips into the city, bravely mounted our prancing rickshaws and charged sandbags and machine guns without the slightest annoyance. It was a little disconcerting to whisk around a corner and come face to face with trenches and rifles, but on the sandbags would be Kwangsi soldiers and Kwangtung police unconcernedly chatting and swapping cigarettes. Probably it was a case of "dicker," for the evacuation was eventually carried out quietly, to the great relief both of foreigners and of a thoroughly terrified populace.

The new Government has stood, has carried out its next necessary move of overcoming the usurping troops in Kwangsi, the next province to the west, instituting there a similar home rule Government, and propping up a limp and wilted currency. It has also vindicated itself anew in establishing a broad-minded and cultured non-military man, Dr. Ma Chung-wu, as civil Governor of that province.

POPULAR SUPPORT

The question in all this, which has been brought about by force of arms, is whether the citizens of wealth and influence in the two provinces have enough self-realization and courage to furnish the moral background for its maintenance. To the peasantry, the farmers and poor villagers, of course, it means absolutely nothing except as they see results, for all soldiers are to them as tigers or invading insect pests, something to be put up with as a part of fate. The vote and citizenship in anything above village affairs can for the present mean little to them.

Two views obtain. The first is that high talk about reform and honest officials is but a part of the all-compelling military power, and whether trustworthy or not, will not be believed. The officer who arrests you for selling insanitary food in your restaurant is just as bad as the soldier who plunders your house, and is

but oppression in a new guise. Taxes are only plunder, and will be evaded. The other view, and the one which is to a degree correct here in Canton, is that there is recognition and support of these better things. Popular sentiment is certainly roused to an extent which in America might be considered pitifully slight, but enough to be already a dominant factor. The similar effort in Hupeh had its rise, whatever its outcome may be, in a strongly aroused popular protest. The mutiny in Ichang of a few months ago, and the pillaging and butcheries by alien soldiers, were the culmination of a series of outrages which at last have goaded the people of wealth and power to take matters into their own hands. And these gentry and rich merchants, with their vast clientele of dependents, are the tremendous potentiality which if once energized can do its will with anything, whether in Hupeh or any other province, if they but once become possessed with the idea that public affairs are their affairs, and that the possibilities lie in their hands. The days of the pretorian army, of the satrap government imposed from above for revenue only, are numbered through all China if—and here we must resort to the “if”—if local self-government be but once established. Here in Kwangtung the “if” has been eliminated, for this movement has come about entirely through local leaders, local soldiers and, although military means have been used, through successful appeal to local sentiment.

In several other provinces a similar appeal and effort is being made, not unmixed, to be sure, with selfishness, political corruption, greed and cruelty. Of all the many “awakenings of China” this is one of the most significant. Such an awakening in the Yangtse valley, which has already been reflected in the intervening Hunan province, can result only in a community of interest with us in the South and in the great strengthening of Dr. Sun’s claim as the leader of all China. Whether his present determination to take a hand

in that fight is wise, time only can determine. His opinion of the possible issue of the movement is as follows: “There is little doubt that with the Southern provinces enjoying good government and prosperity under honest administration and a constructive program, other provinces will be only too ready to throw off the yoke of militarism and misrule, and, acknowledging the authority of this Government, bring about the much-desired unification of the country.”

The relation of all this to Peking, and to the tremendous power of the Manchurian war lord Chan Tso-lin in the North, is exceedingly complex. It would seem that the day is far distant when such a fortified power could be unseated. But the same might have been said of the An-fu Club two years ago. Things move quickly out here. No leader rides so fast and high that he may not be in a moment thrown. We are wondering whether that fabulously expensive armored Packard car of Chan Tso-lin’s is really invulnerable.

No one can understand the cross-currents that move events contrary to tide and wind. Prophecy is a delusion, and of all prophecies that of your “old China hand”—the foreign merchant who has lived a lifetime in Shanghai or any of the treaty ports—is the most absurd and fallacious. He always bets on the wrong horse in matters of Chinese politics, and is rivaled only by the book-writing tourist, who comes with pomp and flourish, interviews officials, and returns to predict and publish. The first is usually British and the second, I regret to say, often American.

In contrast with these proud people, Professor Dewey is as fine an interpreter of China as we have had since the revolution. His protracted stay in the country, his many contacts, his broad mind and eminently sane and pragmatic view of things, have resulted in an exposition of the situation which is unique and as complete as any one man might achieve. Noteworthy in his many

articles is the entire absence of cocksureness or of advocacy of any one panacea, combined with his essential idealism.

THE REAL CHINA

But the pity of it all is that China must be interpreted to the world so largely by foreigners. We know Russia through Russian novels rather than through Wells. Gorky has told us things that no visitor or foreign sojourner could tell, but it is only rarely that a Chinese writer tells us of his country. Loquacious, intelligent and well-informed as the Chinese are, they seldom write what all the world may read. The Canton Government, sensitive to this reproach, has established a publicity bureau which we are watching with interest. Some of the editorials in the Canton Times, written by a son of Dr. Wu and by other Chinese, are not only models of clear English, but give a point of view and understanding which no foreigner can attain. Westerners can never expound freely to the world what China is and what China is doing. China must get the ear of the world and speak in her own voice before the world can know her.

It is the vitality, the vigor, the fixedness of purpose of the common people that give one a feeling of China's strength and promise, something which cannot be expressed by an alien, which is neither the China of the newspapers nor of the diplomatic table. Spheres of influence, partition of the country, the supremacy of the prophesied "one strong man" or the return of the monarchy—all or any of these may supervene, but unless there should be wholesale devastation and extermination by some colossal and long-continued war the real China must persist in her present vigor, and bring up on the surface of events a national personality which, building from below, will reach a national unity commensurate with the marvelous racial unity of the Chinese people.

China is a topsy-turvy world indeed, as much upside down as we

ever, in childhood, imagined it to be, with perfectly smashing contradictions and perfectly hopeless conditions, some of which are charming in their inconsistency, and some repellent and abject. But beyond these there are so many other conditions betokening progress, intelligence and kindness, and withal a sort of national grace and graciousness, that China must some time win out in spite of her immemorial ineptitudes. It may be said without Western conceit or religious self-righteousness that the question is now whether the cross-fertilization of Western culture and Christianity will help turn the trick quickly or not. Japan with her astounding successes and confusing failures is not a complete answer, but a helpful commentary which China would do well to study with a more open mind.

Educational work in China is certainly most stimulating to those carrying it on, and, it is to be hoped, to the students also. There is no question about the Chinese receiving and assimilating information eagerly. There is no lack of intelligence or of willingness to discuss high principles of conduct and action. But the problem of helping them to gain a fine, strong moral fibre, which shall stand them in good stead in the tumult and warped conditions of social and political life, is another matter. One of them rather plaintively remarked, "It is easy enough to be a good boy inside this college." To help them discover and see clearly moral standards by which they can live after leaving college requires more than we sometimes can see. That which seems easy and clear to us is sometimes surprisingly obscure to them. Mere denunciation of evil and dishonesty doesn't accomplish much. Go as far as you please in condemnation, they will cap it with something more sweeping. All China stands waiting at this moment for superfluous denunciation to be translated into sane, intelligent uprightness. The dragon kite of idealism must be brought to earth. The psychology of the thing is somewhat obscure when you have

passed the crude distinctions between vice and virtue, between theft and honesty. An active morality is something more than blue-penciling out the wickedness of the world.

It is in this region beyond that educated leaders must find their great sphere of activity, whether in morals, in commerce, or in civil life. The two great needs are personal initiative and perseverance. At precisely this point the Chinese is weakest, and here also the Westerner finds it most difficult to meet his necessity. Perseverance of a certain kind the Chinese have in abundance; it is proverbial the world over. But it is the perseverance of habit along familiar lines. In this quality they excel us by far. It is the perseverance which goes hand in hand with initiative that is essential. This is new to their national mental habit. The most encouraging moral symptom in China today is found in those novel commercial or productive enterprises which have been initiated by Chinese unaided, and which are being successfully carried on. Though the way is strewn with faint-hearted and abortive attempts, there are some ventures that are being successfully

pushed. Here a man is making internal combustion engines, and doing it without foreign help; there a factory is turning out a high grade of Russia leather, and so it goes. There is progress here.

But though the Chinese work finely in all these particulars which involve mere faithfulness, the big objective is to help them to get wound up so that they will run by themselves, along new courses, or in case of emergency will be able to rewind themselves. It goes without saying that the same need is felt in America or wherever teaching is more than inculcation of formula. Here the need is emphasized by almost entire absence of such qualities.

Periodicals and books bring a flood of theory about China's needs, much of it wise and helpful, some of it acrimonious and hasty. Not without occasional bitterness of dismay do we try to see this great country's problems, but without undue optimism we cherish an abounding faith in its eventual emergence and self-mastery, and in its great future. Among the symptoms of self-mastery is the present assertion of State rights in Kwangtung and Hupeh.

Canton, China, Sept. 26, 1921.

HOW SHERLOCK HOLMES FOOLED GERMANY

IN the German prison at Magdeburg during the war there were a number of English officers who yearned for news of the war and of England, but who could get no word. One of them one day was called by the authorities and told that an English book had been sent to him from England which he would be allowed to receive. Gratefully he took the book, together with a letter from its donor, no less a person than Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, whom the officer knew personally.

Unwrapped, the book proved to be a familiar volume of the famous Sherlock Holmes tales. The officer was disappointed, as he had already read the adventures of the subtle Holmes as recorded by his devoted Boswell, Mr. Watson, and wondered why the author had not sent him something new. The letter said: "It is slow, but per-

haps you might find the third chapter of a little more interest."

The officer glanced through the book, skimmed the third chapter, and did not find it either more or less interesting than before. A brother prisoner, Captain Keppel, however, was more successful; he borrowed the book, read the third chapter word for word and discovered its ingenious cipher message. Letter by letter Sir Conan Doyle had pricked out all the latest news from England, and the British prisoners had the joy of hearing from home. Their message of thanks, which the prison authorities innocently forwarded, simply said, "Please send us another Sherlock Holmes story." This piquant story was related by Sir Arthur at a dinner held in London on Sept. 28, 1921, and was greeted with laughter by the assembled guests.

THE GREEK CAMPAIGN OF 1921

BY ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor of the Greek daily, Atlantis

Review of the war between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists, the present situation on both sides, and the problem that faces the Greeks

THE year 1921 was an eventful and a hard one for Greece, with the Asia Minor campaign holding the centre of the stage. This campaign, which began in May, 1919, when the first Greek troops landed in Smyrna, was intensified and extended with the advent of the new popular Government to power. Thus, whereas under the Venizelos regime the Greek Army was restricted in both numbers and objectives, under the new regime it took the field in a more businesslike fashion with the purpose of dealing a body blow to all Turkish resistance along the only railroad connecting Constantinople with Angora and Konieh. It was felt by the Supreme Hellenic command that as long as Mustapha Kemal was the master of that railroad, no large-scale movements were possible for the Greek Army; therefore occupation of that line, with the capital junctions of Eski-Shehr and Afiun-Kara-Hissar, appeared to the Greek command as an absolute necessity.

It was with this intention that the 1921 campaign started in March from Ushak and Brusa, only to retreat almost immediately, when 40,000 Turkish troops, released through the Franco-Turkish armistice in Cilicia, came quite unexpectedly to strengthen the Kemalist forces facing the Greek Army. The operation was repeated a few months afterward, and was crowned with success on July 21, when Eski-Shehr was occupied by the victorious Greek Army.

When this was done, the question of going beyond the railroad line Ismid-Biledgik-Eski-Shehr, Afiun-Kara-Hissar-Konieh, was discussed at length by the Greek command, inasmuch as it was connected with an

advance toward the enemy capital of Angora.

The leaders of the Greek Army figured that by taking Angora they would secure a first-class moral, diplomatic and political victory, although in a military sense they knew that as long as Kemal's army would be able to retreat further to the east, the Greek campaign would become correspondingly more difficult and costly.

On the other hand, if Angora did not fall, the Greeks would still have much to gain by the destruction of the only railroad in possession of the enemy, and by the strengthening of their old positions resting on Brusa, Eski-Shehr and Afiun-Kara-Hissar. The Greek command thought that as long as Kemal held the railroad centres there was no safety for the Greek zone of Smyrna; and as long as Kemal could attack the Greek positions of Eski-Shehr and Kara-Hissar, the safety of these two vital points of the Greek front was, at best, doubtful.

Mustapha Kemal, on the other hand, fully realizing the bad effect that the loss of Angora would have on his army and people, strengthened that city to the extent of making a miniature Verdun out of it. This, combined with the fact that Angora is by nature a formidable fortress, protected on the north by a mountain chain almost inaccessible, and on the south by what is known as the Salt Desert, made it possible if not easy for the Turkish Nationalists to defend their capital successfully against the Greek onslaught. Nevertheless, the Turkish Army suffered such tremendous losses that its offensive power was definitely broken, as evidenced in a subsequent attempt to turn the Greek flank beyond Afiun-

Kara-Hissar, which ended in a dismal failure. In addition to this, Kemal lost the benefit of rail communication between his front and his only base, Angora—a stretch of 150 miles—as



Map of the region of Asia Minor in which the Greek Armies fought against the Turkish Nationalists under Kemal

the Greek Army in its leisurely retreat destroyed the entire length of that road.

To what extent the Greek positions were strengthened, after the Angora campaign, may be shown from the fact that on Oct. 1 the Turkish command, believing the Greeks to be demoralized and weak, launched a violent attack against Afium-Kara-Hissar, in which five infantry divisions and three cavalry brigades, with adequate artillery, the total force being more than 40,000 men, took part. The battle, the last in the 1921 campaign, lasted nine days and ended in the utter rout of the Turks.

The net results of the campaign were stated by the Prime Minister of Greece, D. Gounaris, in the National Assembly of Athens on Oct. 15. In the first place, the territory allotted to Greece by the Sevres Treaty, comprising an area of 16,000 square kilometers, was increased to almost 100,000 square kilometers. The population of the former district was barely 1,000,000, whereas in the area at present occupied by the Greek Army 3,000,000 people are living contentedly under an administration that

has won the endorsement of even the bitterest enemies of Greece.

This campaign has cost Greece a sum equivalent to \$100,000,000 at the present rate of exchange. It has kept under the colors an army of over 300,000 men, fully equipped, fed and clothed as well as any first-rate army of its size.

At the close of the campaign, the Prime Minister of Greece, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, left Athens and visited the Premiers of France and Great Britain to lay before them the situation in Asia Minor. On meeting Premier Briand, previous to the latter's departure for the Washington conference, Mr. Gounaris was officially informed of the Angora treaty between the French Government and the Government of Mustapha Kemal. Reduced to its essentials, this Franco-Turkish treaty is equivalent to the strengthening of Kemal's army by no less than 80,000 troops, such being, according to Premier Briand, the number of French troops hitherto facing an equal number of Turks in Cilicia. In addition to this, the French command of the Cilician forces left to the Turks enough supplies and ammunition to equip an army of 40,000 men. In order to counterbalance these reinforcements to the Turkish Army, Greece will have to call more reserves to the colors and organize a Spring offensive.

At this point the question of allied intervention came up for discussion. The Greco-Turkish war, to a certain extent, is a matter to be settled between the two belligerents; but to a greater extent it is a question in which not only Europe, but the world at large is interested. As long as conditions are not definitely settled in the Near East, the peace of Europe is not secure. A new Greek offensive probably will break the Turkish power completely; the expense, however, will be great, and the process will inflict new hardships upon a nation that has been at war almost continuously since 1912.

To say that Greece ought to abandon Asia Minor in the same way as the British have abandoned Mesopotamia, the Italians Southern Asia Minor and the French Cilicia, is to ignore the fundamental difference between these allied enterprises and the struggle of Hellas. Smyrna, for the Greeks, is not the same thing that Bagdad, or Adalia or Mersina is for the British, the Italians, the French; and what is true of Smyrna is true of the territory occupied by the Greek forces—even of the territory* of Constantinople and the Straits. A single boat of the Khedivial Mail Line, or of the Italian Royal Mail or of the Messageries Maritimes of France, can very easily accommodate all the British, Italian or French population in Mesopotamia, or Adalia or Cilicia. But when the French troops the other day were ordered out of Cilicia, fully 170,000 Greek civilians sought shelter on the Greek mainland. This figure alone suf-

fices to show what would happen in Asia Minor should the Greek Army be asked to withdraw. Rather than do this, the Greek Government and the entire Greek people would stake their all in a new campaign, because to act otherwise would be tantamount to signing the death warrant of between two and three million Greeks, who have made their homes in the area that would fall under the sway of Kemalism.

Greece, although exhausted financially, has still the means of fighting her war to a complete success. It should be kept in mind, however, that the actual opponent of Greece is not Kemal's organization, but those powers and those influences that keep encouraging and strengthening Turkish resistance, and prevent a rational solution of the Near Eastern question. Therein lies the real difficulty that faces the Greek Nation in its struggle.

THE SCENIC CHARM OF CHINA

IT is strange," says John C. Griggs of the Christian College at Canton, author of an article elsewhere in these pages, "that travelers have allowed the squalor of China's cities to blot from their vision and description the charm of Chinese landscapes. Hongkong is an apocalyptic revelation, its tossing 'Peak' trailing the glory of supernal vistas down along slopes of loveliness to a harbor and islands unexampled. And this mighty river, the Yangtse Kiang, with its myriad wanderings, reflects Nature in one of her most impressive moods. Across the miles of emerald rice, brown junk sails moving up some unperceived channel lure the sight and thought to unknown nooks of this multiform delta, to monastery and lychee groves, to pagodas and remote dialects. The serrated skyline of tawny volcanic mountains and the ever-present lesser hills make the river trip up to Canton but a continuation and fulfillment of the exquisite beauty of Utah and Hawaii. * * * The wealth of flowers we have here, and the birds, the tufted crests of

bamboo groves, and the great secular trees, that stand guard over the huddled brick villages to ward off devils. * * * Passing the seagoing salt junks anchored above our landing, one goes up the river two miles and across to the eastern suburb end of the bund, among hundreds of freight boats, ferry boats, sewage boats, gambling boats, naval boats, black, cavernous cooking boats, red light boats, paddling boats, coal boats—two miles of boats on the river and two miles of solid yellow humanity surging by on the land. Then on foot into the cloistered quiet of Shameen, the foreign concession—the climax and quintessence of all living China changed in a moment to some fabled fairyland of cooing doves, grass-grown streets, Parsee names on old massive buildings of romance, false banyans vainly striving with their dangling web of roots high overhead to be true ones, and out in the harbor the still ships, tramps, gaudy passage boats, the hot Tarantula, British, broad, low, with white sides yet aglow from its blistering journey up the Euphrates!"

DANGERS IN THE NEAR EAST

BY CONSTANTINE D. KOJOUHAROFF

Member of the Bulgarian National Scientific, Archeological, Historical and Geographic Societies

A Bulgarian view of the injustice wrought to Macedonia, Thrace and Turkey by the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference—The dangers arising from these settlements, which breed hate and resentment

THE Peace Conference at Paris was expected to solve all the questions out of which the great war arose, and to do it in a satisfactory manner, i. e., one by which the future tranquillity of Europe would be assured. This expectation has not been realized, for many differences continue to exist, a dangerous proportion of which have taken the form of open conflict.

Among the questions imperatively demanding a permanent solution was the distribution and disposition of the territories composing the countries of the Near East, and the attendant problems presented by Constantinople, the Straits, Thrace and Macedonia. On the successful solution of these depend, to a very great extent, the relations between the great powers and the Balkans—relations of paramount interest in the development of peaceful progress in Europe.

What was the attitude of the Peace Conference, however, when confronted with these serious problems? To what extent were the principles enunciated by President Wilson actually applied? It would be, I think, a waste of time to examine the questions in general. The decisions of the conference have already been appraised at their intrinsic value. It would be useless to submit them to further criticism, for the consensus of opinion is that, in general, they cannot stand criticism. They cannot be considered as anything other than the taking advantage of victory by the allied and associated powers to force on their defeated enemies conditions which they believe will insure them the realization of their territorial ambitions and imperialistic dreams. This is above all the case in the decisions in the Near East.

The geographical position of the coun-

tries of the Near East, their history, their ethnography, their international importance were, and still are, of such a nature that any one possessed of a sound understanding of the real interests of Europe sees clearly that all territorial questions affecting these areas must be decided according to their basic principles, and that those ambitions which favor misunderstanding, and which represent a constant source of armed conflicts, must be discarded, if permanent order is to be reached.

The conference was a stranger to every well-considered policy, which was based on Europe's real interest. It was but the medium of expression for the imperialistic desires of interested powers of the Entente. To rise above such inclinations and to reach solutions which would hold out to the peoples of the Near East the promise of future prosperity and progress, which moreover would tend to the elimination of occasions of misunderstanding and strife, seems to be at present unthought of by them. Instead of giving pre-eminence to ethnic and economic rules, instead of allowing to the populations in the contested localities the right of self-determination in the matter of their allegiance, the conference, by its decisions, determined the status of these peoples beyond possibility of appeal. And this was done because, had self-determination been allowed them, its manifestations would have frustrated the aspirations of those who, as victors, considered that they had the right to enforce their own wishes and to participate as largely as possible in the spoils of war.

The treatment accorded Macedonia, Thrace, the Zone of the Straits and Constantinople was anything but enviable. Macedonia was the booty of Greece and Serbia; Thrace was delivered into the hands

of Greece—geography, ethnography and economic importance to the surrounding countries notwithstanding, and the Zone of the Straits and Constantinople were placed under a régime which, though at first sight appearing to be a satisfactory solution, is in reality only a masked occupation, effected chiefly through British influence.

Sooner than might have been expected, we are witnessing some of the results of the work of the Paris Peace Conference. We are seeing the beginning of those systematic embroglios of which the decisions of the conference are the source. In Macedonia the population is placed under unbearable conditions—conditions far harder and more cruel than those imposed by the Turks. The rule of Greece and Serbia is merciless. Treated with injustice, subjected to brutal and systematic persecutions, the aim of which is to kill all national spirit, the population, utterly exasperated, is forced into one of two alternatives—either to abandon their homes and seek refuge in Bulgaria or to undertake a rebellious struggle against their oppressors. The same is also true of Thrace. By all means, legal and illegal, the people are fighting against the same oppression—oppression most brutally inflicted for the purpose of killing the national spirit or forcing it into submission.

The Macedonians and Thracians, seeing that the clauses of the treaty which should protect the rights of minorities remain nothing but so many written words, in their desperation have resorted to conspiracies against the existing authorities. And these are far more dangerous, far more inimical to peace than those which were formerly fomented against Turkey.

Even more complicated is the situation in the Straits and Asia Minor. There these difficulties, to which I have previously referred, have taken the shape of open warfare between the Turkish Nationalists and Greece. This conflict is the forefront of reaction; the beginning of an organized revolt against the cruelties inherent in the Peace Treaty, which will ultimately play a decisive part in the destinies of Europe. The bloc formed by Russia, Germany and Turkey hardly exists today in any perceptible degree. But presently it will take a far more conspicuous shape in a lasting alliance of common interests, opposed to the Entente, which is seemingly losing its prestige in a gradual process of disorgani-

zation, the fruit of rival territorial policies. With regard to the Straits in particular, Great Britain, who apparently does not possess the means of imposing and maintaining there the status created by the Peace Treaty, will be still less able to do so when she is confronted with the bloc headed by Russia, at last organized and holding all the points of strategic importance, and when the tremendous force of that bloc is directed to the overthrow of the present state of affairs. The belief in London was, and still seems to be, that the present chaotic condition of Russia, combined with the goodwill of Greece, would insure England of the advantage, whenever the present solution in her favor is called into question. To this end, and to safeguard her interests otherwise, she makes use of Greece. But however much she was mistaken in her conception of Russia's powerlessness, she was still more so when she intrusted to Greece tasks beyond the realization of a country that can hardly protect its own interests. To set such hopes on Greece indicated either that the country setting her on was in no wise acquainted with her, or that it took no account of her impotency, seeing only and caring only for the fact that her long expanse of coast line enabled her very easily to be kept under the influence and persuasions of a great sea power. Present events show clearly to what extent British policy was in error when it conceived the idea of making Greece a tool in the Balkans or the guardian of the Straits. And future events will most certainly exemplify this.

No one who is at all conversant with the past history of Greece will deny that Venizelos has deserved well of his country. When he came into power he directed all his efforts to create a State out of the financially bankrupt, politically corrupt and hopelessly disorganized Greek nation. Until Greece was involved in the great war, Venizelos continued to display great moderation as to any territorial aggrandizement. But at the Peace Conference his former wisdom was forgotten. The demands he made disclosed a policy the ruling spirit of which was a desire for further territories for Greece, and which relied for its success upon the fact that Great Britain would safeguard from attack any new Greek acquisitions. Perhaps in his heart Venizelos was conscious that he might be mak-

ing a mistake; but knowing the greed that is unfortunately only too well marked a characteristic of the Greek Nation, he was willing to risk it. If he could obtain a large and imposing booty, with which to satisfy this imperialistic appetite, he would thus maintain his own prestige and even further strengthen his position and his hold on power. But whatever the cause, he made the blunder that is now history, and Greece bears and will bear its disastrous consequences. She will lose, sooner or later, the majority of those raw territories which she now possesses, to say nothing of those to which on paper she is entitled. Her naïve and unrestrained enthusiasm has carried her headlong into an adventure which cannot in any way be understood as compatible with her true interests. For this, if for no other, reason, she will learn a lesson for which she will have to pay.

But the questions involved in the Balkans and Asia Minor are by no means exhausted by the outcome of this conflict between Greece and Kemal. Even if that conflict should be settled in the immediate future, there is nothing to lead one to suppose that an era of perfect security would immediately result. Macedonia, Thrace, the Straits, the mandates in Asia Minor are but a few

of the questions which remain to form centres of that Near Eastern policy which will be inevitably evolved from the conflicting interest of the Russo-German-Turkey bloc and Great Britain. And herein is a danger, too vast to be visualized in all its details, which the Peace Conference should have foreseen, and, foreseeing, should have endeavored to avoid. And yet far from seeking to minimize this menace of the future, the conference by its very decisions set up conditions which can breed only new rivalries and hates. And out of them will arise dangers to European peace far more to be feared than all the sum total of her pre-war jealousies and bickerings. It is sufficient to point out that from the ruins of Bolshevik Russia a democratic Russia has been born, and has fallen heir to that old need of her forefathers—a free outlet to the open sea. When one considers where alone this outlet can be found, and where in relation to it are located the countries whose trials and tribulations I have been discussing, it will readily be seen how the full weight of the mistake made by the Peace Conference may ultimately be brought home; brought home when it will be too late to try and undo it.

*1,412 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.,
Sept. 19, 1921.*

THE INVENTOR OF THE GAS MASK

THE name of Lieut. Col. Edward Frank Harrison, the inventor of the gas mask, was honored officially by Great Britain on Nov. 2, 1921, when a memorial plaque to the late Controller of Chemical Warfare was unveiled at the Pharmaceutical Society in London by Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War. The President of the society, in an opening address, told how Colonel Harrison entered the war in 1915 as a private at 47 years of age, how he was transferred to the Royal Engineers when the first German gas attack was made, and how, in 1916, as a result of his ceaseless research and hard work, the small box gas-respirator was produced, which saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of soldiers before the end of the war. No fewer than 20,000,000 of these gas masks were manufactured for the use of the British and allied armies. In recognition of his work, Colonel Harrison was made Deputy

Controller, and finally Controller of Chemical Warfare, which post he held up to his death in November, 1918, from pneumonia.

The Minister of War, in unveiling the memorial, paid high tribute to the inventor's devotion and spirit of self-sacrifice. The problem that Colonel Harrison was called on to solve, he said, was perhaps one of the most dramatic in warfare—to provide in the middle of a war, almost in the middle of a battle, an armor that would be proof against a new and sinister weapon, deadly to a degree hitherto unimagined in warfare. It was said to the honor of ancient Kings that they slew their thousands and their tens of thousands. It would be Harrison's memorial that he saved them, for not a man was sent to the front in the later years of the war who might not have to depend for his life at some unexpected moment on the skill and knowledge of the scientist they commemorated that day.

KING CONSTANTINE'S GUILT

BY EFTHYMIUS A. GREGORY

*Answer to charges against the Greek King's actions during the war—
Hitherto unpublished letter from General Callaris*

To the Editor of Current History:

One of your correspondents holds that it is unnecessary to prove the Greek King's guilt, so far as the alleged violation of the Greco-Serbian treaty alliance is concerned, since "it was established by the tribunal of mankind's foremost students of international agreements." I challenge any one to name the newspaper, magazine or book in which the official text of the Greco-Serbian treaty was published in full, also the date of its publication. I am convinced the readers of CURRENT HISTORY will duly appreciate the value of the verdict of "mankind's foremost students of international agreements" on the guilt of Greece in regard to the alleged violation of a treaty, the official text of which was never made public in its entirety. Most of the Venizelist assertions are on a par with the one above referred to.

The conflict of the allied marines with the Greeks at Athens has been characterized as a "cold-blooded assassination of French marines," and it has been charged that the Greek authorities are responsible for the conduct of the men who took part in this deplorable affair. At the outset, it was not a case of Greek Army or Greek civilians butchering innocent women and children. Allied marines, well equipped, fought with Greek soldiers and civilians, and the latter had approximately as many casualties as the former. But "where were the Athenian police? How did the mob get the uniforms, the machine guns and the Greek army rifles? Could a mob have terrorized officers? And were the mob leaders punished?"

In the Southern States, in the Western States and in practically every State of the Union we witness every day the utter inability of the authorities successfully to face infuriated crowds. Some years ago the inhabitants of the city of Omaha, Neb., virtually wrecked every Greek store in that city. Never, however, did the Greek Lega-

tion in Washington deem it wise to accuse the American Government of having ordered the attacking crowds to act in this manner.

In my previous communication I stated that "the fact that most of the persons involved in the conflict wore the uniform of the Greek soldier does not render Constantine responsible for their conduct." It was never my object to dispute the fact that most of the men were regular soldiers of Greece, though civilians, too, took part in the struggle. My purpose was to show that even soldiers, after all, are human beings, subject to the same passions as other human creatures. On the "battle of Athens" I will say nothing beyond this, as I feel that national interests are scarcely advanced by the pouring of oil on the fire of prejudice.

On the subject of Fort Rupel I will limit myself to presenting below the translation of a letter which was published in several of the Athens journals over the signature of General Callaris, than whom there is no more honest or more patriotic man in Greece, as even the Venizelists will admit. I quote from the Athenian Politia of Oct. 6, 1921, page 1, column 3:

Athens, Oct. 4, 1921.

Dear Mr. Editor: In connection with what is published by Admiral Carr in The Westminster Gazette on the disposition of General Sarrail (who was at the time allied Commander in Chief at the Macedonian front) regarding the surrender of Fort Rupel, it is well to recall another fact, for the enlightenment of French public opinion.

When, in the Summer of 1916, demobilization and disarmament were imposed upon us by the Allies, it became virtually impossible for us, irrespective of our neutrality, to defend Eastern Macedonia, owing to the limitation of our forces there to the minimum and the cutting off of our communications, on land and sea, by the Allies themselves.

The Greek Government deemed it necessary (*) to inform General Sarrail in due time of its inability to protect Eastern Macedonia, and to ask him if he was not willing to occupy the fortifications along the Greco-Bulgarian boundary line which we were to abandon.

(*) In view of the imminence of a German attack after the completion of our demobilization.

General Sarraïl then replied that "the Greeks may act in accordance with their best interests, but it is not my intention to announce to them my disposition and the plans of my operations," thus rejecting our offer out of distrust of us.

GENERAL CALLARIS.

It is not unusual to see a fact disputed, but never have I seen before the results of an election disputed. In my previous communication I invoked the verdict of the four largest cities of Greece, i. e., Athens, Saloniki, Piræus and Patras, in order to prove the absurdity of the Venizelist claim that the politicians opposing Mr. Venizelos exploited the ignorance of the rural population, &c. Your correspondent asserts that the above-listed names, as well as some villages of little importance, which he names, supported Mr. Venizelos and his candidates.

I challenge him to name one single Venizelist Deputy representing any of the above-listed cities, or, rather, a department of which any of the above-mentioned cities is a part. He also asserts that the majorities of the rural districts neutralized the results of elections in the larger cities. Permit me to state that the Department of Attica and Boeotia, for instance, has a population hardly in excess of half a million. Its two largest cities are Athens and Piræus, with a population, according to the official census of 1921, of 300,000 and 135,000, respectively; making

a total of 435,000. Whether it is probable that the votes of 65,000 inhabitants could have offset the majority that is alleged to have been given by 435,000 I leave to CURRENT HISTORY readers to decide.

I stated on another occasion that my object was, and is, to defend the good judgment of the Hellenic people rather than the person of the King, and that, while Constantine may be guilty of the moral crimes ascribed to him, the evidence so far submitted is not conclusive. I reiterate those statements. Every man is innocent until proved guilty. The Greek voters, composing a huge jury, examined the evidence, and by their verdict, presented on Nov. 14, 1920, declared that it was not such as to warrant the charges against Constantine. The judges were competent. If all the anti-Constantine evidence was not presented to the jurors of Nov. 14, then it is the prosecution, the Venizelist régime, which is incompetent. Nothing is more natural than one's reluctance to form an opinion until one has examined all the documents related to the question on which one is invited to render an opinion. It would be possible for me to know whether the Greek King is guilty or innocent only if I had access to the files of the Greek Foreign Office.

If the attitude of the Venizelists here and in Greece is in harmony with the spirit of democracy, then we, in South Carolina, have a peculiar conception of the term.

Aiken, S. C., Dec. 7, 1921.

PROGRAM OF THE NEW ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT

BY AN ALBANIAN

FOLLOWING the resignation on Oct. 17, 1921, of the Coalition Cabinet headed by M. Ilias Vrioni, the Regency Council of Albania called upon the Foreign Minister in that Cabinet, M. Pandeli Evangheli, to form a new Ministry. The result is as follows:

Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. Pandeli Evangheli.

Minister of the Interior—Major Bajram Fevzi.

Minister of Justice—Dr. Constantine Tasi.

Minister of Public Instruction—Michael Mosi.

Minister of Finances—Amet Dakli.

Minister of Public Works—Zila Dibra.

Minister of War—M. Maksut.

The War portfolio was first offered to Isuf Gjénali; but he declined it, and the Under Secretary of War, Major M. Maksut, took his place.

This Cabinet came into being by a fusion into a "National Group" of the majority of the members of the Popular Party, of the Independence, and of a part of the Progress-

sive Party, with the effect that a new partisan alignment of forces took place. In consequence, the existence of the new Ministry is assured for some time, and, besides being composed of liberal elements headed by the first Christian Premier of the Greek Orthodox faith, M. Pandeli Evangheli, it promises to do a lot of cleaning up in the affairs of Albania. It should be interesting, therefore, to see what the new Cabinet proposes to do, as set forth before the Parliament by the Premier on Oct. 20, when it received its vote of confidence. (Three days later the Parliament adjourned until Jan. 4, 1922.) M. Evangheli said:

Gentlemen of the Parliament: I have the honor of informing you that, following the call on the part of the Regency Council, I accepted the grave responsibility of taking over the administration of Albania during these strenuous times, and that I have formed a new Cabinet. [Here he read the names of members as set forth above.] And we have undertaken this serious responsibility in these critical times through reliance on your confidence and on the support of the whole people of Albania.

In every field of governmental activity, gentlemen, we are confronted by very serious problems, the solution of which requires diligence, unity, energy and peace. The principal point in the program of the new Cabinet is to take care of the territorial integrity and the independence of the Albanian State. We will endeavor to obtain as soon as possible the formal recognition of our State on the part of the powers, and to establish diplomatic and friendly relations with the other States, especially with our neighbors. When we have secured peace from outside we shall turn our attention to internal matters, in order to put our country on the road to prosperity and progress, so that through the carrying out of such activities our nation shall furnish the proof of its being an element of peace and progress in the Balkans and of deserving the place it has taken among civilized nations.

In matters of internal policy the new Cabinet will carry out the necessary administrative reforms by establishing the principle of a "Government resting on the approval of the gov-

erned," by modernizing the administration, which we will put on sound bases. * * *

We will exert our utmost energy in the opening and constructing of roads, the importance of which escapes none; the solution of this problem is the first step toward the solution of the economic, financial and cultural problems of our national solidarity, which will justify us in foreseeing a clear horizon for the future of our country.

These are the major points of the program of the new Government, the rest being detailed accounts of the different reforms that are necessary in the various departments. As a matter of fact, this is the first authoritative, comprehensive and reasoned statement of the wants of the country, just as it is the first time that a definite pledge is given for their satisfaction.

And it would seem that the new Government has already inaugurated the carrying out of these promises, for it has actually fulfilled the principal point of its program, that of preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the State, as well as the pledge to obtain recognition from the powers. The new Ministry was less than a month old when it secured recognition from the powers. Among the first to extend formal recognition to the Government of Tirana as the de facto and de jure Government of Albania was Great Britain (Nov. 9, 1921), to be followed two days later by France and Italy. And on the 18th the Council of the League of Nations met at Paris to devise ways and means for enforcing the decision of the Allied Council of Ambassadors in fixing definitely the frontiers of Albania as against her Balkan neighbors, Yugoslavia and Greece. The matter has been settled by the two latter powers' acceptance of the frontier verdict and by their promise to live in peace with Albania, although Yugoslavia had been on the warpath for months.

TOLSTOY'S HOME IN RUINS

ADVICES from Russia state that the famous home of Count Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana is falling into ruins. Free weekly pilgrimages have been run by the Soviet Government to the estate of the great writer, but nothing has been done for its upkeep. The Tolstoy family is now planning to start a world-wide restoration fund

of \$100,000, and also is working toward the foundation of a Tolstoyan University, the funds for which the members and friends of the family hope to obtain through the publication of a memorial edition of eighty volumes of Tolstoy's works. The novelist's daughter, Alexandra, is now preparing the first volume.

ANGLO-FRENCH DISCORD IN TURKEY

BY HENRY WOODHOUSE

Author of "Dominant Factors Affecting International Relations," "The Inside of the United States versus British-Dutch Oil Controversy," "The Struggle for the World's Oil Resources," "The Textbook of Military Aeronautics," "The Textbook of Naval Aeronautics," "The Textbook of Aerial Laws," &c.

Text of two secret treaties, hitherto unpublished, which reveal the inside reasons which led to Lord Curzon's severe strictures on France for concluding her agreement with Mustapha Kemal at Angora—Threat to British oil interests

THE world read with amazement the public statements made in London on Nov.

24, 1921, by Lord Curzon, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which he condemned France's action in signing an agreement with the Turkish Nationalist Government and stated that peace will never be achieved "if one power tries to steal a march on another and concludes arrangements on its own account."

Lord Curzon's public arraignment of France created consternation in Washington diplomatic circles the next day. I noted the effect on the members of the armament delegations as I visited them at their hotels. "What does Lord Curzon mean?" was the general query. The faces of the delegates and advisers at the conference table that day were visibly disturbed.

Premier Briand, who was known to have directed the bringing about of the French-Turkish agreement, was sailing that morning from New York, and no one else seemed to know why a Near East matter was permitted to offset the progress made at the disarmament conference. Then I remembered that I had a copy of the peace treaty signed at Sèvres on Aug. 10, 1920, between Turkey on one side and Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Armenia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hedjaz on the other. I had taken this document and copies of a number of other treaties and agreements, including the secret San Remo and other Anglo-French agreements, to Washington to verify certain matters relative to questions which I expected would rise when the mandate question came up for discussion. The hundred large printed pages of the Sèvres treaty and the accompanying maps showing the southern

frontier of Turkey and Asia were quickly scanned. By comparing the southern frontier of Turkey in Asia, agreed upon at Sèvres, with the frontier defined in the new Franco-Turkish agreement, the first possible cause for British complaint appeared in the fact that France had agreed to grant the Turks certain territorial concessions, and that upon the ratification of the Angora agreement France had proceeded to withdraw over 50,000 French soldiers from her Anatolian army of occupation. The concessions do not represent a loss to France, while the ending of the Anatolian military operations brings definite relief. To Great Britain both represent a definite loss, the nature of the loss being expressed in terms of land producing oil and other minerals, and reduction in protection through withdrawal of French troops.

The full text of the San Remo agreement, heretofore withheld from publication, only a résumé having been made public, indicates the extent of the operations planned on former Turkish territories by the British Government. The uncompromising attitude of the British Foreign Office in replying to the American notes regarding Mesopotamian oil rights indicates the importance placed by the British Government on these oil resources, which Great Britain would control under both the mandate and the San Remo agreement.

TEXT OF SAN REMO PACT

The full text of the San Remo agreement, which is illuminating, is as follows:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT between M. Philippe Berthelot, Directeur des Affaires politiques et commerciales au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and Professor Sir John

Cadman, K. C. M. G., Director in Charge of his Majesty's Petroleum Department:

1. By order of the two Governments of France and Great Britain, the undersigned representatives have resumed, by mutual consent, the consideration of an agreement regarding petroleum.

2. This agreement is based on the principles of cordial co-operation and reciprocity in those countries where the oil interests of the two nations can be usefully united.

This memorandum relates to the following States or countries: Rumania, Asia Minor, territories of the old Russian Empire, Gallicia, French colonies and British Crown colonies.

3. The agreement may be extended to other countries by mutual consent.

4. RUMANIA—The British and French Governments shall support their respective nationals in any common negotiations to be entered into with the Government of Rumania, for

(a) The acquisition of oil concessions, shares or other interests belonging to former enemy subjects or bodies in Rumania which have been sequestered, e. g., the Steaua Romana, Concordia, Vega, &c., which constituted in that country the oil groups of the Deutsche Bank and of the Disconto Gesellschaft, together with any other interests that may be obtainable.

(b) Concessions over oil lands belonging to the Rumanian State.

5. All shares belonging to former enemy concessions which can be secured, and all other advantages derived from these negotiations shall be divided, 50 per cent. to British interests and 50 per cent. to French interests. It is understood that in the company or companies to be formed to undertake the management and the exploitation of the said shares, concessions and other advantages, the two countries shall have the same proportion of 50 per cent. in all capital subscribed, as well as in representatives on the board, and voting power.

6. TERRITORIES OF THE LATE RUSSIAN EMPIRE—In the territories which belong to the late Russian Empire, the two Governments will give their joint support to their respective nationals in their joint efforts to obtain petroleum concessions and facilities to export and to arrange delivery of petroleum supplies.

7. MESOPOTAMIA—The British Government undertake to grant to the French Government or its nominee 25 per cent. of the net output of crude oil, at current market rates which his Majesty's Government may secure from the Mesopotamian oil fields, in the event of their being developed by Government action; or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields, the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent. in such company. The price to be paid for such participation to be no more than that paid by any of the other participants to the said petroleum company. It is also understood that the said petroleum company shall be under permanent British control.

8. It is agreed that, should the private pe-

troleum company be constituted as aforesaid, the native Government or other native interests shall be allowed, if they so desire, to participate up to a maximum of 20 per cent. of the share capital of the said participation, and the additional participation shall be provided by each participant in proportion to his holdings.

9. The British Government agree to support arrangements by which the French Government may procure from the Anglo-Persian Company supplies of oil, which may be piped from Persia to the Mediterranean through any pipe line which may have been constructed within the French mandated territory, and in regard to which France has given special facilities, up to the extent of 25 per cent. of the oil so piped, on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed between the French Government and the Anglo-Persian Company.

10. In consideration of the above-mentioned arrangements the French Government shall agree, if it is desired and as soon as application is made, to the construction of two separate pipe lines and railways necessary for their construction and maintenance, and for the transport of oil from Mesopotamia and Persia through French spheres of influence to a port or ports on the Eastern Mediterranean. The port or ports shall be chosen in agreement between the two Governments.

11. Should such pipe line and railways cross territory within a French sphere of influence, France undertakes to give every facility for the rights of crossing without any royalty or wayleaves on the oil transported. Nevertheless compensation shall be payable to the landowner for the surface occupied.

12. In the same way France will give facilities at the terminal port for the acquisition of the land necessary for the erection of depots, railways, refineries, loading wharves, &c. Oil thus exported shall be exempt from export and transit dues. The material necessary for the construction of the pipe lines, railways, refineries and other equipment shall also be free from import duties and wayleaves.

13. Should the said petroleum company desire to lay a pipe line and a railway to the Persian Gulf, the British Government will use its good offices to secure similar facilities for that purpose.

14. NORTH AFRICA AND OTHER COLONIES—The French Government will give facilities to any Franco-British group or groups of good standing, which furnish the necessary guarantees and comply with French laws, for the acquisition of oil concessions in the French colonies, protectorates and zones of influence, including Algeria, Tunis and Morocco. It should be noted that the French Parliament has resolved that groups so formed must contain at least 67 per cent. French interests.

15. The French Government will facilitate the granting of any concessions in Algeria which are now under consideration, as soon as the applicants have complied with all the requirements of the French laws.

16. BRITISH CROWN COLONIES—In so far as existing regulations allow, the British Gov-

ernment will give to French subjects who may wish to prospect and exploit petroliferous lands in the Crown colonies, similar advantages to those which France is granting to British subjects in the French colonies.

17. Nothing in this agreement shall apply to concessions which may be the subject of negotiations initiated by French or British interests.

18. This agreement had today been initialed by M. Philippe Berthelot and Professor Sir John Cadman, subject to confirmation by the French and British Prime Ministers, respectively.

San Remo, April 24, 1920. J. CADMAN,
P. BERTHELOT.

Confirmed—D. LLOYD GEORGE,
A. MILLERAND.

April 25, 1920.

WHY ENGLAND OBJECTS

The San Remo agreement explains in part what Lord Curzon, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, meant by his statements of Nov. 24, upbraiding France for having concluded an agreement with the Angora Government, and especially by his pointed statement that peace will never be achieved "if any one power tries to steal a march on another and concludes arrangements on its own account," but to understand his statements fully we must review the Turkish situation and also read another heretofore unpublished Anglo-French agreement, dated Dec. 23, 1920.

The world knows that a peace treaty was entered into at Sèvres between the allied and associated powers and Turkey on Aug. 10, 1920, and that by that treaty Turkey gave up certain territories, including Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Syria and Palestine, which territories, according to the decisions of the Peace Conference, were to be placed under the mandate form of government. Subsequently the world learned that the United States had objected to the award of mandates by the League of Nations to Great Britain and Japan without the approval of the United States, and that as a result the League of Nations had notified the United States that the mandates would be submitted to the Washington Government for approval before awarding them.

The world also learned that the United States had protested to the powers against the secret agreement entered into at San Remo in April, 1920, between England and France, to pool and divide among themselves certain oil resources in the Near East, but the details of this agreement remained a secret, the references to the San

Remo agreement contained in the protests of the United States being general protests against what appeared to the American Government to be a monopolistic grab of the former Turkish oil fields by Great Britain, and the barring of Americans from their legal rights to Turkish oil fields acquired before the war, it being known that these former Turkish territories are rich in oil lands, capable of yielding probably over five billion barrels of oil, or as much as the total estimated oil resources of the United States.

The signing of the Sèvres Treaty was to terminate the state of war between Turkey and the signatory nations, but it did not produce this result. The Kemalists and other Turkish Nationalists and independents proceeded to fight the British, the French and the Greeks, with varied success. The Turks proved to be stronger than had been expected; they drove back the Greeks, and made it desirable to the French to make territorial concessions for the sake of their peaceable possession of the territory on the southern frontier of Asiatic Turkey. By the agreement recently concluded at Angora by the French representative, Henry Franklin-Bouillon, France made considerable concessions to the Kemalists, to which the British object strenuously.

ANOTHER SECRET PACT

The inside reason why Lord Curzon objects to the French concessions is that they endanger the British oil monopoly on former Turkish territory established by means of the secret San Remo agreement, supported by the Sèvres treaty, and further strengthened by an agreement dated Dec. 23, 1920. The text of this additional agreement, hitherto unpublished, reads as follows:

FRANCO-BRITISH CONVENTION OF DEC. 23, 1920, ON CERTAIN POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE MANDATES FOR SYRIA AND THE LEBANON, PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA.

The British and French Governments, respectively represented by the undersigned plenipotentiaries, wishing to settle completely the problems raised by the attribution to Great Britain of the mandates for Palestine and Mesopotamia, and by the attribution to France of the mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, all three conferred by the Supreme Council at San Remo, have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE I.—The boundaries between the territories under the French mandate of Syria and

the Lebanon, on the one hand, and the British mandates of Mesopotamia and Palestine, on the other, are determined as follows:

On the east, the Tigris from Jezireh-Ibn-Omar to the boundaries of the former vilayets of Diarbekir and Mosul.

On the southeast and south, the aforesaid boundary of the former vilayets southward as far as Rumelan Koeul; thence a line leaving in the territory under the French mandate the entire basin of the Western Kabur, and passing in a straight line toward the Euphrates, which it crosses at Abu Kemal; thence a straight line to Intar to the south of Jebul Druse, then a line to the south of Masib on the Hedjaz Railway, then a line to Semakh on the Lake of Tiberias, traced to the south of the railway, which descends toward the lake and parallel to the railway. Deraa and its environs will remain in the territory under the French mandate; the frontier will in principle leave the valley of the Yarmuk in the territory under the French mandate, but will be drawn as close as possible to the railway in such a manner as to allow the construction in the valley of the Yarmuk of a railway entirely situated in the territory under the British mandate. At Semakh the frontier will be fixed in such a manner as to allow each of the two high contracting parties to construct and establish a harbor and railway station giving free access to the Lake of Tiberias.

On the west the frontier will pass from Semakh across the Lake of Tiberias to the mouth of the Wadi Massadye. It will then follow the course of this river upstream, and then the Wadi Jeraba to its source. From that point it will reach the track from El Kuneitra to Banias at the point marked S'ek; thence it will follow the said track, which will remain in the territory under the French mandate as far as Banias. Thence the frontier will be drawn westward as far as Metullah, which will remain in Palestinian territory. This portion of the frontier will be traced in detail in such a manner as to insure for the territory under the French mandate easy communication entirely within such territory with the regions of Tyre and Sidon, as well as continuity of road communication to the west and to the east of Banias.

From Metullah the frontier will reach the watershed of the valley of the Jordan and the basin of the Litani. Thence it will follow this watershed southward. Thereafter it will follow in principle the watershed between the Wadis Farah-Houroun and Kerkera, which will remain in the territory under the British mandate, and the Wadis El Doubleh, El Aloun and Es Zerka, which will remain in the territory under the French mandate. The frontier will reach the Mediterranean Sea at the port of Ras-el-Nakura, which will remain in the territory under the French mandate.

ARTICLE II.—A commission shall be established within three months from the signature of the present convention to trace on the spot the boundary line laid down in Article I., and shall be composed of four members. Two of these members shall be nominated by the British and French Governments, respectively, the two others shall be nominated, with the

consent of the mandatory power, by the local Governments concerned in the French and British mandatory territories, respectively.

In case any dispute should arise in connection with the work of the commission, the question shall be referred to the Council of the League of Nations, whose decision shall be final.

The final reports by the commission shall give the definite description of the boundary as it has been actually demarcated on the ground; the necessary maps shall be annexed thereto and signed by the commission. The reports, with their annexes, shall be made in triplicate; one copy shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, one copy shall be kept by the mandatory, and one by the other Government concerned.

ARTICLE III.—The British and French Governments shall come to an agreement regarding the nomination of a commission, whose duty it will be to make a preliminary examination of any plan of irrigation formed by the Government of the French mandatory territory, the execution of which would be of a nature to diminish in any considerable degree the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates at the point where they enter the area of the British mandate in Mesopotamia.

ARTICLE IV.—In virtue of the geographic and strategic position of the Island of Cyprus, off the Gulf of Alexandretta, the British Government agrees not to open any negotiations for the cession or alienation of the said Island of Cyprus without the previous consent of the French Government.

ARTICLE V.—(1) The French Government agrees to facilitate by a liberal arrangement the joint use of the section of the existing railway between the Lake of Tiberias and Nasib. This arrangement shall be concluded between the railway administrations of the areas under the French and British mandates, respectively, as soon as possible after the coming into force of the mandates for Palestine and Syria. In particular the agreement shall allow the administration in the British zone to run their own trains, with their own traction and train crews, over the above section of the railway in both directions for all purposes other than the local traffic of the territory under the French mandate. The agreement shall determine at the same time the financial, administrative and technical conditions governing the running of the British trains. In the event of the two administrations being unable to reach an agreement within three months from the coming into force of the two above-mentioned mandates, an arbitrator shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to settle the points as to which a difference of opinion exists, and immediate effect shall be given as far as possible to those parts of the agreement on which an understanding has already been reached.

The said agreement shall be concluded for an indefinite period and shall be subject to periodical revision as need arises.

(2) The British Government may carry a pipe line along the existing railway track, and shall have in perpetuity and at any moment, the right to transport troops by the railway.

(3) The French Government consents to the nomination of a special commission, which, after having examined the ground, may readjust the above-mentioned frontier line in the valley of the Yarmuk as far as Nasib, in such a manner as to render possible the construction of the British railway and pipe line connecting Palestine with the Hedjaz Railway and the valley of the Euphrates, and running entirely within the limits of the areas under the British mandate. It is agreed, however, that the existing railway in the Yarmuk Valley is to remain entirely in the territory under the French mandate. The right provided by the present paragraph for the benefit of the British Government must be utilized within a maximum period of ten years.

The above-mentioned commission shall be composed of a representative of the French Government and a representative of the British Government, to whom may be added representatives of the local Governments and experts as technical advisers to the extent considered necessary by the British and French Governments.

(4) In the event of the track of the British railway being compelled for technical reasons to enter in certain places into the territory under French mandate, the French Government will recognize the full and complete extra-territoriality of the sections thus lying in the territory under the French mandate, and will give the British Government or its technical agents full and easy access for all railway purposes.

(5) In the event of the British Government making use of the right mentioned in paragraph 3 to construct a railway in the valley of the Yarmuk, the obligations assumed by the French Government in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 of the present article will determine three months after the completion of the construction of the said railway.

(6) The French Government agrees to arrange that the rights provided for above for the benefit of the British Government shall be recognized by the local Governments in the territory under the French mandate.

ARTICLE VI.—It is expressly stipulated that the facilities accorded to the British Government by the preceding articles imply the maintenance for the benefit of France of the provisions of the Franco-British Agreement of San Remo regarding oil.

ARTICLE VII.—The French and British Governments, in their respective mandatory areas, will put no obstacle in the way of the recruitment of railway staff for any section of the Hedjaz Railway. Every facility will be given for the passage of employees of the Hadjaz Railway over the British and French mandatory areas in order that the working of the said railway may be in no way prejudiced. The French and British Governments agree, where necessary, and in eventual agreement with the local Governments, to conclude an arrangement whereby the stores and railway material passing from one mandatory area to another and intended for the use of the Hedjaz Railway, will not for this reason be submitted to any additional customs dues, and will be exempted so far as possible, from customs formalities.

ARTICLE VIII.—Experts nominated respec-

tively by the Administrations of Syria and Palestine shall examine in common within six months after the signature of the present convention the employment, for the purposes of irrigation and the production of hydro-electric power, of the waters of the Upper Jordan and the Yarmuk and of their tributaries, after satisfaction of the needs of the territories under the French mandate. In connection with this examination the French Government will give its representatives the most liberal instructions for the employment of the surplus of these waters for the benefit of Palestine. In the event that no agreement is reached, these questions shall be referred to the French and British Governments for decision.

To the extent to which the contemplated works are to benefit Palestine, the Administration of Palestine shall defray the expenses of the construction of all canals, weirs, dams, tunnels, pipe lines and reservoirs or other works of a similar nature, or measures taken with the object of reafforestation and the management of forests.

ARTICLE IX.—Subject to the provisions of Articles 15 and 16 of the mandate for Palestine, of Articles 8 and 10 of the mandate for Mesopotamia, and of Article 8 of the mandate for Syria and the Lebanon, and subject also to the general right of control in relation to education and public instruction, of the local Administrations concerned, the British and French Governments agree to allow the schools which the French and British nations possess and direct at the present moment in their respective mandatory area to continue their work freely; the teaching of French and English will be freely permitted in these schools. This article does not in any way imply the right of nationals of either of the two parties to open new schools in the mandatory area of the other.

The present convention has been drawn up in English and French, each of the two texts having equal force. Done at Paris, Dec. 23, 1920, in two copies, one of which will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, and the other in those of the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

HARDINGE OF PENSHURST.

G. LEYGUES.

This secret Franco-British convention entered into on Dec. 23, 1920, to strengthen the San Remo agreement and provide for joint British and French co-operation in certain points connected with the mandates for Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, was entered into after the signing of the Sèvres Treaty and after the receipt by Great Britain of the United States notes, including the Colby note of Nov. 20, 1920, protesting against the San Remo agreement and against the establishing of a British oil monopoly in Mesopotamia and other mandated territories.

The British Foreign Office had assured

the United States in earlier notes that the reports of British oil operations in Mesopotamia were unfounded, but the United States Government found evidence to the contrary; and so stated in the letters and notes transmitted to the British Foreign Office by Ambassador John W. Davis, under date of May 12, 1920, July 28, 1920, and Nov. 20, 1920. To strengthen her position in establishing an oil monopoly in mandated countries Great Britain entered into the new convention, the text of which has just been given.

TURKEY'S FIGHTING GOVERNMENT

Turkey has a passive Government in Constantinople and a fighting Government at Angora. Great Britain would confine dealings entirely to the passive Sultan Government in Constantinople, and would shun Mustapha Kemal's Nationalist fighting Government at Angora. But the army of the Turkish fighting Government has pushed its way past the southern frontier of Turkey in Asia established by the Treaty of Sèvres, has proved very troublesome to both the French and Greek forces in Syria, and has threatened the Anatolia-Bagdad Railway. The Kemalist forces have also threatened the British in Mesopotamia, but the British Royal Air Force, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir J. A. L. Haldane, officer commanding-in-chief the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, has successfully dealt from the air with the situation and has discouraged attacks.

Strict British censorship has prevented the world from learning the extent of the operations conducted by the British Air Force in connection with what is termed the "Mesopotamia insurrection." But it is known that the "area of insurrection," though large at various times in the last two years, has been successfully reduced by the British Air Force.

The French did not consider the campaigns of Mustapha Kemal as insurrection, but rather as a continuation of war. From 75,000 to 100,000 French soldiers were required in that area, and several thousand French soldiers were killed in engagements. The cost of maintaining so large an army so far from France was large, and the French nation grumbled about it.

Though France is interested in protecting the Anatolia-Bagdad Railway, she is

not as concerned as England is in holding and protecting the oil fields of former Turkish territory. On the other hand, the British Foreign Office knows that the Turkish Nationalists have never approved or recognized the British claims to Turkish oil fields, and that, if they should be victorious, the British oil monopoly on former Turkish territory would be in danger.

Since the allied nations had recognized the Kemalist Government to the extent of receiving the Kemal representatives at the London Session in March, 1921, listening to their proposals to modify the Sèvres Treaty, and submitting to the Turkish Nationalist representatives a number of plans containing better terms than those of the Sèvres Treaty, the recognition of the Angora Government by France was not as radical a step as it appears to be on first consideration. As a matter of fact, the Franco-Turkish agreement signed at Angora, and ratified by the Nationalist Assembly, is apt to endure, where a similar agreement executed by the Constantinople Government would not.

[For text of that agreement see article on "France's Pact With Mustapha Kemal."]

THE SULTAN'S GOVERNMENT

In the absence of a Turkish Parliament at Constantinople, the last Chamber of Deputies having been dissolved on April 11, 1920, after only three months of existence, the Great National Assembly at Angora exercises the functions of a Parliament and makes the de facto Government established by Mustapha Kemal Pasha a dominant factor, much stronger than the Government of Mohammed VI., the reigning Sultan of Turkey. The Sultan is, of course, the only legitimate head of the Government. Entitled to the Ottoman throne as the successor of his elder brother, Sultan Mohammed V., following the latter's death on July 3, 1918, he lost power with the Turkish Nationalists through his apparent approval of the Treaty of Sèvres, which surrendered to the allied powers and newly created countries a considerable amount of Turkish territory.

Had this Peace Treaty, signed at Sèvres on Aug. 20, 1920, been ratified, or recognized by the United States, the leading signatory nations outside of Great Britain—France, Italy and Greece—would no doubt

have felt obliged to carry out to the letter the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations embodied in that treaty, and would not have recognized the Kemal Government at Angora. But, even with the support given him by the landing of the Anglo-French-Italian army at Constantinople on March 16, 1920, the Sultan was unable to gather sufficient power to form a Cabinet with enough stability and influence to offset the Kemalist Party.

Mustapha Kemal and his following succeeded in turn in causing the downfall of the Ministry headed by Grand Vizier Damad Pasha, notwithstanding the Sultan's refusal to remove him when requested by the Young Turks; the Nationalist Ministry headed by Grand Vizier General Ali Riza Pasha went down on account of the establishing of the rival Government at Angora; and the Ministry of Grand Vizier Salih Pasha went down because it was openly favorable to the allied powers, and was succeeded by the Cabinet headed by Grand Vizier Damad Pasha, which also fell through lack of support.

The Cabinet headed by Grand Vizier Tewfik Pasha, which took office on Oct. 21, 1920, weathered many storms, but found itself unable to act, due to the absence of a Turkish Parliament, it having proved impossible to constitute another Parliament since April 11, 1920, when the new Chamber, which had been assembled on Jan. 12, 1920, was dissolved. The turbulent situation prevented the holding of the elections provided for by the Turkish Constitution,

and that left the Constantinople Turkish Government without a Parliament. This deficiency on the part of the Constantinople Government added strength to the rival Government at Angora, and the Great National Assembly at Angora has exercised the function of a Parliament, thereby giving the de facto Government set up by Mustapha Kemal practically supreme executive authority over internal Turkish affairs as well as foreign affairs.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his followers want the Treaty of Sèvres revised; they want all the concessions made to Turkey by the allied countries at the London (March, 1921) session retained, and additional concessions made in the Straits and Smyrna zones; they also want concessions in the financial clauses of the peace treaty. France has been in favor of making these concessions, and the other nations practically acquiesced in them at the London sessions.

France, therefore, felt at liberty to enter into the agreement with the Angora Government, which cost her but little in concessions and made it possible to release about 75,000 French soldiers in Anatolia. The British, however, see in this French compact with Angora a danger to the provisions of the San Remo agreement and of the Franco-British agreement of Dec. 23, 1920, and an undermining of the British oil monopoly on former Turkish territory, which the British had established and strengthened by these agreements.

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE WAR

STATISTICS collected in Europe by Dr. Joseph K. Dixon, a specialist on the history of the American Indian, show that more than 17,000 Indians fought in France, and made for themselves a brilliant record, attested by the official statements of the leading Generals of the allied armies. Their service embraced twenty-eight battle sectors, all of which Dr. Dixon visited. One hundred and fifty Indians received decorations for conspicuous bravery. One of the hundred bravest soldiers selected by General Pershing was an Indian named Sevalia. The crosses over the Indian graves in France, says Dr. Dixon, bear such pictur-

esque names as "Takes the Shield," "Good Bear," "Fights the Enemy," and "Goes Forth."

Dr. Dixon urges proper measures for the improvement of the lot of the Indians living on American reservations. From 1,200,000, he says, they have been reduced by hardships and repressions to 332,000. "The Indians fought for democracy," he adds, "in the battles of the Revolutionary War, in the battles of the Civil War and in the battles for the freedom of France and Belgium. They fought for a freedom which is denied them in the land of their birth. How will America now treat the question?"

FRANCE'S PACT WITH MUSTAPHA KEMAL

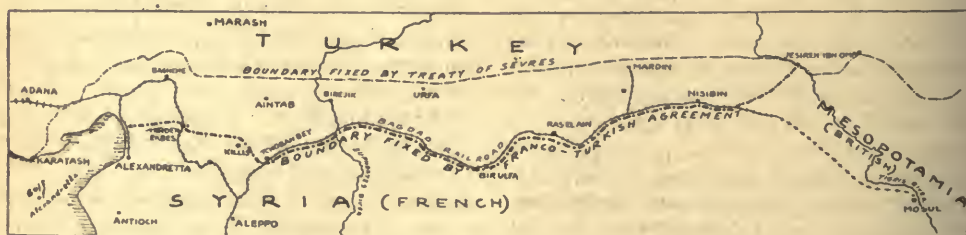
Terms of the treaty concluded by the French Government with the Turkish Nationalists at Angora—France recognizes the Mustapha Kemal regime, obtains a fixation of boundaries with French Syria and gets important concessions—British and Greek reactions

THE situation in Asia Minor is badly tangled. The Greeks are still at war with the Nationalist Turks of Mustapha Kemal, who is entrenched in his capital at Angora, and who declares his Government to be the de facto Government of Turkey. The British, who are in control of Constantinople, assert that the Sultan's Government, localized in that city, is the true one, whereas the French, who are in Syria and Cilicia, are pinning their faith on the Nationalists. The situation took on new complications in October, when the French Government made a new treaty of peace with the Angora Government.

This treaty, the text of which is published below, was signed at Angora on Oct. 20, 1921, and was ratified by the Angora Grand Parliament a few days later. M. Henry Franklin-Bouillon, head of the French mission that negotiated the compact, returned with it to Paris shortly afterward. Its conclusion gave France important advantages, notably the ability to withdraw her troops from Cilicia (leaving Greece isolated); the fixing of boundaries between Turkey and French Syria, and the obtaining of important railway concessions for French interests. The new agreement followed the lines of the treaty negotiated by M. Briand, the French Premier, with Bekir Sami Bey in London last March. [Printed in CURRENT HISTORY for May,

1921.] It contained, however, two new clauses—Articles 8 and 10—which caused Lord Curzon, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to censure it severely, declaring that France had no right to make such concessions, as they disposed of territory which France held only as a mandatory. Article 8 fixed a boundary line between Turkey and French Syria; Article 10 recorded the consent of the Angora Government to the concession of the Bagdad Railway between Bozanti and Nisibin and the branch lines in the Province of Adana.

The British Embassy in Paris issued an official statement on Nov. 11, objecting specifically to these clauses, and also to Article 1, implying France's recognition of the Angora Government as the sovereign power in Turkey, and to Article 6, embodying France's admission of the Turkish Nationalist demand for minority provisions differing widely from those contained in the Sèvres Treaty. The statement also declared that the covering letter addressed to M. Franklin-Bouillon by Yussuf Kemal Bey, the Nationalist Foreign Minister and negotiator for Mustapha Kemal, gave pledges of concessions that went far beyond the London Treaty. Even that treaty, the British note said, had been protested against by Lord Curzon. The British Foreign Secretary himself returned to the attack just prior to M. Briand's departure



Map showing the new boundary under the Franco-Turkish agreement, and the region thus restored to Turkey, as compared with the boundary fixed by the Treaty of Sèvres

from the Arms Conference, and took the treaty as a text for warning France against the danger of political isolation. In a speech delivered at a luncheon in London on Nov. 24, Lord Curzon declared that, so far as Germany was concerned, the adoption by France of "an isolated or individual policy" would neither injure Germany nor help France herself. Referring specifically to the position in the Near East and the conclusion of the Franco-Turkish Treaty, he said:

Much more important than the victory of either party is that there shall be no victory, but that there shall be peace. This will never be arrived at if any power tries to steal a march on others and to conclude independent reforms on its own account. Such plans take us to a blind alley and find us landed in a cul-de-sac unless all the great powers come together in perfect loyalty and bend their shoulders to the common task.

There was hope, he continued, that a new attempt to bring about peace in the Near East might be successful if the suspicion that prevailed among all the parties concerned could be destroyed. If they could be persuaded that there was room for both Greece and Turkey in the Near East, and if the Turks could be persuaded that, since they were beaten, there was every desire to give them scope for the resuscitation of their national life, this hope might be cherished. "But," he concluded, "our hope will materialize only if we go into this affair, as I hope we may, with a single policy, a single aim and a single plan."

Greece was even more displeased by the new treaty. M. Gounaris, the Greek Premier, made a special journey to Paris and London to prevent its ratification, but his efforts proved vain. One of the last official acts of Premier Briand before sailing for the United States was to ratify the pact. In the French Senate, in the course of the debate on foreign policy which preceded his departure, he took the view that the conclusion of such a treaty was necessary and that France had spared no efforts to keep her allies, including Great Britain, loyally informed of her intentions and actions in this regard. Premier Briand said:

As to our Eastern policy, matters were badly tangled. We might have been led very far from our traditions and have created terrible difficulties in our Moslem possessions. * * * It was, therefore, essential to regard events from the French viewpoint. It was a duty of loyalty to remember that we had allies, to do nothing

calculated to break our word to them, and to prejudice the general interests of the alliance. This we tried to do. In London we attempted to deal with the whole question. It was not our fault if the attempt did not succeed. More recently, in Paris, on the initiative of Lord Curzon, who was also anxious to restore peace in the East, we renewed the attempt. Again it did not succeed. We informed our allies—and they fully understood our point of view—that after such great sacrifices we could not exhaust ourselves in a Cilician war against the Turks, that we were bound by the very terms of our mandate to evacuate those areas where we were only mandataries and where we were willing to remain only with a minimum of expense and without maintaining armies. We stated that we must fix the frontiers, evacuate our troops, and facilitate the immediate exchange of prisoners. Several attempts were made. The first time we came up against the intransigence of the Angora Assembly. Then, quite recently, through one of our fellow-countrymen [M. Franklin-Bouillon] who was willing to place himself at the disposal of the Government, which made use of the leisure the electors had left him, and who, I make a point of saying, has rendered great service to our country, the conversations were resumed. We found in Turkey warm sympathies for France, a lively desire to make good an error, which, moreover, was to a great extent forced upon the people, and to restore ancient traditions. The agreement has been signed. In the course of long discussions in which the representatives of Angora defended their national standpoint and their ideas of independence, concessions have been made and an agreement has been reached regarding a frontier, the conditions of evacuation and guarantees for the protection of the minority. We are no longer at war in the East, and all this has been accomplished in perfect accord with our allies. We have kept them informed, and they will receive the text of our agreements, which are in no way detrimental to their interests. Thus, French policy has taken shape in detail in the midst of real difficulties and yet our good relations with our allies are not disturbed.

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The official text of the treaty, as translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Paris Temps of Nov. 21, is as follows:

ARTICLE 1—The high contracting parties declare that from the date of the signature of the present agreement the state of war will cease between them, and that the armies, the civil authorities and the inhabitants shall be so informed.

ARTICLE 2—From the date of the signature of the present agreement, the respective prisoners of war, as well as all French or Turkish nationals detained or imprisoned, shall be set at liberty, and shall be brought, at the expense of the power that holds them, to the nearest town designated to this effect. The scope of this article extends to all persons detained or imprisoned by either party, whatever may

be the date or the place of detention, imprisonment or capture.

ARTICLE 3—Within a maximum period of two months following the signature of this agreement, the Turkish troops will withdraw to the north, and the French troops to the south of the line laid down in Article 8.

ARTICLE 4—The respective withdrawal and taking over, within the time limit laid down by Article 3, shall be effected in accordance with provisions to be agreed upon by a mixed commission named by the military commanders of the two parties.

ARTICLE 5—Full amnesty shall be granted by the two contracting parties in the regions evacuated as soon as they shall have been taken over.

ARTICLE 6—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey declares that the minority rights solemnly recognized in the national treaty shall be confirmed by it on the same basis as that established by the agreements in this regard reached between the Entente powers, their adversaries and certain of their allies.

ARTICLE 7—A special administrative régime shall be established for the Alexandretta region. The Turkish inhabitants of this region shall enjoy every facility for the development of their cultural needs. Turkish shall be made the official language.

ARTICLE 8—The boundary line mentioned in Article 3 is fixed and specified as follows: The frontier line will start from a point to be chosen on the Gulf of Alexandretta, immediately to the south of the region of Bayas, and will be clearly oriented toward Meiden-Ekbes (the railway station and the region remaining to Syria). Thence it will turn southeast, leaving to Syria the region of Marsova, and to Turkey the region of Karnaba, and also the town of Killis; thence it will join the railway at the station of Tchoban Bey. From there it will follow the Bagdad Railway, whose roadbed shall remain on Turkish territory as far as Nisibin; thence it will follow the old road between Nisibin and Jasireh-Ibn-Omer, where it will rejoin the Tigris. The region of Nisibin and Jasireh-Ibn-Omer, as well as the road, will remain to Turkey; but both countries will have the right to use this road. The stations and branch stations of the section between Tchoban Bey and Nisibin shall belong to Turkey as a part of the railway line.

A commission composed of delegates from both parties shall be formed within one month from the signature of this agreement to fix the line laid down above. This commission shall begin to function within the same period.

ARTICLE 9—The tomb of Suleiman Shah, the grandfather of the Sultan Osman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty (the tomb is known under the name of Turq-Mezari), situated at Djaber-Kalesli, and its appurtenances shall remain in the possession of Turkey, whose right it shall be to establish attendants there and to fly over the tomb the Turkish flag.

ARTICLE 10—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey accepts the transfer of the concession of the section of the

Bagdad Railway between Bozanti and Nisibin, as well as of divers branches situated in the vilayet of Adana, to a French group designated by the French Government, with all rights, privileges and advantages attached to conces-



(© Underwood & Underwood)

MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA

Leader of the Turkish Nationalists and head of Ankara Government

sions, particularly as concerns exploitation and traffic.

Turkey will have the right to send its military transports by railway from Meiden-Ekbes to Tchoban Bey, in the Syrian region, and Syria will have the right to send its military transports by railway from Tchoban Bey as far as Nisibin, in Turkish territory. Over this section and its branches no preferential tariff shall be established in principle. Each Government, however, reserves the right to study in concert with the other any exception to this rule which may become necessary. In case agreement proves impossible, each party will be free to act as he thinks best.

ARTICLE 11—A mixed commission shall be organized after the ratification of the present agreement; its object shall be to conclude a customs convention between Turkey and Syria. Both the conditions and the duration of this convention shall be determined by the commission. Both countries shall be free to act as they think best until this convention is concluded.

ARTICLE 12—The waters of Kouveik shall be divided between the town of Aleppo and the

northern region which has remained Turkish in such wise as to be equitable and satisfactory to the two parties. Aleppo shall also be authorized to construct works to draw water, at its own expense, from the Euphrates on Turkish

the time of the signing of the treaty. Certain passages in this letter also gave offense to the British Government:

ANGORA, Oct. 20, 1921.

Excellency:

I venture to hope that the agreement concluded between the Government and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, on the one hand, and the French Republic on the other, with a view to bringing about a definite and enduring peace, will have the effect of renewing and consolidating the close relations which have existed in the past between the two nations, inasmuch as the Government of the French Republic is striving to settle in a spirit of cordial harmony all questions concerned with the independence and sovereignty of Turkey.

The Government and the Grand Assembly wishing, on the other hand, to favor the development of material interests between the two countries, empower me to assure you that they are disposed to grant the concession of the iron, chrome and silver mines located in the Harchite Valley, on a ninety-nine-year lease, to a French group, it being understood that this group shall, within five years from the signature of this agreement, begin the working of this concession through a company organized according to Turkish law, and that Turkish capital up to a total of 50 per cent. shall be allowed to participate in its funding.

Furthermore, the Turkish Government is ready to examine in the most favorable spirit all other desires that may be expressed by French groups relative to mine, railway, harbor and river concessions, on condition that such desires shall conform to the reciprocal interests of Turkey and France.

On its own part, Turkey wishes to profit by the collaboration of French technical instructors in her professional schools, and accordingly will later inform the French Government of its needs in this respect.

In conclusion, Turkey hopes that from the date of this agreement the French Government will authorize French capitalists to enter into economic and financial relations with the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

YUSSUF KEMAL BEY.

M. Franklin-Bouillon appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber on Nov. 12 and explained the conditions under which this pact was negotiated. The French Government at that time took the position that the Angora agreement was not technically a treaty—which would have to be ratified by Parliament—but “an arrangement intended to put an end to a state of war on a common frontier.” M. Franklin-Bouillon told the Committee on Military Affairs on the same day that the safety of French interests in Syria still required an army of about 40,000.



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

HENRY FRANKLIN-BOUILLON

French Minister of Missions Abroad, who negotiated the pact with the Turkish Nationalist Government

territory, in order to meet the needs of the region.

ARTICLE 13—Settlers or semi-nomads possessing rights of pasturage or owning land on either side of the line fixed by Article 8 will remain in possession of these rights. To meet their cultivation needs they shall be permitted freely, and without paying any customs or pasturage dues, to transport from one side of this line to the other their cattle, inclusive of birth increments, their instruments, tools, seeds and other agricultural products, it being clearly understood that they shall be bound to pay all taxes and duties relative thereto in the region where they are domiciled.

TURKISH COVERING LETTER

Below is the covering letter from Yussuf Kemal Bey, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to M. Franklin-Bouillon, sent at

NEWS OF THE NATIONS

Recent events and developments of importance in all the larger countries of the world and most of the smaller ones, arranged alphabetically, with cross-references to longer articles—A birdseye view of the world's political and social progress

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 12, 1921]

AFGHANISTAN—A treaty was signed at Kabul, Nov. 22, in which Great Britain recognizes the full independence of Afghanistan, and which, by the promise of the Afghan Government not to receive Russian diplomats, practically repudiates the Soviet-Afghan treaty signed last Winter. On Nov. 30 Fakhri Pasha of the Angora Government arrived at Kabul with the draft of a Turkish Afghan treaty.

ARGENTINA

Representatives Mora and Araujo asked Congress for a law for the expropriation of the foreign packing houses, as a measure of protection in favor of the national meat interests, but the Argentine Rural Society sent in at the same time a report to the House of Representatives ascribing the critical condition of the meat industry to the world-wide depression following the artificial boom period of the war.

* * * The Government has decided on the acquisition of eight submarines of 800 tons; the contracts will in all likelihood be awarded to American firms. The preparation of the personnel has begun already in the Electrical Department at Puerto Militar (Bahia Blanca).

* * * The lawlessness in the Territory of Santa Cruz has been suppressed with a regiment of cavalry in the most dangerous zone. The uprising is believed to have been caused by the demoralization of the wool market.

* * * Immigrants are beginning to flow into Argentina in numbers not equaled since the period before the war. In one week of November there came through the Port of Buenos Aires 4,600 passengers from Europe, of which more than 3,500 were of the working class, mainly from Spain and Italy.

* * * Article 9 of the Budget for 1922, as passed in the Senate, carries an important provision declaring free of duty for three years the woolen cloth made in foreign countries with raw material imported from Argentina; such cloth must be made to the order of Argentine concerns, and these concerns, at the end of the three-year period, must have erected plants for the weaving of at least half a million pounds of wool a year.

* * * The Executive has sent out a circular to the Postmasters of the republic urging the utmost expedition and zeal in the distribution of the printed material for political propaganda which the several parties are sending out in view of the approaching general elections. The move is significant in the face of the bitter

political fight going on for and against the present Government. * * * M. T. Meadows, Chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce at Buenos Aires, signs a manifesto in which he expresses as his opinion that the American interests so far established in Argentina are in jeopardy through the apathy and carelessness of industrial and financial interests in the United States. He charges that American enterprise is surrendering to a baseless pessimism, without taking into consideration the immense resources of Argentina, and especially the fact that that country at present ranks fifth in the amount of its gold reserve.

ARMENIA

Conditions of hunger and disease prevail in Armenia, as in the other Caucasus republics. The Soviet grip continues strong, though the fighting Armenians—men like General Andranik and General Torcom—are still working abroad for deliverance from Turk and Russian alike.

A letter addressed by General Torcom to the League of Nations declares that Armenia will never rest until her account with Turkey is settled. Prominent Armenians of all countries have denounced the new Armenian massacres in Cilicia, and grave fears are entertained of the consequences of the withdrawal of French troops in accordance with the terms of France's treaty with Angora. [See text of treaty, Page 660.] It is estimated that the Turks have slain 25,000 Armenians in Cilicia since 1920. Near East Relief advices indicate that fully 50,000 Armenians at home are facing cold, starvation and disease this Winter.

* * * Meanwhile, by an agreement signed between the Nationalist Turkish Government at Angora, on the one hand, and the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and the Mountain Republic (Daghestan) at Kars, Armenia, on Oct. 13, a small autonomous State, to be known as the State of Nakhichevan, was set up on Armenian territory under the protection of Azerbaijan. By this agreement about half of Caucasian Armenia was given to the Turks, as well as large tracts of territory in Georgia. The treaty abolished all existing Caucasian treaties except the Russo-Turkish agreement concluded at Moscow in 1920. Its preamble recognized the rights of peoples to self-determination.

AUSTRALIA

Australia is about to extend her rule over the

New Hebrides, a chain of islands lying south-west of the Fijian and Samoan groups. Their joint administration by Great Britain and France under the agreement of 1906 has proved unsatisfactory, especially to the Australian Government, which was not represented at the Anglo-French conference on the subject or consulted in the negotiations. Among the original settlers were many freed or escaped convicts from Australia or New Caledonia. The Australian Parliament favors the purchase of the islands and offers £500,000 to be paid to Great Britain for them, the share belonging to France to be appropriated to the extinction of a portion of France's war debt to England. * * * Mark Sheldon, Australian Commissioner in the United States, left New York on Dec. 3 on his return home via Vancouver, declaring as he bade farewell that the chief problem in his country was one of immigration. He pointed out that the Australian Continent, one-tenth larger than the United States, had a population only about as great as that of New York City, while Asia, on the north, had a population of 750,000,000 of different race and color. The Australians naturally desired to keep their country for themselves. Mr. Sheldon emphasized the need of selective immigration. * * * Senator George F. Pearce, Australian Minister of Defense, who will temporarily fill Mr. Sheldon's place, discussing the administration of former German New Guinea, said that Asiatic immigration was prevented there, except for the occasional replacement of Japanese laborers already in the country. Shipping with Australia is treated as coastal. "Australia is the only continent peopled by one race," he added, "and must forever remain a white man's country." No Asiatic can now enter Australia, unless he is a student, merchant or traveler. There is no written law that discriminates against Asiatics, but there is an elastic educational test that may be stretched to exclude any, no matter how learned they may be.

AUSTRIA

The occupation of Burgenland by Austrian officials and troops began on Nov. 13, in accordance with the Agreement of Venice, concluded with Hungary through Italian mediation. The Hungarian gendarmerie and irregular bands evacuated the area formerly disputed. The districts where, under the agreement, a plebiscite should decide the sovereignty remained under the administration of Entente representatives. * * * Serious rioting took place in Vienna on Dec. 1, when thousands of unemployed attacked the Stock Exchange, a large number of shops and the fashionable hotels. Well-dressed people in the streets were ill-handled and robbed. The police were unable to cope with the emergency, and no resistance to the mob was attempted. Restaurants, stores and the lobbies of some of the leading hotels were plundered and utterly demolished. Several American and British visitors, among the latter Sir William Goodé, British Reparation Commissioner, were attacked in their apartments and robbed of all valuables,

including most of their clothing. The damage done by the riots is estimated at \$700,000, mounting to billions in Austrian crowns. The rioting was ended the next day by the advent of the Winter's first blizzard. * * * The American mission at Vienna has been transformed into a legation and Commissioner Frazier appointed Chargé d'Affaires. The United States Government has notified the Austrian Government of the acceptance of E. A. G. Prochnik as Austrian Chargé at Washington. * * * A treaty of commerce between Austria and Soviet Russia was signed on Dec. 8. Consular service between the two countries was resumed.

AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan, like the other Caucasus States, remains under Soviet control. In October patriotic forces were fighting to regain independence, while inside Baku the native organizations were passing resolutions condemning the severity of the Soviet rule. Azerbaijan, like the other Caucasus States, was suffering from famine and disease. Dr. Narimanov, President of the Baku Soviet, had antagonized the Moscow representatives by refusing to allow the Soviet to export the country's last food supplies to Russia to relieve the famine situation there. Concerts and other entertainments were organized in Baku, as well as at Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, the funds from which were applied to the relief of the famine situation. * * * The Soviet officials of Azerbaijan decided at the end of October to restore to their former owners certain factories and other property. Mills, cotton manufactories, fisheries and naphtha mines were included in this restitution. * * * It was announced on Nov. 13 that the Caucasus Commission at Constantinople, charged with the exchange of goods between Europe and the Caucasus, was to be continued under the leadership of M. Serebrovski, a Russian sent to replace the former Azerbaijan Minister, Prince Djevanchir, who had been assassinated. Although most of the Caucasus products came from Azerbaijan, no representatives of that country were included in this committee. * * * The treaty between the Turkish Nationalists and Azerbaijan, signed Oct. 13, placed the newly created Armenian State of Nakhitchevan under the protection of Azerbaijan. [See Armenia.]

BELGIUM

The Parliamentary elections were held on Nov. 20 and 28, under universal male suffrage, after a hard-fought campaign on the questions of language, national defense, and the reduction of the period of military service to six months. Returns for the Chamber of Deputies, elected directly, showed the new membership to be: Catholics 82, a gain of 9 over what they had in the Chamber recently dissolved; Liberals 33, a loss of 1; the Combatants 1, a loss of 1. The other parties were wiped out. Election to the Senate is partly direct, these candidates, 22

in all, being limited to ex-Ministers, ex-civil servants, secretaries of trade unions, and other categories specified in the Constitution of 1919. Some other Senators are elected by provincial councils, and the rest by co-optation in the Senate. To the new Senate were elected: Catholics 73, Socialists 52, and Liberals 28. In the old Senate, the Catholics had a majority of 13 over all. This time the Catholics were divided on the Flemish question. The twenty Senators chosen by co-optation in the Senate are from among the personages most eminent for intellectual, moral and economic services to the country. King Albert has requested M. de Jaspar, Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of M. Carton de Wiart, to form a new Cabinet, M. de Wiart having declined to continue as Premier.

BOLIVIA

The Bolivian Government is negotiating with the Stifel-Nicolaus Investment Company of Saint Louis and associated bankers a loan of \$25,000,000, with a view to stabilizing foreign exchange and to consolidating both the internal and the external debt. An advantageous settlement of its present indebtedness is offered to the Bolivian Treasury, by which it can refund its 9 and 10 per cent. bonds in a single type of more moderate interest. It is announced in this connection that Bolivia will employ, as in the instance of Peru, an American financial adviser to take care that the taxes and custom duties attached to the service of the foreign debt shall be promptly and fully collected. * * * The investigation ordered by the American Minister, Mr. Maginnis, has revealed that the death of the American citizen, Hart Mix, caused by a clash with the police in which two officers met death also, was due to the fact that the men entering Mr. Mix's house, searching for the hiding place of some robbers, were mistaken by him for bandits. The Government expressed its regrets to the American representative.

BRAZIL

The improvement in the export and import trade registered during the last few months has been checked, and a period of depression in exports has taken place, with larger but unsteady purchases abroad. This increase in Brazilian imports is due directly to the falling off of goods in the warehouses and in the market, after so many months of restricted foreign business. * * * The pronounced rapprochement between the Governments and peoples of Brazil and Paraguay is materializing in a series of conferences held lately by the Secretaries of State of both countries, in which practical measures, such as the speeding up of the construction of the railway from Santos to Asuncion, which will open to the Paraguayan capital a direct rail route to the Atlantic, have been readily agreed upon. Another measure recommended by the Brazilian Foreign Secretary, Dr. Azevedo-Marques, is the establishing of wireless communication between Rio de Janeiro and Asuncion of Paraguay. * * * The State of

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

THE ACT ISN'T GOING SO WELL

Rio Grande do Sul will invest the proceedings of the \$10,000,000 loan negotiated in the United States toward the improvement of public roads. Three contracts, totaling \$6,000,000, have been awarded by the Brazilian Government, one to an American company and the other two to English concerns, for irrigation works in the northeastern part of the country.

CANADA

By the Liberal landslide which characterized the Canadian general elections of Dec. 6, William Lyon Mackenzie King of North York, Ontario, who was made the Liberal standard-bearer when Sir Wilfrid Laurier died, was designated to succeed the defeated Arthur Meighen as Prime Minister, and to command the votes of the largest party in the new Parliament. Premier Meighen was defeated even in his home constituency, Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, and his protection policy was repudiated. Defeated also were ten members of his Cabinet—F. B. McCurdy, Minister of Public Works; E. K. Spinney, Minister without portfolio; L. P. Normand, President of the Privy Council; C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries; A. Fauteux, Solicitor General; L. G. Belley, Postmaster General; Rudolphe Monty, Secretary of State; Dr. Edwards, Minister of Immigration and Colonization; R. J. Manion, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. Figures available on Nov. 13 gave the Liberal Party 117 seats in the new Parliament, the Progressives 65, the Conservatives 51 (the party of the outgoing anti-reciprocity Ministry), and the Labor Party 2. For the first time there was full woman suffrage. The first woman to hold a seat in the Canadian House of Commons is Miss Agnes McPhail, Progress-

sive, elected from the Southeast Grey District of Ontario. The election is considered a victory for tariff reform, looking toward reciprocity with the United States. The Liberal and Progressive platforms were agreed upon reciprocity in natural products with the United States, and upon free trade with Great Britain for five years.

CANAL ZONE

Late returns of the Panama Canal show the enormous increase of traffic, which has raised the question of enlarging the canal or building a second waterway through Nicaragua. The most important trade route, considering total cargo both ways, was that between the Atlantic coast of the United States and the west coast of South America, but the heaviest one-way shipments were those from the Atlantic to the Far East. Commerce of the United States with Australasia is at the bottom of the list, that between Australasia and Europe being double the amount. In the first nine months of the calendar year cargoes totalling 7,912,737 tons passed through the canal, or more than 200,000 tons in excess of the total for any single war year. * * * A battleship of 80,000 tons, armored and armed to an extent never yet projected for any navy, could easily pass through the locks of the canal, according to a report issued by the Navy Department, thus showing that the size of the locks played no part in Secretary Hughes's proposal to the disarmament confer-

ence that capital ships in future be limited to 35,000 tons.

CHILE

The Chilean Government has announced its intention of calling for September, 1922, the fifth Pan-American Conference, which would have been held at Santiago seven years ago had not the great-war disturbed all international plans. * * * The press and the public have commented freely on the visit made to Santiago by the Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Buero, but no one seems in a position to say what really took place in the conferences between the Uruguayan Chancellor and the Chilean President and his Secretary of State. To a newspaper correspondent Dr. Buero declared that his visit to Santiago was made in the same spirit of Pan American co-operation which prompted similar personal calls on the part of the Brazilian and Argentinian Chancellors in former years. * * * The Antofagasta-Bolivia Railroad is laying a double track in certain sections of its lines, which will be of great benefit for this important artery of international communication. In other sections a third rail is being laid down to make the line available for wide-gauged traffic. * * * The great possibilities of the Chinese market, especially for the Chilean fertilizer, nitrate of soda, after the experiences of the last famine in Northern China, have resulted in the creation of a first-class Consulate in that country. * * *

[German Cartoon—By a Russian Artist]



GREETINGS FROM RUSSIA

"German workers, do not let yourselves be harnessed to this car!"

—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

There has arrived in Santiago the new Minister of Bolivia to Chile, the first appointment since the revolution that overthrew the Government of Dr. Gutierrez-Guerra. Dr. Macario Pinilla is one of the outstanding figures in Bolivian political life; on reaching Chile he expressed his confidence in the amicable settlement of disputed points. "Chile and Bolivia are mutual friends; they must be, they need to be," Dr. Pinilla said to an interviewer. * * * Chile addressed a note to Peru on Dec. 12 proposing that the plebiscite provided for under the Treaty of Ancon—to determine the sovereignty of Tacna and Arica—be immediately held. It was reported on Dec. 14 that Peruvian troops had crossed the Chilean frontier.

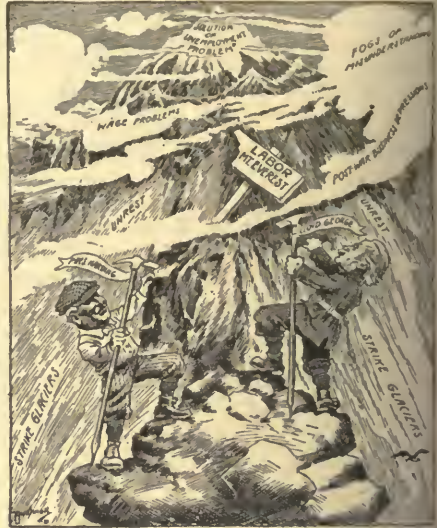
CUBA

President Zayas, in a special message to the Cuban Congress on Dec. 1, asked postponement of consideration of the Government program until the regular session next April. Revenues for the fiscal year 1922-23 are estimated at \$72,000,000 and expenditures at \$64,422,664. Estimates for the War and Navy Department were \$14,189,541, the largest item on the budget, with public instruction next at \$9,529,717. * * * Employers on Dec. 5 inaugurated the open-shop principle in wharfage and lighterage operations at Havana, despite the threat of the stevedores' union to strike. * * * The Cuban House of Representatives on Dec. 7 adopted a resolution declaring it would be "a friendly act if the United States would withdraw troops stationed in Cuban territory since the beginning of the war," and asking that negotiations be begun to effect the evacuation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The President of the republic ordered demobilization of the Czechoslovak Army on Nov. 10, as the emergency which had necessitated a war footing—the Hapsburg coup in Hungary—had passed. * * * Following the conclusion of a commercial treaty, a political agreement between Czechoslovakia and Poland has been signed at Prague by Premier Benes, in behalf of the former, and Foreign Minister Skirmunt in behalf of the latter State. It was stated officially that the treaty is directed against no third country, but is merely a sanction of the friendly relations existing between the contracting parties. It was emphasized, however, that the agreement expresses the joint determination of the Czechoslovak and Polish Republics to resist Hapsburg restoration anywhere and under any circumstances. * * * Discovery of a rich deposit of uranium ore, containing considerable radium, is reported in the mines at Jachymov, owned by the Czechoslovak Government. The supply of ore with radium contents is estimated to last twenty years. Rich seams of coal have been found at Velka Torona, in Slovakia. * * * Paul Orszagh Hviezdoslav, the greatest contemporary Slovak poet, died at the age of 72 years.

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

IT'S A HARD CLIMB TO REACH THE PEAK,
BUT THEY'RE MAKING PROGRESS

DENMARK

Owing to the high-handed treatment given by Kerzentseff to the Danish trade delegation that went to Stockholm in the middle of November, the negotiations for a Danish-Russian trade agreement failed. The Soviet claimed the right to appoint representatives in Denmark other than Russian subjects. This was taken to mean Danish Bolshevist leaders. The Soviet claim also for freedom to export Russian literature to Denmark smacked too much of a propaganda campaign to please Denmark: * * * King Christian X. received for an hour's audience the new American Minister, Dr. John D. Prince, when the latter called with his credentials, Nov. 23, and presented him to Queen Alexandra. * * * Denmark's foreign trade statistics show a credit balance. Imports declined for the first six months of 1921, while exports held their own, marking a considerable improvement over the first half of 1920.

ECUADOR

By parliamentary decree, sumptuous funeral ceremonies were held in Quito to honor the memory of General Eloy Alfaro, President of the republic, who was assassinated by a mob in January, 1910. Among the speakers at the burial in the metropolitan cemetery were President Dr. José Luis Tamayo and representatives of the House and the Senate. * * * The National Merchants' Association, recently formed, aims to create a single body of business men throughout the republic, with the purpose of protecting its associates in foreign trade, to

improve and modernize commercial legislation and to create in Guayaquil an information office for the service of persons or firms abroad interested in entering the Ecuadorian market. * * * A syndicate to take charge of the collection of taxes on brandy, salt, tobacco and other articles has been formed by private capitalists with the help of a limited company offering shares to the public. The initial capital is 3,000,000 pesos, of which 2,000,000 will be advanced to the State Treasury.

ENGLAND

The most engrossing developments of the month—the settlement of the Irish question and the progress of the disarmament conference at Washington—are treated at length elsewhere in these pages. * * * During a temporary absence of Mr. Lloyd George on Nov. 10, a labor deputation consisting of thirty Mayors, Alder-

men and Councillors of London boroughs made a bold though fruitless effort to interview him on the subject of relief for the unemployed, by forcing their way into his official residence at 10 Downing Street. In the same connection the revised registers of Employment Exchanges in the United Kingdom showed that on Nov. 4 there were approximately 1,722,800 persons wholly unemployed, as compared with 1,611,476 during the previous week. * * * An authority of forty years' standing on estate management declares that the recent turnover in the ownership of land in England has made its influence felt on glebe, or church land, especially in partly disposing of the vexed question of "ecclesiastical dilapidations." He estimates that from the first general return of glebes in the possession of parochial incumbents in 1887, when 9,500 livings reported 659,000 acres, some 326,300 have been sold, thus producing an income of £500,000 to the incumbents from first-class securities instead of land. The passage of ecclesiastical landed property into other hands is further marked by the announcement of the sale of 50,000 acres, of which by far the greater part has been purchased by the tenants.

[German Cartoon]



—Simplicissimus, Munich

BAVARIAN SEPARATISM

"Let him try! He will never get up there! The pole is too well greased!"

FINLAND

The relations between Finland and Soviet Russia, which have been tense for some time, reached a crisis in the last month, owing to the uprising of the Finnish population of Eastern Karelia, a province that was confirmed to Russia's possession and administration by the Finno-Russian Treaty, signed several months ago. The Finns denied all complicity with the new Government set up by the Karelians. [See Russia.] (The economic conference between all the Baltic States and Soviet Russia, held at Riga, is treated in the article on Latvia.)

FRANCE

Premier Briand, on his return to France from the Washington conference, received votes of confidence from both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 6. In both houses he found a number of interpellations awaiting him on the results of the conference, so far as they affected France. The interpellations in the House were put off because of the continuance of the budget debate. Only a small group in the Senate insisted on a public statement. In replying, the Premier pointed out that as the Washington conference had not yet ended, it was inadvisable to speak freely at that time. He had told the conference and the American people of the danger in which France still stood, and to the full extent of his power he had denounced the pernicious propaganda which was being carried on against France. M. Briand also referred to Germany's reparation payments, regarding which he showed optimism. France, he said, was in a solid position; the sums fixed upon by the Reparation Commission must be paid, and the German Government had been notified to put its finances in such order that they would be paid. He ended with an elo-

quent plea for the continuance of the Entente. The effect of his speech was seen in the subsequent votes of confidence passed by both houses, the Senate approving his policy by 249 votes against 12, the Chamber by 460 against 100. In each case the vote was conditioned on the acceptance by the Premier of a subsequent wide debate on foreign policy, following the conclusion of the 1922 budget discussions and the adoption of the resolutions of the Washington conference. * * * By a large majority vote the Chamber favored the calling up of the 1922 class of the army in May and November. It was explained that this would introduce the new system of eighteen months' service by 1923. The Chamber of Deputies adopted unanimously on Dec. 9 the measure providing for the building of three light cruisers, six destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and twelve submarines, during the period from 1922 to 1925, the total expense being estimated at 755,000,000 francs.

GEORGIA

The situation in Georgia, occupied by the Bolsheviks several months ago, is depicted as distressing by the exiled leaders of the dispossessed Government. The various appeals to the outside world emanating from Benjamin Tchikbicharil, former Mayor of Tiflis, from M. Noé Jordania, the former President, and from M. Tcheldze, President of the former Constituent Assembly, paint a sombre picture of famine, disease and oppression, of the stripping of the country by the Russian invaders, of wholesale imprisonments and executions. Their statements were confirmed by the story told by M. Louis Vernerey, a former member of the French Commercial Bureau in Russia, on his return to Paris in November. Executions by scores and hundreds were described by M. Vernerey, who escaped after three months' imprisonment. Many Georgians had fled before the Bolshevik invasion, he said. The sentiment of the remaining population was intensely hostile to the Soviet régime. He also stressed the wholesale requisitions of grain by the Bolsheviks, and the resulting distress among the people, already decimated by famine. * * * A dispatch from Constantinople to the Paris Temps, dated Nov. 18, described in detail the arrest by the Extraordinary Commission of a delegation of workmen which went to present a protest to the President of the Russian Revolutionary Committee, M. Mdivani, against the aggravation of the economic situation and the increased severity of the Soviet rule. They were imprisoned in the fortress of Metheki. The news of their arrest created a storm of resentment. All the workmen of Tiflis went out on strike and all public utilities were suspended. The students of Tiflis University joined the movement, to repress which the Bolshevik authorities made fully 2,000 arrests. The Russian press advocated that all those arrested and all persons convicted of opposing the Soviet rule be deported to Soviet Russia.

GERMANY

The final steps for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany were taken on Nov. 21, when the shields of the United States Consular offices were set up outside the buildings at Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Dresden, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Bremen, Coblenz, Cologne, Stettin, Breslau, Königsberg. Ellis Loring Dresel became Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, Arthur Hugh Frazier at Vienna. The following are the United States Consuls at the more important points: William Coffin, Berlin; William Dawson, Munich; Hernando de Soto, Leipzig; John E. Kahl, Breslau; Louis G. Dreyfus, Dresden; Francis R. Stewart, Bremen; E. C. A. Reed, Stettin; J. K. Suddle, Hamburg. * * * Baron Edmund von Thermann, the son of a judge in Saxony, arrived at Washington on Nov. 21 to open the German Embassy, where he will become counselor after the Ambassador is named. He is 37 years of age.

During November and December, Hugo Stinnes, the leading financier and industrialist of Germany, and Dr. Walter Rathenau, former Minister of Reconstruction in the German Cabinet, were in consultation at London with the British member of the Reparation Commission and other British authorities, to discuss some new adjustment for Germany's reparation payments. Later, Louis Loucheur, the French Minister of Reconstruction, discussed the question with the Chancellor of the British Exchequer. As a result, it was announced that a meeting would be held between Premier Lloyd George and Premier

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

YOU KNOW THAT FEELING

[German-Swiss Cartoon]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

FALLING EXCHANGE VALUE

"Only they who have fallen themselves can realize what I now suffer"

Briland with a view to arriving at a definite decision with regard to the payments. These negotiations caused wide fluctuations in the value of the German paper mark, which at one time fell as low as 300 marks to the dollar, but rose, within a few days after the conferences, to 160 to the dollar, and was fluctuating around that figure at the time these pages went to press.

The Berlin correspondent of The New York Times cabled on Dec. 11 that after visiting every part of Germany and studying all the information derived from official investigations, he could report that Germany's disarmament, under the military terms of the Versailles Treaty, was 97 per cent. complete as regards artillery, and 93 per cent. complete as regards machine guns and rifles. Factories known to have been engaged in manufacturing war materials were industrially disarmed at that date to a degree of 90 per cent. Dr. Wirth, the German Chancellor, in a public statement made Dec. 10, categorically denied the charges made in France that Germany had not disarmed. He stated that all free corps in Germany were dissolved, that all large armament was destroyed or surrendered, and that for Germany to dream of attacking any one would now be insane folly.

The Federal Council passed a measure raising all postal telegraph and telephone rates 2,000

per cent. above pre-war rates. Railroad rates, freight and passenger rates also will be raised 2,000 per cent. to 3,000 per cent. above pre-war charges. The National Economic Council approved a bill enabling the Government to impose compulsory credit on all Germany's trades and industries for the purpose of enabling the Government to use the so-called compulsory credit association as a collateral against foreign loans.

GUATEMALA

A revolution in Guatemala, which threatens to break up the Central American Union recently formed by Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, overthrew the Government of President Carlos Herrera in an early morning battle on Dec. 5. Twenty-five persons were killed, scores wounded, President Herrera and his Cabinet taken prisoners, and a provisional Government was proclaimed, with General Orellana as President. [Further details on page 615.]

HAITI

A special committee appointed by the United States Senate to investigate conditions in Haiti left Philadelphia on Nov. 24 for Port au Prince. Witnesses had previously been examined in Washington, among them General Eli K. Cole, who testified that under American occupation the Haitians enjoyed a peace and security never known before. In a given period of ten days there were fewer murders in Haiti than in the American State of Georgia, and it had never been necessary to detail marines to guard the mails. Martial law, General Cole said, would be necessary as long as American troops remained; the judiciary system was venal, and no white man could receive justice from the native courts. On the other hand, Max Zuckerman of Boston said that third-degree practices were inflicted on native prisoners, who were pelted with sandbags and lifted until their toes only touched the ground in order to wring from them information concerning bandits. P. M. Pilkington of New York, a technical expert, who spent two years in Haiti, described the torturing and eating of Private Lawrence and the killing and mutilation of Lieutenant Muth by bandits. The natives, he said, were in the main docile and amenable, and the higher classes were competent to conduct an independent Government. They objected to foreigners, fearing that the strangers would take control of the Government. Lack of security for foreign capital and failure of the United States to make the treaty effective were criticised by Mr. Pilkington.

HUNGARY

The crisis following the frustrated attempt of Charles Hapsburg to regain the Hungarian throne precipitated the resignation of Premier Count Bethlen and his Cabinet. However, pending the appointment of a new Ministry, the Bethlen Cabinet remained in office. After several weeks of uncertainty Count Bethlen obtained from the leaders of the National Assembly a

pledge of their support. This enabled him to remain at the helm. * * * Ex-King Charles and ex-Queen Zita arrived at their place of exile, Funchal, Madeira, on Nov. 19, on board the British cruiser Cardiff, accompanied by the Count and Countess Hunyadi. * * * At Budapest the idea prevailed that as the exile was enforced by Britain, the British Government should cover its costs. In consequence of the British refusal, the Hungarian Government has approached Austria and the three succession States with a request to contribute to the expenses, which amount to about \$50,000. * * * The Swiss Federal Government has granted permission to ex-Queen Zita to go to Switzerland for a limited period and attend the operation on her son Robert for appendicitis. * * * Thousands of posters and handbills demanding the election of Regent Horthy as King of Hungary have been distributed at Budapest by officers belonging to the military league known as the Move. * * * The National Assembly ratified the separate peace treaty between the United States and Hungary on Dec. 12.

ICELAND

Olafur Fridriksson, editor of the Bolshevik newspaper, Althydubladid, in Reykjavik, returned from Russia, Nov. 18, with a fourteen-year-old Russian boy. The authorities refused to admit the boy because his eyes were inflamed with trachoma, a contagious disease not found in Iceland before. Fridriksson ensconced himself with the boy and fifty followers in a house and defeated the Reykjavik police in a hand-to-hand fight. Minister of Justice Jon Magnússon canceled a trip to Denmark to confer with the King, and called a Cabinet meeting on this case. Bolshevism is reported not strong outside of Reykjavik. Fridriksson had made much trouble in Denmark, where he was a prominent Bolshevik leader.

INDIA

The outstanding feature of the month in India was the visit of the Prince of Wales to the far-flung Asiatic empire of his royal father. The Prince's arrival at Bombay on Friday, Nov. 17, was marked by impressive ceremonies of welcome, on the one hand, and by serious riotings in the native quarter, due to the incitement of Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the "non-co-operationists," on the other. The Prince, dressed in naval uniform, landed at the still unfinished gate of India on the Apollo Bunder. He was received by the highest officials of the Bombay municipality, and replied felicitously to the memorandum of welcome which was presented to him. He then read a message from his royal father, addressed to the princes and people of India. A great procession was subsequently formed, with which the Prince proceeded through five miles of brilliantly decorated streets to Government House on Malabar Point. The large and cheering crowds, made up of every caste and color, gave no hint of what was going on behind the scenes, namely, in the native

quarter. Gandhi had arrived in Bombay that day and had declared a "hartal," or strike, and had harangued the people. Though no disturbance marred the procession, serious rioting began in that quarter as the procession was passing on its way, and these riotings continued that day and the next. It was later estimated that fully 20,000 natives participated in the disorders. Tramways were stoned and burned, the police were assaulted, police posts attacked, constables killed, liquor shops looted and burned, British and Parsee men and women, returning from welcoming the Prince, were insulted and assaulted. Bitter fights were precipitated between the rioters and the military police, and also with the Anglo-Indian and Parsee elements. A number of lives were lost. On hearing the news Gandhi covered his face with his hands, and wept, admitting his inability to control the masses stirred up to resistance by his words, and declaring that his agony during the days just past had been indescribable. The Prince left Bombay for Poona on Nov. 20. On Nov. 23 he received a magnificent welcome from the Gaekwar of Baroda. His full itinerary included many cities of India. * * * The trial of the two Ali brothers, Gandhi's chief lieutenants, was concluded on Nov. 2. They were acquitted of treason, but received a sentence of two years' imprisonment for speeches inciting "public mischief." Other non-co-operationists were arrested and the non-co-operationist organization was outlawed, but Gandhi himself was not interfered with.

[American Cartoon.]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

A. D. 2,000

* * * The Moplah war in the Malabar district (Southeast India) was still going on in December. * * * The long-hoped-for treaty with Afghanistan was signed on Nov. 22. Its two main features were the exclusion of Bolshevik Consulates from the Afghan frontier and the omission of any mention of the subsidy which the Indian Government has paid the Afghans in the past. The clause excluding Bolshevik Consulates is a violation of the treaty already signed by the Amir with Soviet Russia.

IRELAND

A test of the British Government's Irish policy, as challenged by the opposition "die-hards," was made at the annual conference of the Unionist Party at Liverpool on Nov. 17, when a supporting amendment to a motion of want of confidence was carried by the overwhelming majority of 1,900 to 70. The triangular peace negotiations carried on in London between the British and Sinn Fein delegates and Premier Lloyd George and Ulster Premier Sir James Craig resulted in a memorable advance toward peace. Ulster, it is true, rejected all terms that were offered, but the Sinn Fein representatives came to a satisfactory agreement. Early in the morning a treaty was signed by which Southern Ireland was declared to be a Free State within the British Empire, on a Dominion basis. The treaty, which left Ulster outside its provisions to choose her own path, was subsequently denounced by Eamon de Valera as being "in violent conflict with the wishes of a majority of the Irish people." His action caused a breach among the Sinn Fein leaders. * * * Belfast was again the scene of riotous factional disorder, Nov. 20-26, during which period twenty-seven persons were killed and ninety-two wounded. The first important vote in the Ulster Lower House of Parliament took place on Dec. 1, when the Government accepted a majority vote of 20 to 11 on fixing ministerial salaries. [See article on Irish Free State.]

ITALY

The printers' strike in Rome ended on Nov. 14, after four days of more or less terrorism, in which six persons were killed and over 100 wounded. Regarding the various conflicts between the Communists and Fascisti the *Messaggero* sums up public opinion in these words: "A plague on both your houses." * * * The impending Russo-Italian treaty received a setback in its hitherto most favorable quarters when, on Nov. 15, the Executive Commission of the Moscow Third International denounced the recent Socialist Congress at Milan because it had failed to proscribe Turati and Serrati. * * * The Chamber opened on Nov. 24 with every appearance of a strengthened Bonomi Government. On the same day news came from Angora of a successful treaty concluded by Signor Tuoizzi with the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha similar to the treaty negotiated with Dekir Samy Bey at London last

Spring, but unratified at Angora. * * * On Nov. 25, the centenary of Manzoni's "I Promessi Sposi" was observed at Lugano. * * * Demonstrations were made before the French Embassy at Rome and the French consulates at Turin, Naples and other places (Nov. 25-28) on the receipt of news from the Washington Conference that Premier Briand had insulted the Italian Army—an insult to which Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, had failed to reply. The incident was denied by competent authority at Washington. The source of the story was a dispatch sent by Pertinax, correspondent at Washington of the *Echo de Paris*, to The Daily Telegraph of London, saying that in the private sitting of the Land Disarmament Committee, on Nov. 24, M. Briand had said: "As to the great army reduction of which you [Signor Schanzer] boast, is it not a fact that it was not brought about by law, but carried out as a result of the moral disintegration of the army? Do not make a merit of necessity."

JAPAN

By an imperial rescript issued on Nov. 24, Crown Prince Hirohito was designated Regent of Japan to take the place of his father, Emperor Yoshihito, incapacitated by long-continued illness. The rescript read thus: "We are unable to attend in person to the affairs of State, on account of protracted illness, and accordingly appoint Crown Prince Hirohito Regent with the approval of the Council of Princes, the imperial family and the Privy Councillors." Simultaneously a bulletin was issued attributing the Emperor's mental state to an affliction of his infancy. The Crown Prince, who now assumes the ruling power of Japan, is only 20 years of age. Born in April, 1901, he was proclaimed heir apparent in 1912, when his father acceded to the throne, and he was formally consecrated Crown Prince in 1916. In May, 1920, the illness of the Emperor had already become so grave that he relinquished some of his functions to the Crown Prince, who received foreign diplomats at important State functions. In the Spring of 1921 the Emperor broke an ancient Japanese tradition by sending the Crown Prince on a visit to Europe. On his return to Tokio, after seven months' absence, Hirohito was welcomed with enthusiastic popular acclaim—this being as much of a break in Japanese tradition as the Prince's tour of Europe. He issued a message to the nation, in which he told of the hospitality and honor shown him by Europe, and expressed his belief that his trip would be helpful to Japan. * * * Though the Japanese Government, now headed by Premier Takahashi, maintained silence regarding the negotiations at the Washington conference, both the Japanese press and prominent business men were discussing throughout November and December the announced slash of naval armaments as an accomplished fact, though two new warships were launched—the Kaga on Nov. 18 and the destroyer Hachisu on Dec. 9. * * * Premier Takahashi on Nov. 8 reported a deficit of 30,000,000 yen for the present fiscal year.

JUGOSLAVIA

After trying in vain for a month to reorganize his Cabinet, Premier Pashitch acknowledged his failure on Dec. 9, and King Alexander designated former Premier Davidovitch, leader of the Democratic Party, to assume the task.

LATVIA

The economic conference between Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the one hand, and the Soviet Government on the other, ended its long session at Riga, the capital of Latvia, in the first week of November. The basis for future agreements on transportation between these Baltic States and Russia was laid. It was also decided to establish at Riga a permanent economic bureau in which all the countries mentioned would be represented, whose duty it should be to study the financial problems which confront them all.

LITHUANIA

The long-protracted and bitter dispute between Lithuania and Poland over the Vilna territory was settled at last by the vote of the Polish Diet accepting the plan proposed by President Pilsudski on Nov. 16. The negotiations between the Lithuanian and Polish representatives at Brussels under the auspices of the League of Nations had failed anew, mainly because the Lithuanians insisted that any agreement must be preceded by the resignation of General Zeligowski, the irregular Polish commander, who many months ago seized Vilna and held it for Polish possession. The Polish President took up the matter personally, and elaborated a plan including the establishment of a Central Lithuanian State, the resignation of Zeligowski and the holding of elections in the disputed area. On encountering opposition by the "Annexationists" in the Diet, M. Pilsudski insisted that his resignation as Chief of State be accepted, and though he was persuaded to withdraw his resignation his uncompromising attitude did much to influence the favorable decision in the Diet, reached, it is true, only after an acrimonious and hostile debate. The Pilsudski plan in its broad lines follows the project favored by M. Paul Hymans, the representative of the League of Nations, whose proposals had been rejected at Brussels. The hostility of the Lithuanians to the League plan was evidenced by the attempt to assassinate the Lithuanian Premier, M. Galvanuskas, on Nov. 25. General Zeligowski withdrew from Vilna at the end of November, turning over the administration of the district to his provisional successor, Alexander Meysztowies, a native of Vilna, a man of moderate views and of great local influence. Before leaving Vilna, General Zeligowski delivered a farewell address, in which he pointed out the great benefits of his rule. M. Meysztowies in replying declared that the forthcoming elections would give the fullest expression to the national aspirations. The date set for the elections was Dec. 11. According to the census of 1919 the whole Vilna population numbered 732,000.

MESOPOTAMIA

On Nov. 18 the Council of the League of Nations, sitting in Paris, was formally notified of the conclusion of a treaty between the new monarchy of King Faisal [Iraq or Mesopotamia] and the British Empire. "Great Britain," said the document, "had been unable to resist the persistent solicitations on the part of the subjects of King Faisal for such a treaty."

MEXICO

General Obregon's first year as President of Mexico ended on Nov. 30 with rehabilitation in full swing. Peace reigns throughout the republic; public instruction is taking first place in the Government program under the new post of Secretary of Education; the railroads have been reorganized, port congestion is relieved and hundreds of thousands of acres of land have been expropriated from the large haciendas and given to the peasants. The army is being reduced to 50,000 men, and the soldiers are given opportunity to settle on reclaimed lands. President Obregon plans the construction of cheap homes for Mexico City workmen, to be sold on easy payments, and has enlisted the aid of General Goethals in the undertaking. * * * General Francisco R. Serrano was sworn in on Dec. 10 as Secretary of War, succeeding Enrique Estrada, who took the Agriculture portfolio, following the resignation of Antonio Villareal. * * * Spain, Holland, France, Great Britain and Italy, according to a dispatch from Mexico City, have accepted Mexico's invitation to appoint members of a mixed claims commission to assess damages to foreigners during the revolution. * * * The novel suggestion has been made to American oil men that they pay their taxes, now amounting to some 22,000,000 pesos, in Mexican Government bonds bought in New York, thus settling the tax question and reducing Mexico's debt at the same time. * * * A tax of 4 per cent. levied on one month's income to meet expenses incident to the Centennial celebration was very successful, yielding more than \$1,500,000, which covered the cost of the affair. * * * An event that shocked the religious sentiment of most Mexicans was the wrecking by a bomb on Nov. 14 of the famous shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint, which was the most richly adorned shrine in Mexico, if not in the world, being covered with pearls, diamonds and all kinds of jewels. The greater part of the altar was overthrown. A vast "pilgrimage of atonement" from Mexico City took place on Nov. 19.

NEW ZEALAND

Administration of former German Samoa by New Zealand is under consideration at Washington, owing to the new law passed by the nominated legislative council set up there, which provides for an additional tariff on foreign imports over and above those from New Zealand itself. The treaty of 1899 dividing the Samoan group between Germany, the United States and

Great Britain barred preferential treatment in the islands for commerce and shipment of each of the three powers. As one-third of the imports into mandated Samoa in 1919 was of American origin, the result has led to protests against New Zealand's action.

NICARAGUA

Sporadic outbreaks on the Honduran frontier of Nicaragua continued during November, the most important of which was an attack by revolutionaries on the town of Samotillo on the morning of Nov. 11, which was repulsed after an hour of hard fighting. * * * On Dec. 5 the Nicaraguan Government received a large consignment of arms and ammunition from the United States, bought to replace the very antiquated military equipment Nicaragua possessed. * * * A serious clash between American marines and civilians in Managua, similar to that of some months ago, occurred on Dec. 10. In breaking up the fight four policemen were killed and one wounded and two of the marines were wounded.

NORWAY

Norway's refusal to recognize the extension of Denmark's sovereignty to the whole of Greenland is causing considerable tension, because the shutting out of Norway's traditional hunting rights there would entail a loss of millions a year in whale, seal, walrus, polar bear, musk-oxen, bottlenose whale and white and blue foxes. * * * The Nobel Peace Prize for 1921 was awarded to Premier Hjalmar Branting of Sweden and Christian L. Lange of Norway, Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, at a representative assembly in Christiania on Dec. 10 in the presence of the Norwegian King and Cabinet. Premier Branting was not present, being represented by the Swedish Minister to Norway. The prize was presented by Councilor of State Loveland. * * * Great indignation was created in Norwegian labor circles by a demand from the executive of the Third International for the expulsion of seventy Norwegian trade union leaders, who, at the last labor congress in Christiania, voted against adherence to the Red International or for postponement of a decision. A Norwegian trade union delegation went to Moscow to try to settle the conflict. * * * The matriculation of Crown Prince Olaf as a student at the University of Christiania was made the occasion of an impressive ceremony in which the King and several Cabinet officers participated. * * * Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, head of the International Commission for Relief in Russia, was received by the Pope in November and thanked the Pontiff for his gift of 500,000 lire for use in the famine districts. Dr. Nansen explained its intended use in a plan to relieve the Russian children. * * * The Norsk Hydro-Elektrisk Kvaestofaktieselskab recently made the first offer from a foreign industrial corporation in the American market since the armistice, except French railroad securities. This Norwegian firm for manufacturing nitrates

by hydro-electricity offered an issue of 50,000,000 kroner fifty-year first mortgage 7 per cent. bonds. Organized in 1905, the company operates the largest hydro-electric plant in Norway under permanent Government grants.

PANAMA

A boycott has been instituted in Panama against West Indian labor and the unemployed are flocking back to the cities of Panama and Colon, where soup kitchens have been set up. The Panama Federation of Labor on Nov. 18 appointed a committee to negotiate with Great Britain for the return home of the Islanders.

PERU

Congress has passed a bill authorizing the Executive to contract a foreign loan of £700,000, giving as guarantee the oil export tax. * * * An English company has secured a concession for the construction of 1,500 miles of railroad, for which the necessary capital is being raised in London and other European places. * * * The merchandise left in customs warehouses is at present less than in former months. The pending collections are about \$5,000,000, but most of this sum is represented by goods already in the hands of the consignees.

POLAND

Diplomatic relations between Poland and Soviet Russia continue to be marked by respective charges and countercharges of support of hostile propaganda. The Warsaw Government on Nov. 2, in reply to a Soviet note received at the end of October, denied emphatically all complicity in the recent Ukrainian uprisings of which the Soviet complained, and charged that the Soviet was supporting armed invasions of the Polish frontier. * * * Poland on Nov. 8 sent a new note to Moscow, demanding that the terms of the Riga treaty be finally carried out. * * * Drastic anti-Communist legislation passed its first reading by the Sejm (Parliament) on Nov. 27. Every attempt against the Government under this new bill is to be punished by death; every preparation for such attempts by imprisonment for twenty years. * * * The Vilna controversy was finally settled on Nov. 16, when the Assembly adopted Premier Pilsudski's plan providing for the resignation of General Zeligowski and the incorporation of Vilna into a Middle Lithuanian State. Early in November M. Pilsudski handed in his resignation owing to opposition to this measure among the annexationist advocates in the Diet, and withdrew it only after earnest persuasions. [See Lithuania.] * * * Mr. Plucinski, the Polish diplomatic representative at Danzig, stated on Nov. 4 that the agreement signed Oct. 25 between Poland and the Free City of Danzig was being harmoniously and successfully applied. Goods between Poland and Danzig were circulating freely back and forth under a common customs régime. * * * It was announced from Katowice, Upper Silesia, on

Nov. 11, that local German papers were printing appeals to the German residents urging them to remain in the districts assigned to Poland by the League of Nations, supporting these appeals by quotations from the Polish Constitution guaranteeing the rights of minorities. The city officials had decided to retain their positions. The German Judges and judicial officials of Polish districts had been asked by the Polish Minister of Justice to apply to be retained in Polish service. * * * A treaty between Poland and Czechoslovakia was signed at Prague, Czechoslovakia, on Nov. 7. Each of the two nations guaranteed benevolent neutrality in case the other was attacked; Poland promised to refrain from interference in the case of Slovakia, and Czechoslovakia made a similar pledge in the case of Galicia, now administered by Poland.

PORTO RICO

Representatives of the Unionist Party, headed by the President of the Senate, Mr. Antonio R. Barcelo, arrived in Washington on Dec. 1 to demand the removal of the Governor of Porto Rico, E. Mont Reilly. Mr. Reilly had already reached Washington to consult President Harding and Secretary Weeks. [See details on Page 615.] Both Mr. Harding and Mr. Weeks were reported to be averse to considering the charges against Governor Reilly unless they were submitted in official form by the Porto Rican Legislature.

PORTUGAL

Ex-Emperor Charles of Hapsburg and his consort arrived at Funchal, Madeira, Nov. 19, on board the British cruiser Cardiff. They took up their residence at the Villa Victoria, an annex of Reid's Palace Hotel, on the cliff to the west of the town, and the next day attended mass at the Cathedral. The British Government having declined to pay any part of the Hapsburg's expenses at Madeira, the Council of Ambassadors has set his budget at \$50,000 and is trying to get the other allied and associated nations to pledge that amount.

RUMANIA

On Dec. 10, with a view to consolidating the Rumanian national debt, the holders of all bonds, all over the world, were requested to send in full information as to their holdings within thirty days from that date.

RUSSIA

Soviet Russia celebrated the fourth year of its existence with appropriate ceremonies on Nov. 7, 1921. * * * The Government continued its energetic campaign for staff and budget economy. Ration cards were abolished generally from Nov. 10. The Finance Committee adopted in November the pre-war gold ruble as the standard for future budgets and a system was devised to adjust this standard with the paper

ruble in an attempt to equalize Government salaries. * * * The new State Bank was opened in Moscow on Nov. 18. Exactly four years before (Nov. 18, 1918), the Bolsheviks had nationalized all Russian banks. The payment of interest on accounts, and the decision to make loans to corporations and individuals, marked a forward step to the new system of limited capitalism. * * * The Soviet Government was confronted through November and the first weeks of December with an Ukrainian uprising. Pitched battles were fought near Kiev. * * * Another uprising broke out at the beginning of November in Eastern Karelia, a region mainly populated by Finns, which was left under Russian administration by the terms of the Finno-Russian treaty. The Karelians set up and maintained through November an independent Government. A sharp note was sent by M. Tchitcherin to Finland on Dec. 5, demanding that the Finnish Government expel all Karelian plotters from its territory. * * * Foreign relations continued to be unsatisfactory. Lord Curzon on Nov. 15 replied to the Soviet note of Sept. 26 with a categorical denial that the British charges of anti-British propaganda in Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia were based on forgeries, as Tchitcherin had declared. * * * The Soviet Government's offer (Oct. 20) to recognize the former Russian debt under certain conditions made little headway. France on Nov. 9 sent a note to the British Government repeating her firm refusal to have any dealings with the Moscow Government until it ceased its attempts at foreign propaganda. * * * Marquis della Torretta, the Italian Foreign Minister, announced in the Italian Chamber on Dec. 5 that the proposed Italo-Russian trade agreement had failed because of the Soviet representatives' refusal to include pledges to refrain from propaganda and their insistence on the injection of political clauses.

SPAIN

The conflict continued between the military juntas at Madrid and the commanders in the field in Morocco, the latter objecting to occupation of positions on the new General Staff by members of the juntas. In retaliation, the juntas attempted to usurp power by creating a Committee of Defense. On Nov. 22 General Sanjurjo occupied the position of Rasmedura, the last refuge of the Moors in the Melilla zone. The release of the Spanish prisoners captured in July continued. General Berenguer, the High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, arrived in Madrid on Dec. 1 and began to consult with the War Ministry.

SWEDEN

Premier and Foreign Minister Hjalmar Branting received at Stockholm Nov. 17 a note from Soviet Foreign Minister Tchitcherin, through the Soviet trade representative, Kerzentseff, refusing to recognize the recent Geneva agreement (signed by ten powers Oct. 22) establishing the neutrality of the Aland Islands. The Aland

[English Cartoon]



—Whitehall Gazette, London

WHERE MARXISM IS SUPREME

question, wrote Tchitcherin, cannot be settled without consulting Russia, and Sweden's signature to this agreement is regarded as a hostile act, in violation of reciprocal agreements between Sweden and the Soviet. The unconscious jest in this message seemed changed to earnest on Dec. 7 by Tchitcherin's sharp, peremptory note to the Finnish Government demanding the liquidation of all Karelian insurgent organizations, the cessation of Finnish financial, military and moral support of "the muntineers" and expulsion from Finland of all Russian counter-revolutionists. Tchitcherin declared Finland's proposal on Dec. 1 to submit the Karelian question to the League of Nations an unfriendly act against Russian sovereignty. The reported dispatch of 15,000 picked Red troops to Petrozavodsk against the Karelian adventure was taken as indicating a determination to bring all Russo-Finnish disputes, including the Aland settlement, to an issue. * * * The Swedish Academy awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry for 1920 to Professor Walther Nernst of Berlin, inventor of poison gas and one of the signers of

the professorial manifesto of 1914 justifying the violation of Belgium. The Literary Prize for 1921 was bestowed on the French author, Anatole France. * * * Prince William of Sweden Nov. 18 wrote for The London Times an account of his recent Central African expedition, in which he collected for the National Museum at Stockholm about 1,000 mammals, 2,000 birds and between 5,000 and 6,000 insects. * * * Christine Nilsson, the operatic soprano, famous as the second Swedish nightingale, died Nov. 22 in Copenhagen at the age of 78.

TURKEY

The French evacuation of Cilicia began on Nov. 28, in accordance with the terms of the French-Angora Treaty. At once came news from Armenian and Greek sources of renewed atrocities on the part of the Turks, and news from Angora that the Nationalists expected to recruit 50,000 men from the evacuated region and replenish their munitions from the "dumps" abandoned by the French. Several notes were exchanged between Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay in regard to the treaty, while its ratification hung fire in the French Senate. * * * On Nov. 28 Sir Adam Block, chief Administrator of the Ottoman Public Debt, made his annual report showing that the net receipts for the last fiscal year had increased about \$9,000,000 over the previous year.

UNITED STATES

The chief interest in this country centred about the Disarmament Conference, which is treated in full elsewhere in these pages. Other matters of moment will be found recorded in the article entitled "The Month in the United States."

WEST INDIES (BRITISH)

The citizens of Kingston, Jamaica, have asked the home Government to transfer to Jamaica the body of an unknown Jamaican soldier for burial at the foot of a cenotaph erected in the public square of the city. * * * The Jamaican Government has authorized the expenditure of \$700,000 on a fifteen-mile extension of the Government railroad beyond Chapeltown, adding to the branch line feeding the main road, which crosses the island from Kingston on the south-east to Montego Bay on the northwest.

REPORT OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

Full text of the official report of General Wood and Governor Forbes regarding immediate independence for the people of the Philippine Islands—A careful study of conditions, resulting in a negative verdict

PRESIDENT WILSON'S message to Congress on Dec. 7, 1920, called attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands had "fulfilled the condition set by Congress precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands," and added: "It is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet." Because of conflicting evidence on the existing conditions in the islands, Congress failed to act on the recommendation. President Harding, with a view to getting more decisive evidence on one side or the other, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War on March 20, 1921, in which he recited the foregoing facts and continued: "I have, therefore, selected General Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to go to the Philippine Islands and to make there a study of the situation and to report thereon, in order that I may have a judgment on which I can base my action and my recommendations with a consciousness that I am dealing justly with the Philippine people and pursuing a policy which the American people will sanction and support." Secretary Weeks wrote to General Wood two days later, outlining the nature of his undertaking, and stating the crux of the problem in these words:

It is asserted with positiveness by persons who have had every reasonable opportunity to know the conditions whereof they speak that the Philippine Government is now in a position to warrant its total separation from the United States Government and that the Philippine people are in a position to continue to operate the Philippine Government without aid of any kind from the United States and that the Government so conducted would be one in which the American people could take pride because of the assistance heretofore given it.

All of this is quite as positively denied by other persons having similar opportunities to

study the situation and to know the exact conditions existing in the Philippine Islands.

Between these conflicting views you are to render judgment.

The decision of the question thus arising is of momentous importance, involving, as it may, the very life of the Philippine people as a people and the reputation and credit of our own country. * * * Certainly it would be a vain thing to turn the Philippine Islands over to the Philippine people without reasonable assurance that the resources of the islands would remain the heritage of the people of the islands. The pleasing of the Filipinos of this generation would be a minor satisfaction if it were believed that it would result in the bondage or destruction of the Philippine people for all time hereafter.

The report of the special commission thus created has now been made public, and because of its exhaustiveness and its importance it is presented in its entirety by CURRENT HISTORY. The final judgment of the investigators is that the time has not yet come for granting independence—that "it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands" at the present stage of their development toward stable self-government. Since the report was written General Wood has become Governor General of the Philippines, having assumed that office on Oct. 15, 1921. Mr. Forbes, the other member of the mission, was Governor General from 1909 to 1913. The complete personnel of the commission, whose report is here presented, was:

Maj. Gen. LEONARD WOOD, Chairman.
Hon. W. CAMERON FORBES.

ATTACHED

Colonel FRANK R. MCCOY, Chief of Staff.
RAY ATHERTON, Department of State.
Lieut. Col. GORDON JOHNSTON.
Major EDWARD BOWDITCH JR.
Lieut. Commander STEWART F. BRYANT.

Professor H. OTLEY BEYER, University of the Philippines.

Major ROBERT C. CANDEE, Aide-de-camp.

First Lieutenant OSBORNE C. WOOD, Aide-de-camp.

TEXT OF THE REPORT

The full text of the official report of this "Special Mission of Investigation to the Philippine Islands"—with the exception of the preliminary correspondence already summarized—is as follows:

The special mission, as above constituted, arrived in Manila on May 4, 1921. Attached to and assisting the mission was a representative of the State Department, Secretary of the Legation in Peking, who had also served for some years in the embassy in Japan and is generally familiar with international affairs in the Orient; a staff officer of the Admiral commanding the Asiatic Fleet, who had served some years in the Orient; and Spanish-speaking officers of the army experienced in Cuban, Philippine and foreign affairs generally, three of whom had had prior and long service in the islands, both in civil and military establishments, in executive and administrative work and as members of legislative councils. Two of these officers had also accompanied the Harbord mission to the Near East.

During the travels of the mission throughout the islands it was accompanied by an experienced correspondent of The Associated Press, a special correspondent of one of the leading American dailies committed to giving independence to the Philippine people; and, as the representative of the Philippine press, one of the editors of the leading Manila journals, who, during the insurrection against Spain and the United States, had been an officer in Aguinaldo's army.

The attached members of the mission and the correspondents represented a wide variety of opinions.

From the moment of its arrival in Manila, the mission received every assistance from the Acting Governor General, the commanding General, the Admiral, and their staffs; also from Americans throughout the islands; and from the Philippine people and their political leaders generally, many of whom gave the benefit of advice and suggestion in the most cordial and friendly spirit. Their assistance has been coupled with a sincere and charming hospitality which continued to the last moment of the mission's stay.

During these four months in the islands the routine of the mission consisted of periods of about a week in Manila, during which conferences were held with officials of the Central Government, with representative Americans, Filipinos, and foreigners of every walk of life. Investigations were undertaken looking to a thorough analysis of the Government and its activities, followed by periods of from two to four weeks of investigation in the provinces. During these trips forty-eight of the forty-nine

provinces into which the islands are divided were visited. The mission has aggregated eleven weeks of travel by sea, auto, horse and rail, and has held conferences in 449 cities and towns. All parts of the archipelago were visited, and your mission feels it has placed itself in intimate touch with the great mass of the Philippine people—Christian, Moro and pagan—and with practically all Americans and foreigners domiciled and doing business in the principal cities and towns of the islands.

Too often there has been a marked disinclination on the part of individuals, especially Filipinos not in sympathy with immediate or absolute independence, to state their opinion openly, for the reason that they feared loss of standing or persecution if they did so. Their fears were very genuine and, unhappily, there is evidence that their apprehensions were well grounded.

When practicable, important administrative investigations were made, with the knowledge and assistance of the Acting Governor General and his assistants. The mission and its attached members, however, personally visited administrative and judicial offices, the courts (including Justices of the Peace), schools, hospitals, jails, and other public institutions throughout the islands, and feel they have completed a thorough and careful survey of the Government, the people and their institutions. As a result, it has been able to form definite conclusions on the general subjects and upon the conduct of the Government.

The date of the arrival of the mission at the various towns and cities was made known well in advance, in order that there might be ample time for the preparation of petitions, memorials, and addresses. Almost without exception, the officials and people of the regions visited paid great attention to the reception of the mission. The roads and streets were decorated with arches, generally bearing the word "Welcome," followed by a statement that the people desired their independence.

The public assemblies to greet the mission and present addresses and memorials were usually of a size which indicated a keen interest in the question of independence. The people were attentive and quiet, but there was a lack, due in part to racial reserve, of that exuberant enthusiasm which so often marks the public discussion of questions of national import.

The proportion of speakers representing business and agriculture was relatively small. The majority were from the younger generation.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

In considering the question of granting independence to the Philippine Islands, it is of interest to note that they have always been a dependent group under the influence of a stronger power. It is appropriate to review briefly their history. Previous to 1400 the islands had been subject to Hindu-Malayan empires in Sumatra, Indo-China, and Borneo; at that date they ceased to form an integral part of the Javanese Majapahit Empire.

Shortly after 1400 Mohammedanism was introduced, but politically the islands were subject

to China during the reign of the ambitious Ming Emperors.

The first Europeans who visited the Philippines were Portuguese, about 1517, and Spaniards, in 1521. The century preceding the European discovery had been one of the most eventful periods in the history of the islands. In addition to the Chinese attempt at political as well as commercial domination, the Japanese entered the islands in the north and the Mohammedans of Brunel (Borneo) in the south. At the time the first permanent European colony under Spain was established, in 1565, all of the islands as far north as Manila were subject to Borneo and, it is said, paid tribute equal to about 1½ liters of gold per annum. While the Japanese and Chinese were also settled in Manila, the strongest Japanese influence was in the North of Luzon, from which they were driven by the Spaniards in 1582, with the conquest of their fortified trading stronghold in the Cagayan Valley.

The chief cause of Japanese interest in the islands was their search for rare pottery, gold and pearls.

The first permanent Spanish colony was founded in Cebu in 1565, and Manila was conquered in 1570. Spanish records state that in 1600 there were some 25,000 Chinese and 1,500 Japanese in Manila alone, but of these 2,300 Chinese were massacred in the year 1603 by the Spaniards, fearful of their numbers. There were three subsequent massacres of Chinese by the Spaniards for the same reason. During the next two decades the coastal regions of almost the entire archipelago were brought under Spanish control.

The Spanish Government of the Philippines was placed under the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) and all communications were through him. A Captain General was at the same time military commander and head of the Civil Government. The main purpose of the Spaniards in the Philippines was the search for treasure, commerce and the spread of Christianity; but they soon discovered that the amount of treasure obtainable in the islands was limited, and, although a constant expense to both the Governments of New Spain and Spain, they were retained to spread the Christian religion.

In 1592 the Shogun Hideyoshi of Japan demanded that the Spanish Government of the Philippine Islands pay annual tribute and acknowledge the sovereignty of Japan. The Spanish Government was loath to do this, but due to shortage of men and ships and lack of support from New Spain, was forced to acquiesce to the extent of paying tribute, which was actually paid on several occasions during a period of from fifteen to twenty years.

Spanish control continued in the Philippines until 1898, although the Portuguese, Dutch and British tried at various times to overthrow the Spanish power. All these efforts were unsuccessful, though the British captured Manila and ruled it for three years under Alexander Dalrymple, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

From these various partial conquests of the Philippine Islands there remains today a strong

influence on the native customs, language and religion—the Mohammedan religion, from Indian and Arabic sources, a dominant Chinese influence in commerce and trade, Christianity, Roman law, and many features of Occidental civilization from Spanish sources.

American control in the Philippines began during the war with Spain, but was not firmly established until 1900.

Racially, the mass of the Philippine population is of Malayan stock, though other types are to be found, especially among the 10 per cent. of non-Christians. Chinese and Spanish race mixtures are common among the wealthy and better educated classes, this mixture seeming to strengthen the native stock. The inhabitants of Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Formosa, and, to some measure, Indo-China (the Malay groups), are racially the most nearly related to the Filipinos.

Whatever may be said of Spain's methods (and too much is said without knowledge), the fact remains that she implanted the Christian religion and European ideas and methods of administration in these islands and laid the foundations which have been of far-reaching value in our work here. From a number of warring tribes, Spain succeeded in welding the Philippine people into a fairly homogeneous group, sufficiently allied in blood and physical characteristics to be capable of becoming a people with distinctive and uniform characteristics.

Spain did not, however, seriously undertake to give them a common language, and although most of the more progressive and intelligent people managed to learn Spanish, no effective effort was made to make it a common language for the different groups, who continue to this day speaking many distinct dialects. There are eight languages in the islands, each of which is used by not less than 500,000 people, and some seventy-odd more which are used by smaller groups. Some differences between these dialects are slight enough, so that people using different ones can make themselves understood, but many are so radically different that they are mutually unintelligible.

UNDER AMERICAN RULE

The United States obtained possession of the islands by conquest in 1898. The islands were formally transferred to the United States by Spain in the Treaty of Paris.

Almost immediately President McKinley announced that the Philippine Islands were not to be exploited for the aggrandizement of the American people:

"The Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us."

The twenty-three years of American occupation may be divided into the following four distinct periods:

First, the military period, from Aug. 13, 1898, to July 1, 1901. During this period the islands were under a military Governor, and the insurrection against the United States, headed by

General Aguinaldo, was being suppressed. United States troops went to the Philippines in large numbers, and the first problem confronting the Government was the establishment of public order.

In spite of the continuance of military operations, substantial beginnings were made in the establishment and maintenance of a Civil Government, particularly in establishing respect for the authority of the United States; in the opening of schools, in which the first teachers were noncommissioned officers of the army; in the establishment of the judiciary, and also in the matter of public health and public works. Organization Order No. 58 of 1900 of General Otis laid broad and secure foundations for the establishment of civil government.

Second, the organization period, from July 1, 1901, to Oct. 16, 1907, in which the sole legislative body of the islands was the Philippine Commission, appointed by the President of the United States. In this period much constructive work was done—the creation of a working Government was undertaken, a public school system organized, 5,000 schools were opened with 7,671 teachers and an enrolment of 400,000 children, about one-fifth of the children of school age in the Philippine Islands; a census taken, the judicial system organized and the procedure adopted, a currency system established, public works started on a systematic basis, health service reorganized and put in more effective condition, and in general the structure of Government built on secure foundations. Governors Taft and Wright, members of the original commission, were the Governors responsible for most of this work.

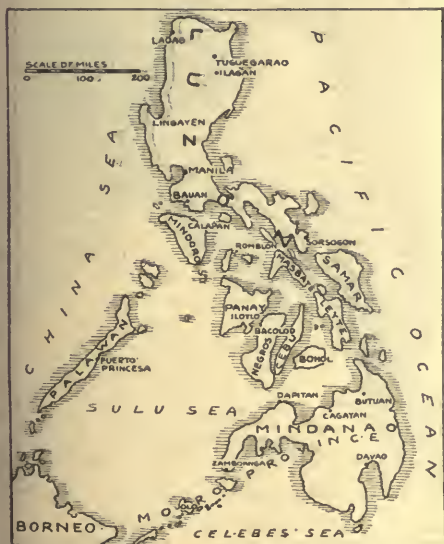
Third, the constructive period, from 1907 to 1913. In this period one-half the legislative powers, namely, the lower house, were turned over to a body of elected Filipinos, known as

the Philippine Assembly, the commission becoming the upper house, or Senate. This, with the proviso that in case of disagreement between the two bodies as to appropriations the previous appropriation bill should carry over. On three occasions the two houses failed to agree on the appropriation bill and the previous bill was carried over without any great injury accruing to the public service. During this period a broad and practical public works program was laid down and carried out, involving the construction of roads, bridges, port improvements, irrigation works, schoolhouses, markets and other public buildings. Artesian wells were driven. Practical and effective negotiations were entered into for the financing and construction of railroads and for encouraging inter-island transportation. Steamship subsidies were established, and a large number of lighthouses were built. A comprehensive cadastral survey of the islands was undertaken, and many other constructive enterprises, which met with the cordial appreciation of the Philippine people. In this period the University of the Philippines was founded, also many professional schools, and the policy of the general extension of education was continued.

Throughout these three periods the policy was established and followed of utilizing Filipinos in the Government, on the general principle of putting them in the less responsible positions—which was proper, as they had little experience—and carefully training them for promotion and working them up as rapidly as their efficiency and training proved, through protracted periods, justified. At the end of this period the proportion of Filipinos in the service was 72 per cent., as against 28 per cent. Americans.

Fourth, the period of Filipinization, 1914 to 1921. The first step taken by the new administration was to give the Filipinos a majority of the commission, or upper house. The second was the passage of what is now the fundamental law of the islands, known as the Jones bill, Sixty-fourth Congress, Act. 240, approved August, 1916. Under it the Christian and civilized provinces were permitted to elect a Senate and a House, and the Governor General authorized to appoint representatives for the non-Christian portions of the islands, the Legislature having legislative control over the whole archipelago. During this period the administration deliberately adopted the policy of getting rid of most of the Americans in the service, competent and otherwise, and made the service so unattractive that very few remained, until at this writing the percentage of Americans in the service is only 4 per cent., 96 per cent. being Filipinos. The orderly process of promotion of proved efficiency from the less important positions was changed to a hurried Filipinization, placing Filipinos in nearly all of the higher positions. Many, including some of those selected for Judges, were chosen apparently without due reference to their training or experience.

Great emphasis was laid during this period, particularly toward the end, on the extension of education, many new schools of all grades



SKETCH MAP OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

being established and the enrolment in the public schools being brought up to the present high figure of 945,000, or double what it had been at the beginning of the period, more children of school age finding an opportunity to go to school than ever before. There are also about 75,000 children in standard private schools, or a total of over 1,020,000 in school.

Further progress was made in public works, particularly public buildings, extensive boring of artesian wells, construction of new hospitals, &c.

The period was marked, however, by a deterioration in the quality of public service by the creation of top-heavy personnel, the too frequent placing of influence above efficiency, by the beginning of a political bureaucracy. In this period, taxation and expenditures were very greatly increased.

THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE

The Philippine people possess many fine and attractive qualities—dignity and self-respect, as shown by deportment, complete absence of beggars, personal neatness and cleanliness, courtesy and consideration to strangers and guests, boundless hospitality, willingness to do favors for those with whom they come in contact, which amounts almost to inability to say "No" to a friend. They are happy and care-free to an extent seldom found among other peoples, keen to own their land, strongly attached to their homes and their children, proud of and devoted to their beloved Philippines; they are free from worries arising from international difficulties and responsibilities, they are refined in manner, filled with racial pride, light-hearted and inclined to be improvident, as are all people who live in lands where nature does so much and people require so little. In many positions they have shown marked capacity and have done better than could reasonably be expected of an inexperienced and untried people. There are many holding high positions in the judicial, executive and educational departments who would be a credit to any Government. They are proud, as they well may be, of the advance they have made since the beginning of American control of the islands, for it can be safely stated that no people, under the friendly tutelage of another, have made so great a progress in so short a time; for twenty-three years is but a brief time in the development of a people.

They possess active minds, their children are bright and precocious and learn rapidly. The whole people have a consuming thirst for education, and, as is common among those who have had little opportunity and much hard work, there is a leaning toward the learned professions or occupations which do not involve severe manual labor, and a tendency to underestimate the importance of agriculture and the dignity of labor, and to overestimate the standing given by the learned professions.

Their support and aid in the building up of public education are beyond praise. They have sacrificed much that their children might be able to go to school, and the interests of an

entire family are often subordinated to sending the selected member to a higher school or university. Schoolhouses are often constructed by voluntary contributions of labor, money and material.

There is a serious lack of educated public opinion, for as yet the Philippine public is not a reading public, and there is a lack of a strong, independent press, although there has been a great advance in this respect during recent years, and there are several outstanding independent papers of great local influence. The daily total circulation of all island papers is a little less than 140,000, and in the remote provinces people still depend largely upon the circulation of news by word of mouth.

The Philippine people are readily led by those who understand them. They make brave soldiers, and under good leaders make excellent troops. Due to the lack of a well-informed public opinion they are easily swayed by their leaders.

As a result of generations of disregard for sanitary measures, they are still rather Oriental in their attitude toward disease and questions of public health and sanitation. This indifference is being rapidly corrected.

The Philippine woman is a strong and dominating influence in every home and community; she is modest, loyal and hard working, and while not much in evidence she is nevertheless always to be reckoned with. She is the strong conservative influence which keeps together the home, saves the money, and is the foundation of the success of many families. The establishment of large numbers of women's clubs, that concern themselves with hygiene and other



W. CAMERON FORBES

Former Governor General of the Philippines and member of Special Commission to the islands

civic matters, is a most encouraging sign of the times.

The mass of the Philippine people are and always have been agriculturists or fishermen. They have not in the past been active in commerce, except in small stores principally run

the building up of a common tongue with the resulting spirit of solidarity.

They possess marked ability in many fields of effort, an ability which is not as apparent as it would have been had not all the intricacies of a highly organized representative form of government been imposed upon them with too great rapidity.

The Philippine people represent the most advanced experiment in the establishment of representative government in the East, and in our endeavor to establish it, complete in all its details, we have in many instances, by the rapidity of our procedure, overtaxed the ability of the people to absorb, digest and make efficient practical use of what it has taken other nations generations to absorb and apply, and in our critical impatience we forget the centuries of struggle through which our own race passed before it attained well-balanced government.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

There has been a progressive transfer of government to the people of the islands, and at the present time it is very largely in their hands. So extensive has been the transfer that many fail to realize that there still continues in the islands a decisive American control that assures the maintenance of an orderly government, secure against disturbing influences from within and without.

In view of the difficult situation which existed after the insurrection, the difference in language, customs and in conceptions of citizenship obligation, the progress which has been made in the twenty-three years of

American occupation is extraordinary. It is a high tribute to Americans and Filipinos alike. The animosities have disappeared and there remains a spirit of confidence and friendliness for the American people throughout the archipelago. Much has been done, but much remains to be done.

While there has been retrogression in the efficiency of most departments of the Government during the past few years, we do not feel that the responsibility for this rests solely upon the Filipinos or that they should be unduly blamed for such failures as have occurred, as the ultimate responsibility for the selection of responsible officers and for the exercise of proper supervision was in the hands of the American Governor General, whose duty it was to exercise due care to appoint competent men at the heads of departments and bureaus, and, above all, to exercise proper supervision over them.

A reversal of policy is not needed now, but time for the Filipinos, under careful but friendly supervision, to absorb and master what is already in their hands. We must remember that the good qualities of the people, their enthusiasm



GENERAL LEONARD WOOD
*Newly appointed Governor General of the
Philippine Islands*

by the women, although at the present time they are taking a constantly increasing part in the commercial affairs of the islands.

They have, however, a long road to travel before the bulk of the business done in the islands is in their hands, as most of the retail stores, the import and export business, financial institutions and corporations are in the hands of Americans and foreigners, especially Chinese.

In many sections the heads of the old families, who were almost feudal in the extent and method of control, still exercise a dominant influence and are able to impose their will upon the people. Happily, as education progresses, this condition is steadily lessening.

The people are mostly Roman Catholic, with predominant Mohammedan groups in the southern islands, and various pagan groups, especially in Luzon, Mindanao and Palawan.

They are naturally an orderly and law-abiding people.

The numerous languages and dialects, the separation of the people into groups living on the islands, the lack of a press of wide circulation, printed in a common language, have delayed

and their determination cannot take the place of experience.

We must build up an informed public opinion, a stronger spirit of civic responsibility and a better appreciation of the obligations of citizenship. In this the island press has a vitally important part to play. The task of building up a truly representative form of government is made much easier by the fact that the great bulk of the people are Christians, that they are free from caste distinctions, that although Oriental in blood and birth they are essentially Western in religion, form of government and in ideals and aspirations, and that their true sympathies and affiliations lie with the great Christian nations.

The influence of our efforts to establish representative self-government in the Philippines extends far beyond the Philippines. It reaches every part of the Orient where free institutions and representative government are the dream of the people.

The great bulk of the Christian Filipinos have a very natural desire for independence; most of them desire independence under the protection of the United States; a very small percentage desire immediate independence with separation from the United States; a very substantial element is opposed to independence, especially at this time. The Moros are a unit against independence and are united for continuance of American control, and, in case of separation of the Philippines from the United States, desire their portion of the islands to be retained as American territory under American control. The pagans and non-Christians, constituting about 10 per cent. of the population, are for continued American control. They want peace and security. These the Americans have given them.

The Americans in the islands are practically a unit for the continuance of American control.

The people, as a whole, are appreciative of the peace and order which prevail throughout the islands. Many do not understand what independence means, or its responsibilities. They are living under the best conditions they have ever known. It is not generally realized that the American Government cannot be expected to assume responsibility for the results of internal disorders, particularly as they affect the nationals of other powers, the treatment of foreign capital, and external political relations, unless the United States retains a certain measure of control.

The great work which the American commercial population and organizations have done in the islands should not be overlooked. It has contributed greatly to the betterment of conditions. They have built up and established business and credit from one end of the islands to the other. They have always been a strong force in the support of law and order, intensely American in sentiment and, on the whole, a good, stabilizing and helpful influence. At times they have been impatient, and justly so, with the discouragement of American business efforts, and there have been conditions which have given rise to strained relations between

individual Americans and Filipinos, but never resulting in any disturbance of public order.

The American and foreign church missions and schools and charitable associations have done much to improve the spiritual and physical condition of the people and to build up better relations between the Filipinos and Americans.

Generally speaking, administrative departments of the Government are top-heavy in personnel and enmeshed in red tape. There is a vast amount of paper work. The methods of the administration are purely bureaucratic. There is a lack of supervision and personal contact.

The general administration of the Philippine Government in 1913, the period of greatest efficiency, was honest, highly efficient, and set a high standard of energy and morality. Inherited tendencies were being largely replaced by American ideals and efficiency throughout the Philippine personnel, but the time and opportunity were both too short to develop experienced leaders and direction in the new English-speaking and American-thinking generation. Both the political and administrative leaders were still Spanish-trained and Spanish-speaking, and many are so today.

It is the general opinion among Filipinos, Americans and foreigners that the public services are now in many particulars relatively inefficient; that there has occurred a slowing down in the dispatch of business, and a distinct relapse toward the standards and administrative habits of former days. This is due in part to bad example, to incompetent direction, to political infection of the services, and above all to lack of competent supervision and inspection. This has been brought about by surrendering, or failing to employ, the executive authority of the Governor General, and has resulted in undue interference and tacit usurpation by the political leaders of the general supervision and control of departments and bureaus of the Government vested by law in the Governor General.

Again, the Legislature has passed laws tending to demoralize and introduce into the civil service the infection of politics. For example, numerous exemptions from the requirements of the civil service and many provisions for temporary employment. All these defects can and—unless we fail to understand the spirit of the Legislature and the leaders—will be corrected in the islands.

CONSTABULARY AND PUBLIC ORDER

Public order is maintained principally by the constabulary, a force of approximately 5,800 officers and men. This organization has proved itself to be dependable and thoroughly efficient. In discipline, morale and appearance it still bears the strong impress of the carefully selected officers of the United States Army who organized, trained and developed it.

This force, excellent as it is, is designed to meet the police needs of the situation in time of peace. There is no adequate local organization of the Philippine people for defense of the islands against aggression. The American Gov-

ernment should at once take the necessary steps to organize, train and equip such a force.

There has been some lowering of standards, due principally to the sudden loss of the bulk of the experienced American officers who left the service to enter the World War, and to the effects of the low rate of pay which resulted in many leaving the service; also to the demoralizing, and at times intimidating, effect of political influence, the detached nature of the duties, infrequent inspections and frequent change of officers. But on the whole this force is a very satisfactory one and is entitled to great credit for its morale, efficiency and orderly and effective performance of duty.

Some years ago a school for constabulary officers was organized and has been in operation with excellent results. No men are now appointed to the constabulary who are not graduates of this school, where they have undergone a careful preparation and training. The quality of the graduates shows what can be accomplished when opportunity for careful training is offered.

Public order is excellent throughout the islands, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions, due principally to energetic and sometimes overzealous efforts to hasten the placing of Moro children, especially girls, in the public schools, and to the too sudden imposition upon the disarmed Mohammedans of what amounts to an absolute control by Christian Filipinos. It is also due in part to failure to give adequate representation in local governments to Moros.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Justice is administered in the Philippines by a Supreme Court, numerous Courts of First Instance, Justice of the Peace Courts and Municipal Courts.

The Supreme Court has the respect and confidence of the Philippine people. The other tribunals do not enjoy an equal degree of confidence. In the lower tribunals, generally speaking, the administration of justice is unsatisfactory, slow and halting, and there is a widespread feeling among the people that political, family and other influences have undue weight in determining issues.

During the existence of the Philippine Commission a most serious effort was made to secure the best available men for the bench, without regard to party affiliation, and the men appointed at that time as a rule enjoyed public confidence. In later years the same care has not been exercised.

There are pending in the courts of the islands today, in round numbers, approximately 50,000 cases, including some 8,000 probate and guardianship cases. Conditions are growing steadily worse, and with the present personnel and methods the dockets will never be cleared.

The condition of the Courts of First Instance is generally deplorable. The number of cases filed has steadily increased from year to year. The number of Judges has not been increased proportionately and is insufficient to dispose of, promptly and efficiently, the great volume

of business that they are called upon to transact. The abolition of the Court of Land Registration imposed a heavy additional burden upon these courts. The Judges in too many courts do not realize the necessity of reaching early and prompt decisions and are too ready to postpone hearings and trials. The clerks of the Courts of First Instance are too often without the necessary experience. There is no uniform system of filing records, and in many cases it is difficult for attorneys to secure records promptly.

The Justice of the Peace Courts are the weakest point in the judicial establishment. Complaints against these courts are numerous and come from all parts of the archipelago. Because of the remoteness and isolation of many of these tribunals, the want of frequent and effective supervision and inspection, many abuses are perpetrated.

A frequent cause of complaint is against extreme action taken under the provisions of Act 2098, which enables employers of labor to prosecute their laborers for breach of contract, and in many cases to hold them against their will, resulting in a kind of legalized peonage. The laborers are kept in debt through the advance of money and supplies, and in return for these advances agree to work for definite periods of time and under certain conditions. Under the provisions of this act, should they leave before completion of contract they can be arrested and tried for violation of contract and for obtaining money or supplies under false pretenses. During the fiscal year 1918 there was a total of 3,266 cases of this nature, of which 1,456 were convicted.

Another common cause of complaint is the initiation of proceedings resulting in the arrest and confinement at remote places of people who are unable to give bond. This procedure results often in holding of men in confinement for months before the cases are acted upon by the Judge of the Court of First Instance.

The present condition results first and above all from the lack of proper inspection and prompt corrective action where inefficiency and negligence have been shown, from an insufficient number of Judges, insufficient pay and no provisions for retirement, and in some instances to lack of careful selection.

Investigation also indicates very clearly that more care should be exercised in the selection of the fiscals, or prosecuting attorneys.

The unsatisfactory condition in the administration of justice can be corrected by the insular authorities. In doing this it is important to build up a strong public opinion in support of a prompt, effective and impartial administration of justice. Provisions should be made for the retirement of Judges of the Courts of First Instance and the entire administration of justice must be placed outside the scope of political and other improper influences. In brief, the independence and stability of the Judiciary must be established. It lies at the foundation of stable government.

Land Titles—The land title situation in the Philippines is a serious one. It should be the policy of the Government to push forward the

cadastral survey, determine titles to land as quickly as possible, and to facilitate in every possible manner the acquisition of titles by homesteaders. Nothing is more conducive to good government than having the people secure in the ownership of their land and possessing titles guaranteed by the Government, as is the practice under the Torrens system. Filipinos have the excellent trait of a strong, inherent desire to own their own land.

The present unfortunate land title situation is largely due to an inefficient administration of the Land Office in recent years and to an increase in the number of problems which the Government has to handle.

In 1913 the Insular Government had a thoroughly efficient and trained Bureau of Lands and an experienced and effective Court of Land Registration. Today the inefficiency of the Bureau of Lands is due, in part, to lack of experienced and trained personnel, to inefficient management and lack of funds. Delay in obtaining titles is also due to the abolition of the Court of Land Registration and to the transfer of land cases to the overloaded Courts of First Instance. This has resulted in an increase in the number of abuses by which the poor farmer and homesteader, ignorant of his rights, is forced off his land by his richer and unscrupulous neighbor. The situation tends to serious discontent and must be corrected.

An adequate Court of Land Registration should be re-established.

Prisons—The Insular Government maintains Bilibid Prison in Manila, the San Ramon Prison and Penal Colony combined near Zamboanga, the Iwahig Penal Colony near Puerto Princesa, on the island of Palawan; the Fort Mills Prison on Corregidor, and a prison at Bontok in the Mountain Province. The total number confined in all these prisons for 1920 was 5,254.

Bilibid is the receiving station and distributing point of all classes of criminals, except those of the Moro and Mountain Provinces, which are held at San Ramon and Bontok, respectively. Bilibid retains convicts which cannot be worked outside and about 1,500 employed in industrial work.

Treatment of Prisoners—Prisoners, upon arrival in any of these prisons, are physically examined, treated if found necessary, given a period of training in drill and exercise movements and, if possible, assigned to work for which preference is expressed. The time of confinement in prisons under guard is determined by character and length of sentence and expressed desire of prisoners, governed by good conduct. Incentives are provided for good conduct in additional privileges, gratuities, by

additional liberty through classification as "trusties" or penal colonists, and by automatic reduction of the time of sentence by reason of good behavior.

Prisoners of excellent conduct who have served one-fifth of their sentence at Bilibid may be sent to Iwahig, where five additional days per month are allowed for good time credit. Also, life sentence is commuted to thirty years in the cases of convicts who are sent to Iwahig, and good behavior counts so that life sentences can be served in about twenty-two years. Furthermore, at Iwahig, a convict by good conduct may become a settler and receive one-half of what he produces, the land, tools, animals, &c., being provided for him.

The Iwahig Penal Colony has a reservation of over 100,000 acres on the Island of Palawan. It is a partially self-governing community, founded originally somewhat upon the principle of the George Junior Republic. It has a popula-



MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD AND THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AT THEIR FIRST CONFERENCE IN THE MALACANANG PALACE, MANILA

tion of about 1,200 colonists and has proved to be a most successful institution, far advanced in reformatory methods and results, the number of convicts returned to prison after release from the colony being extremely small.

Provincial and Municipal Jails—Besides the above-mentioned prisons, most of the provincial and municipal jails in the islands were carefully

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

CONFIDENCE RATHER ONE-SIDED

inspected. The provincial jails were generally overcrowded. There are little or no provisions for taking care of the sick. Marked favoritism is often shown to prisoners with influential friends. The food is generally good and sufficient. The condition of the clothing is fair. The prison guards are poorly trained and poorly disciplined.

The municipal jails are, as a general rule, unsatisfactory. They are small, dark, usually poorly ventilated and insanitary. The municipal prisoners are poorly fed, poorly clad, and generally poorly cared for. In the great majority of municipal jails no proper provision is made for female prisoners.

It was observed generally throughout the islands that there were a great number of prisoners awaiting trial for unusually long periods.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The Filipinos are deeply interested in public education. Their enthusiasm, their keenness to secure education for their children is beyond praise. The progressive development of the school system has been phenomenal. Indeed, enthusiasm has at times outrun prudence, and expansion has taken place so rapidly that efficiency has not been able to keep pace. However, such mistakes as have been made have resulted from enthusiasm in a noble cause—the education of the youth of the islands.

The following gives an idea of the progress in this department:

ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS

	1898.	1902.	1907.	1914.	1920.
Pupils	4,504	*200,000	479,978	489,070	923,678
American teachers....	847	746	658	341	316
Filipino teachers ...	1,914	6,141	7,013	7,234	20,691

*Estimated.

In 1920 the public owned 4,063 and rented 1,163 school buildings.

The total expenditures for administration and instruction were about \$6,869,634.50 for 1920. The university had, in 1920, an enrolment of 4,130, with a teaching force of 379 professors and assistants. The cost of operation was \$755,926.57.

As before stated, the self-sacrifice of the parents has been great. They have willingly deprived themselves of many necessities in order that they might aid in the voluntary building of schools and properly equip their children for school attendance. The percentage of the population in the schools is about 10, an excellent showing for a new Government (the percentage for the United States for 1918 was 20.13). The amount spent for each pupil per year is \$9.50 (the United States annual expenditure is \$36.62). The amount per capita for the entire population of the Philippine Islands is \$0.86.

One of the most difficult problems has been to secure efficient teachers. No class of men and women should be selected with more care, for they are charged not only with the routine education of the children, but inevitably have a great influence in forming their ideas of citizenship obligation, respect for the law and the authorities, and as these teachers do their work today so will the Philippine people of tomorrow be. Too much care cannot be exercised in their selection, for only men and women of capacity can teach children to think straight and to apply their minds to the problems of life intelligently.

The exceedingly rapid expansion of the school system has made it difficult to secure a sufficient number of well-trained teachers. The great majority of the teachers in the primary schools are products of the intermediate schools and have had comparatively little experience in teaching, so that hand in hand with the education of the children has gone the effort to train and build up a competent teaching force.

One of the principal objects of the schools is to teach the children to speak English, so that it may become the language of the people. This is of vital importance, as it will form a bond of union for the numerous and more or less distinct language groups and establish a common medium of communication, which will make for efficiency in government and tend to build up a spirit of solidarity. It will also result in a more widely circulating press and the creation of an instructed public opinion, which is most important.

There is a great shortage of English-speaking teachers. Many of the Filipino teachers who

are instructing in English are themselves far from proficient in it. The force of American teachers is altogether too small and should be increased to approximately 1,000 if instruction in English is to be rapidly and successfully pushed forward.

In order to secure this number of American teachers, in addition to the present salary a liberal allowance will have to be made for transportation to and from the islands. And as a further measure toward better conditions for instruction in English, arrangements should be made for an intensive course in English for the native teachers during the Summer months.

The preparation of the Filipinos to meet the professional and scientific requirements of their country and for the advancement of general culture is in part provided for by the University of the Philippines, the high schools, and certain private schools and colleges.

At present these institutions are not turning out a sufficient number of graduates to meet the needs of the situation. The University of the Philippines is an institution full of promise, but is not meeting the demands upon it in as satisfactory a manner as could reasonably be expected. There is an urgent need of Americans of high standing and capacity for the heads of some departments. A general reorganization is urgently necessary and business management must be put on a sound basis. The medical school should be brought to a par with the best in America and the school of tropical medicine should be re-established and placed under the direction of a thoroughly competent personnel. This school, a few years ago, had attained the highest standing in the East. At present it is not in operation. The college of agriculture, veterinary college, and the college of education should be strengthened and enlarged to meet the needs of the people.

A serious effort has been made on the part of teachers and others to impress upon the children the dignity of labor, and we are glad to say that good progress has been made. There is a very general interest and strong development throughout the school system in the industrial and agricultural training adapted to the needs of the people, in the manual training for boys and domestic science and hygiene for girls. There is a strong interest in athletics throughout the public school system and in the university. This has received the strong encouragement of the Philippine people. Filipino athletes have on two occasions won the championship of the Orient in the Far Eastern Olympiad, in competition with athletes from Japan and China.

THE BUREAU OF SCIENCE

This was probably the most important single institution in the Philippines, and for years it rendered vitally important service not only to the Philippine Government in its various departments but also to the world at large through its scientific research work. It attained a position of great eminence and credit, but on account of the lack of adequate support and adequate personnel it does not occupy the posi-

tion today that it did from 1905 to 1915. Reorganization and the appointment of a personnel in all respects adequate are imperative. The work of this institution is of inestimable value to the Philippines and to the world at large.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

It can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that the average Filipino is born, lives and dies without medical attendance or nursing. There is a great lack of hospitals and dispensaries. The excellent health service which previously existed has become largely inert. Much of the personnel remains, but it has lost the zeal and vigor which formerly characterized it.

Appropriations for sanitary work and medicines, &c., are insufficient.

The statistics of the Philippine Health Service show that there has been a steady increase in recent years in the number of preventable diseases, especially typhoid, malaria, beriberi and tuberculosis. Before suggestions could be intelligently offered as to remedying this and other shortcomings in health administration, a detailed study would be necessary. It would seem, however, that as a basis for constructive action it is a sound assumption that the health activities and measures for medical relief which are so scattered throughout so many different agencies should be co-ordinated into one department and that an endeavor to correct conditions should work toward the realization of that object.

There is a great shortage of doctors, nurses and properly trained sanitary personnel. Outside of the largest towns hospitals are so few and far between that they are a negligible quantity. There are about 930 nurses for a population of ten and one-half million. The number of nurses should be greatly increased. They are most useful as sanitary inspectors and visiting nurses. Wherever you find good nurses you find lowered infant mortality and improved sanitary conditions.

Lepers—The Philippine Islands have the largest single leper colony in the world. About 5,000 lepers are assembled at Cullion. Excellent work has been done here, and the efforts and results are entitled to much credit; but much remains to be done. The lepers are too congested. There should be a segregation of those who have become negative and of the children who are born free from the disease. At present those whose reaction is negative are living with those who are in the active stage of the disease, and children who are born clean are associating with their leper parents and companions. The establishment of an isolation colony near the main colony is absolutely essential.

Recent discoveries render it almost certain that a large percentage of lepers can be cured. Although the remedy costs but little, funds have not been made available in sufficient amounts to provide this treatment for more than 10 per cent. of the lepers.

In brief, it can be stated that the original work done in Honolulu has now received confirmation to a degree that fully warrants intro-

ducing this treatment on a large scale in the Philippines and abandoning other treatments which have been advocated in the past, as there is every reason to believe that a large percentage of patients would soon recover to a point where they could be paroled. It is obvious that the dictates of humanity demand a very general use of the approved treatment. Furthermore, the economic advantage of relieving the Government from the care of large numbers of cases would be another desirable outcome. In a short time the money saved on patients discharged would more than provide funds for treating the entire number.

Insane—The care of the insane is medieval. Proper accommodations are entirely lacking. Steps should be taken to provide a proper establishment for the treatment of the insane. The present institution lacks practically every feature which should characterize a hospital for the insane and possesses many which can be guaranteed to turn those who are balancing between sanity and insanity in the wrong direction. There are no provisions for the separation of the violently insane from the incipient and mild cases, and conditions are, from the standpoint of proper treatment, exceedingly bad and should have been corrected long ago.

This is a matter which will be presented to the Legislature at the coming session, and, although funds may not be available for the construction of a fitting establishment, steps can be taken to improve greatly present conditions and lay the foundations for the future proper treatment.

Defectives—According to accepted ratios per thousand, there are in the Philippines between 5,000 and 10,000 defective children, deaf, dumb, or blind. So far the Government has provided for the care of only sixty-five of these defectives, to whom it owes a particular duty.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

We are pleased to note and record many evidences of progressive development in the islands, as indicated by the following significant figures:

The postal savings bank was started in 1907, and by 1913 it had 40,000 depositors and \$675,000 in deposits. In 1920 these had reached 107,000 depositors and \$1,612,500 in deposits.

The law requires that 1 per cent. of the gross business done in the islands be paid to the Government in the form of taxes. This business was computed to be \$200,000,000 a year in 1907, when the tax was first imposed, and had increased to \$325,000,000 in 1913. In 1920 it had reached the figure of \$863,000,000. For example, the number of cigars manufactured had increased from 300,000,000 to 500,000,000. The total resources of commercial banks rose from \$15,000,000 in 1906 to \$31,000,000 in 1913, and are now estimated to be \$215,000,000; this, however, includes the impaired resources of the Philippine National Bank without reduction for losses. Money orders sold increased from \$8,000,000 in 1913 to \$17,000,000 in 1920, and postage receipts from \$380,000 in 1913 to \$780,000 in 1920. Telegraph receipts show a similar increase. The

gross earnings of the Philippine Railway have risen from \$380,000 in 1913 to \$750,000 in 1920, and the Manila Railroad from \$2,400,000 in 1914 to \$5,900,000 in 1920; this latter, however, is partially to be explained by the sharp increase in the mileage and rates.

All this development is very gratifying and shows how rapidly the Philippine people respond to improved conditions of transportation, finance, public order and markets brought about since the American occupation. The sharpest advances have been made during the war, as was to be expected, as the Filipinos had few additional war burdens placed upon them and were able to take advantage of the great increase in prices, which brought them unexampled prosperity.

The country is suffering from the general world-wide depression at the present time; the prices of products have fallen off very sharply, but even this is less acute than in other countries.

It should be noted, however, that whatever mistakes have been made here, they have not been sufficient to arrest the steady rate of progress which these figures prove to have taken place. Attention is called to the Progress Barometer, which is among the exhibits.

Your mission has had a careful report prepared showing the gross trade of the Philippine Islands. From 1903 to 1909 the figure was almost stationary; 1909 was the year in which the Payne bill was passed, creating free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States. In the first three years of free trade the trade with all countries nearly doubled. Beginning with 1916 the trade went sharply upward, until in 1920 it reached the remarkable total of \$300,000,000. We have tried to get the figures of tonnage in order to analyze this growth in trade and see how much comes from increase in volume and how much is due to increase in price, but have not been able to get these figures.

An analysis of the trade shows that a curve indicating exports and imports from the United States follows almost the same lines as does that of total trade. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the business of the country, or \$200,000,000, is trade with the United States, and one-third with all other countries. The proportion of gross business done with the United States has been steadily increasing. As the trade with the United States pays no customs duties and the bulk of the increase has been in that class of trade, the result is that the total revenues of customs has shown a tendency to fall off, while the cost of collection shows a steady increase.

In case free trade were to be taken from the Philippine Islands, it is probable that the closing of the rich markets of the United States to the products of the Philippine Islands would be very sharply felt. While the Philippine Government would receive customs duties on an important part of their imports that now come in free of duty, it is believed that the first effect would be a very serious blow to trade. For example, in 1920 nearly \$40,000,000 of sugar was exported to the United States, the duty on which would

have been 6 or 8 per cent. of its value. It is problematical how well Philippine sugar could have stood the handicap of 8 per cent. added to the high cost of freight from the Philippines to the United States.

The value of cigars exported to the United States was \$10,500,000; the duty on these at the present rate would amount to about \$30,000,000, which would practically have closed the markets of the United States to these cigars. There would have been a similar closing of the United States markets to leaf tobacco. The Collector of Customs estimates that the trade which has grown up in Philippine embroidery now reaches \$7,500,000 a year and would have to pay a duty of \$4,500,000. As there is no other market for this product, he believes the industry would be practically ruined.*

In the main, it is believed that the loss in internal revenue, were the stimulus of free trade to business removed, would be greater than would be the increased collections of customs duties. In this connection it is interesting to note that the increase in internal revenue started when free trade was given and practically offset the drop in customs receipts at the time.

Further analysis of the customs shows the principal articles exported, measured in value, to have been: †Sugar, \$49,619,260; hemp, in which the Philippine Islands have a virtual monopoly, \$35,862,000; coconut oil, \$23,268,886.50; tobacco, \$19,927,391; embroideries, \$7,811,783.50; and copra, \$3,716,870.50.

FINANCES

In 1905 the Philippine Government was put on a thorough business basis. All services rendered by one branch of the Government to others were paid for, and the books were so kept that the appropriations did not include any interbureau or intergovernmental payments.

The law has since been changed, so that the present cost of Government includes items of receipts for services sometimes from other branches of the Government, which makes analysis difficult and exact comparison impossible. The books are so kept that these amounts cannot be ascertained without an analysis of governmental accounts involving prohibitive expense. So that the gross figures of receipts and expense are padded on both sides by intergovernmental charges, which are neither real receipts nor expenditures, as they are payments by the Government to itself. The accounts should be so kept that these fictitious entries would be eliminated, in order to enable the officers of the Government to get a true picture of Government costs.

Certain figures, however, stand out so boldly that they cannot be questioned. The rate of taxation has been sharply advanced. The insular gross revenues from taxation in 1913, before the Filipinos were given virtual control of their Government, were \$12,500,000, as op-

posed to \$28,000,000 in 1920, an increase of 124 per cent. Government expenditures show a still greater proportion of growth. This increase in the general cost of Government has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in efficiency; on the contrary, as has been noted elsewhere, there has been a general falling off in efficiency.

The per capita revenue from taxation has risen from \$1.32 in 1913 to \$2.50 in 1920. This compares with the per capita taxation of \$23.78 in Great Britain (1914-15), \$9.92 in the United States (1914-15), \$5.57 in Japan (1915-16), \$17.33 in the Argentine Republic (1915), and \$7.79 in Brazil (1915),* from which it will be seen that the Filipino bears a smaller burden of taxation than the natives in any of the above cited countries. One reason the burden of taxation is so light in the Philippine Islands is because the United States has borne all costs of military and naval establishments necessary for the defense of the islands, and other expenses incident to the maintenance of sovereignty, including international, diplomatic and consular representation.

Of the total revenues of \$40,500,000, †\$28,000,000 is from taxation and \$10,500,000 from operating income and commercial and industrial units; this does not include earnings of the railroad, which the Government owns through ownership of the stock.

An analysis of revenue derived from taxation shows the receipts from internal revenues to be \$18,500,000, or two-thirds of the total. This internal-revenue collection is nearly four times as heavy as the collections of 1913.

The bonded debt of the Philippine Islands in 1920 was \$22,000,000, for the redemption of which is laid aside nearly \$5,000,000, sinking fund, so the net liability is something less than \$17,500,000. A comparison with the debt of other countries demonstrates that the Philippine Islands has a smaller bonded debt than most countries, the per capita being \$1.81, compared with \$25 in Cuba, \$237.07 in the United States, \$853 in England, and \$1,159 in France. The Dutch East Indies with \$1.92, is the nearest, and China next with a little less than double that of the Philippine Islands.‡ It will be seen that the recent act of Congress increasing the authority of the Philippine Islands to borrow was highly conservative and could be safely further increased without jeopardizing the financial stability of the Government. Bonds and notes of the Philippine Islands have been made exempt from Federal taxation and are received on deposit as currency reserve. Although not directly guaranteed, it is understood that the credit of the United States Government is behind them; this accounts for the high market value of these bonds.

In addition to the insular revenues, there are

*These figures are taken from World Almanac, 1917, and are much heavier since the great war.

†The census shows "income" of \$49,000,000; this, however, is incorrect because analysis proves that it includes moneys derived from the sale of bonds.

‡Figures furnished by the Insular Auditor.

*See among exhibits indorsement, dated Sept. 9, 1921, of the Insular Collector of Customs.

†These figures are all for 1920 and are taken from the report of the Insular Collector of Customs.

the provincial and municipal revenues. These are expended by the provinces and municipalities by vote of their own local authority. An examination of their accounts shows a similar expansion, the receipts and expenditures having increased about 100 per cent. in the last eight years.

The Government expense and cost of materials have shown a tendency to a sharp increase. And it is to be noted that a number of new bureaus and offices have been created.

The Philippine National Bank—The story of the Philippine National Bank is one of the most unfortunate and darkest pages in Philippine history. This bank was started in 1916, and a law was passed* compelling all provincial and municipal Governments to deposit all their funds in it; and at the same time arrangements were made to transfer from other banks all Government funds there deposited, except trust funds, which were held on deposit in the United States; later the bank was put into a position to get control of these moneys and reserve funds. The sum of \$11,500,000, held for the conversion of currency, was transferred to the Philippine Islands, the bank making a large profit in exchange in doing so. Much of it was then loaned out to speculative concerns under circumstances which have led to grave doubt as to the good faith of the transactions.

A man presumed to be experienced in banking was brought from the United States and took the first Presidency, which he held a short time. An American inexperienced in banking was then put in charge, and upon his death a Filipino, also without banking experience, became President. The result of all this has been a series of banking losses, estimated by the Insular Auditor to reach the severe total of \$22,500,000. A partner of Messrs. Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants of New York, after a careful examination of the bank, makes the following comment:

"Our examination thus far reveals the fact that the bank has been operated during almost the entire period of its existence prior to the appointment of Mr. Wilson as manager in violation of every principle which prudence, intelligence, or even honesty, dictate."

As a result of these findings, charges have been filed against General Concepcion, a former President of the bank.

The Government became alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and secured the services of an experienced banking man from the United States, under whose conservative guidance the affairs of the bank are in a fair way to be put on a sound footing. But a large part of the assets of the bank have been loaned to concerns which will be unable to repay for many years—very largely in sugar centrals and coconut-oil factories. These loans were made in excessive amounts during the period of boom prices, and minimum precaution in regard to security was taken, with the result that the bank has allowed its reserves to run down much lower than required by law, is unable

to meet its current obligations, has had to ask other banks not to press for the redemption of its notes, and has further had to ask time for the payment of its obligations to many banks in Shanghai representing many countries, a list of which is among the exhibits, to whom it owes large sums of money as a result of losses incurred in speculation in exchange transactions.

Among the exhibits will be found a copy of the agreement entered into by the Insular Auditor and these banks for the settlement of these claims.

The bank also established branches and agencies throughout the Philippine Islands, in charge of which they placed untrained Filipinos, and without exception these branches have been mismanaged. Of the four branches in which examinations have been completed criminal charges have been preferred against the managers of each one.

These losses have seriously involved the Philippine Government, and the fact that it has not been able to meet its obligations has seriously impaired its credit. We have been informed by representatives of banks in North Borneo and Japan that they have received instructions not to honor the notes or drafts of the Philippine National Bank.

The currency resources have been depleted, the silver on deposit to redeem the currency has been pledged and used for other purposes. The fund for the maintenance of the parity of gold and silver is involved in these losses, with the result that instead of a metallic and cash basis for the currency, its principal support now is the pledge of the Philippine Government and the confidence on the part of the public that the United States will not permit these things to happen again. The currency is now practically a fiat currency.

In view of good earnings, moderate expenses, inherent wealth, a small public debt, and backed by the credit of the United States, the problem of rehabilitating the credit of the Philippine Islands should be an easy one. The lesson has been a bitter one for the Filipinos and the gravity of the mistake is generally appreciated.

One of the functions of the National Bank was to manage Government exchange. Having transferred all the funds usually available for exchange to Manila, and then loaned the money in such a way that it could not be recovered, the Government had to discontinue selling exchange. The rates ran up as high as 15 per cent., which was equivalent to a depreciation of the Philippine currency to almost that amount, which has resulted in great hardship to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, especially those engaged in business.

PUBLIC WORKS

In the matter of public works, your mission has to report both favorably and unfavorably.

The Government and people of the islands realize the value and necessity of public works, and large appropriations from current revenues have been made annually for such objects as the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation sys-

*See Section 19 of Act No. 2612 of the Philippine Legislature.

tems, schoolhouses, markets, port works and artesian wells, among others. We find, however, an undue increase in the cost of public works, due in many instances to construction by administration instead of by contract; this has necessitated the purchase of equipment ordinarily furnished by the contractors. There has also been a deterioration in the quality of the work performed in this service. We find also a lack of competent supervision.

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of excellent work done. The director, a Filipino, is a man of unusual capacity and foresight, and he impressed the members of the mission most favorably.

An important proportion of all revenues of the Government are allocated to public works. And in the opinion of this mission this proportion should be increased.

In the last three years there has been notable progress in construction of irrigation systems. Sixteen projects have been undertaken, involving an expenditure of \$1,640,158. Many more projects are under consideration and are awaiting the availability of funds. The completion of these projects is of the utmost importance and it is an encouraging sign of progress that they have advanced as far as they have.

There are now 2,920 miles of roads rated as first class in the islands and 7,500 permanent bridges and culverts. The standard, however, of first class roads has been lowered and we found many roads rated as first class which are not so. There was an earnest effort by the Government to hurry through deferred repairs in order to prepare the roads for inspection.

During the earlier periods a system of road construction and maintenance was adopted and consistently followed. All structures on first-class roads were reinforced concrete and a standard system of road construction was adopted suited to the traffic. Although the work progressed slowly, it was thoroughly well done, adequate provision being made for constant maintenance by a force of laborers. The result was that the road service reached a high degree of perfection, comparing favorably with the roads of any other country and much better than most roads in America. The terrific force of the torrential rainfall in the islands made these precautions necessary.

We have to record that this system has not been consistently maintained; the roads are falling into disrepair, some are impassable and the system of maintenance is carried on spasmodically. In certain districts money has been spent for new roads instead of keeping up the old ones, which is unwise. We regret to say that a tendency has crept in to revert to the old practice of building bridges and other structures of wood, and a uniform policy of permanent construction has not been maintained. This practice, in the long run, is poor economy.

Heavy trucks have been purchased for carrying passengers and freight, and regular routes have been established on the highways. These trucks, in some cases, are much heavier than the roads were designed to carry, and much of the deterioration noted is attributable to this fact. The maintenance service should be re-

stored to old standards and the weight of the loads regulated, and standard sections strengthened to enable the use of heavier vehicles.

The roads are, at first sight, good at the present time, but a great proportion of the wearing surface has been worn off.

In the Mountain Province and non-Christian provinces we find that the service of maintaining roads and trails has been neglected, but it is believed that a better organization can remedy these defects without the necessity of additional revenues.

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

The Government has entered into certain lines of business usually left to private initiative. Among these can be cited the national bank with disastrous results, the purchase of the Manila Railroad Company, now operated at a loss, also the National Development and National Coal Companies, &c. At the request of the mission a thorough examination of the Manila Railroad Company was made by competent army engineers, whose report is among the exhibits. In our judgment the Government should as far as possible get out of and keep out of business.

ELECTIONS

Enough elections have now been held to base an opinion upon results and to note the reaction of the Philippine people in the exercise of this important and fundamental function of a representative Government.

In June, 1919, the first general elections were held under the enlarged suffrage granted by the act of Aug. 29, 1916. The suffrage is still confined to men and to those who can read and write, who hold a certain amount of property or pay a certain tax, or to those who held offices under the Spanish régime.

Interest in the elections was widespread and election day passed without any serious disturbance. There was a general, quiet acceptance by the minority of the results of the popular vote, although the executive bureau was deluged with complaints. The courts, since that time, have been loaded with fraudulent election cases, the legal action on which has been so slow that there are still 350 cases pending in the courts, and many terms of office will be served out by people who were either fraudulently elected or, in some cases, appointed by executive order to the vacancies, even though their claims to the office had been pronounced by the courts as fraudulent. These were caused not only by the local conditions, but by an election law which is undoubtedly defective in providing sufficient safeguards for the ballot and which should be thoroughly revised.

Under the present election law officers known as Inspectors of Election are required to prepare the ballot for illiterate voters. This is a fruitful source of frauds. The election machinery is practically in the hands of the dominant parties and the Inspectors of Election are too often their tools.

It is surprising that the elections have been

conducted as well as they have been, in view of the fact that outside of the larger cities and principal towns the organization of society is very primitive and the people generally are unaware of their civil rights.

Such social organization as exists is of a patriarchal form, characterized by a strong clan feeling and centuries of leadership by a few influential individuals known as "caciques." The subservience of the people to these leaders has not yet been supplanted by new ideals that come with modern education or by a confirmed sense of duty to the State. Whenever representatives of two powerful family groups oppose one another at elections there is sure to be a bitter contest and an unwillingness on the part of the minority to accept the situation.

During the visit of the mission through the provinces the charges and countercharges of fraudulent practices have been widespread and intense. On the whole, this interest is indicative of a certain development of public opinion which will, in the end, right the wrongs.

As a rule, there is little evidence of a party system and program, and the elections are fought out upon personalities rather than on principles. The party in power is so entrenched that under the present election law it would be very difficult for the people to dislodge it if they wanted to change.

LEGISLATION

Legislation in which Filipinos have participated may be fairly divided into three periods:

First, 1907 to 1913. Under the strong, conservative influence of the commission with American majority, the legislation passed was constructive and good, with marked emphasis placed upon the improvement of education and construction of permanent improvements.

Second, 1913 to 1916. The restraining influence was withdrawn with the appearance of a Filipino majority on the commission. Good, constructive legislation was passed, but there were marked tendencies to inject politics into administration and to interfere with administrative efficiency. Injudicious economy by salary cutting and discouragement of Government personnel became marked. The tendency toward Government interference in business and racial Government paternalism began. The legislation also showed a conscious effort to encourage Filipino nationality and independence.*

Third, 1916 to 1921. With an elected House and Senate, the legislation in this period became increasingly radical in its paternalism and Government interference with business. Some constructive legislation was passed, but the trend was toward injection of politics into administration and encroachment of the legislative on the executive. Legislation affecting finance, banking, and currency has been radical and unwise.

Another tendency in recent legislation has been the deliberate effort to take away from the American officers of the Government supervision of the different branches of the Government and put it into the departments controlled by Filipinos. Act 2666 provides that the Secretaries of all departments must be Filipinos. This is discriminatory legislation against

Americans. The so-called Jones bill provides that the Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction must be an American, and it further provides that the health duties should be under this officer. The Philippine Legislature has endeavored to evade this by transferring the management of all Government hospitals to the Department of the Interior and by creating and placing in the same department a board of pharmaceutical officers, a board of optical examiners, &c.

The tendency which is found in all Legislatures of passing the bulk of the legislation in the last two days of the session is noted. By this means, much important legislation is passed with a rush. The forms of budget and currency appropriation bills are good.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous, and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

We find everywhere among the Christian Filipinos the desire for independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The non-Christians and Americans are for continuance of American control.

We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

We find that the Government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of Government.

We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employes are men of good character and ability, and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for Government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

*It is to be noted that franchises granted by the Government during this period contain the following clause:

"The concession of the privilege mentioned in the preceding section shall not take effect unless the grantee shall accept in writing and make part of this concession the following condition, to wit, 'That the grantee state in writing that it is informed of the message of the President of the United States addressed to the Filipino people and communicated to said people by the Governor General of the Philippine Islands on the sixth day of October, 1913, and of the reply message of the Philippine Assembly made in the name of the Filipino people and approved and sent on Oct. 16, 1913; that said grantee binds itself not to engage in or aid, by means of contributions in cash or otherwise, any propaganda directed against the policy of the Government of the United States outlined in such message of the President and the aspirations of the Filipino people set forth in said reply message of the Philippine Assembly, whether under the pretext of vested interests or under any other pretext, and that said grantee shall further bind itself to exact a similar engagement from its administrators, agents, successors and assigns.'"

We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the Government.

We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent Government.

We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating lack of experience and opportunity, especially lack of inspection.

We find that questions in regard to confirmation of appointments might at any time arise which would make a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate.

We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the last eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the Government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages.

In conclusion we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted the Governor General under act No. 240 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the Jones bill.

3. We recommend that in case of a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments that the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority.

LEONARD WOOD, *Chairman.*

W. CAMERON FORBES.

Oct. 8, 1921.

DATA ON THE PHILIPPINES

Population—Total population, 1903, 6,703,311; 1919, 10,956,730; Christian, 9,350,240; Mohammedan, 434,868; Pagan, 540,054; Buddhists, 25,568. Foreigners: Americans, 6,931; Spanish, 4,271; British, 1,202; Chinese, 55,212; Japanese, 12,636; all others, 2,893.

Physical—Number of islands, approximately, 3,000. Total area, 115,026 square miles. Total area under cultivation, 11,503 square miles (10 per cent.), valued at \$229,000,000. Total area of forest land of commercial value, 64,800 square miles, 99 per cent. of which belongs to the Government. Number of Provinces, 49. Number of municipalities, 829. Estimated total wealth of islands, \$5,500,000,000.

Educational—Number of public schools, 6,493. Total enrolment of pupils, including private schools, 1,020,000. Degree of literacy (about), 37 per cent. Having received primary instruction, 35.9 per cent.; having received secondary instruction, 0.89 per cent.; superior instruction, 0.13 per cent. Number of teachers (of whom 501 are American), 18,134. Number of colleges and universities, 17. Enrolment of students in University of Philippines, 4,130. Number of students attending colleges and schools in the United States, 2,700.

Health—

Year.	—Death Rate—		—Birth Rate—		Infant Death Rate—	
	Manila.	Prov.	Manila.	Prov.	Manila.	Prov.
1904.....	45.57	26.10	33.80	40.06	801.86	203.71
1913.....	22.58	18.85	33.25	39.34	322.46	147.55
1920.....	26.47	*20.73	43.54	*36.54	213.02	*160.71

*Estimated.

Financial—Income of Philippine Government, 1920, \$40,500,000. Tax per capita, \$3.96. Trade with United States (imports and exports), 1903, \$17,907,141; 1920, \$197,506,041. Persons rendering income-tax returns for 1920, 9,519 (Americans, 1,434; Chinese, 3,123; Filipinos, 3,667).

Newspapers—Daily newspapers published, 45; total circulation, 131,400. Weekly and other publications, 69; total circulation, 195,700.

Suffrage—Number of votes cast general election 1919, 672,122. Women do not have suffrage.

Languages—Number of distinct dialects spoken, 87. Number of ethnographic groups or tribes, 43.

Roads—Miles of railroad under operation, 755; miles of roads rated as first class, 2,920.

Historical—About 200-1325 A. D., dependency of various Hindu-Malayan empires in Indo-China, Sumatra, and Borneo; 1325-1405, subject to Javanese Empire of Madjapahit; 1405-1440, governed by China (under Ming Emperors); 1440-1565, Northern Luzon subject to Japan; from Manila south, subject to Mohammedan Borneo; 1565-1762, subject to Spain through Mexico (paid tribute to Japan 1592-1623 to avoid invasion by the Shogun Hideyoshi); 1762-1763, seized by England, but restored to Spain by the treaty ending the Seven Years' War; 1763-1898, subject to Spain (through Mexico until 1821 and to Spain direct after that date); 1898-1921, under American sovereignty; Military Government, 1898-1900; Philippine Commission, 1900-1907; Philippine Commission (American majority) and Assembly, 1907-1913; Philippine Commission (Filipino majority) and Assembly, 1913-1916; elected Assembly and Senate, under Jones bill, 1916-1921.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH AUSTRIA

Official text of the pact signed at Vienna, August 24, 1921, which restored friendly relations between the United States and Austria.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AUSTRIA:

Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its co-belligerents, entered into an armistice with Austria-Hungary on Nov. 3, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded;

Considering that the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy ceased to exist and was replaced in Austria by a republican Government;

Considering that the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye to which Austria is a party was signed on Sept. 10, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its Article 381, but has not been ratified by the United States;

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution approved by the President July 2, 1921 [here Articles 4 and 5 of that resolution are quoted];

Being desirous of establishing securely friendly relations between the two nations, have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America; Arthur Hugh Frazier; and the Federal President of the Republic of Austria, Johann Schober; who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.—Austria undertakes to accord to the United States and the United States shall have and enjoy all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States. The United States in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty, will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Austria under such provisions.

ARTICLE II.—With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Austria under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

1. That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States

which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Parts V., VI., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII. and XIV.

2. That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I. of that treaty nor by any provisions of that treaty including those mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

3. That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of Part II., Part III., Part IV. and Part XIII. of that treaty.

4. That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII. of that treaty and in any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

5. That the periods of time to which reference is made in Article 381 of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye shall run, with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States, from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE III.—The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the high contracting parties and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications which shall take place as soon as possible at Vienna.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate in Vienna, this 24th day of August, 1921.

ARTHUR HUGH FRAZIER.
SCHOBER.

[This treaty was duly ratified and the ratifications were exchanged at Vienna on Nov. 8, 1921. President Harding, on Nov. 17, 1921, issued a formal proclamation "that the war between the United States and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, which was declared by the said resolution of Dec. 7, 1917, to exist, terminated on July 2, 1921."]

THE WORLD'S MONEY PROBLEM

Growing conviction that the disturbed condition of trade can be cured only by concerted action through an international economic conference—Professor Cassel's illuminating study of the gold standard and how to get back to it

PROPOSALS for an international economic conference which have been tentatively put forth at the Conference for Limitation of Armament in Washington are in line with the recommendation of Professor Gustav Cassel, who holds the Chair of Economics at the University of Stockholm, and whom Lloyd George has called one of the most brilliant economists in the world. Professor Cassel, by invitation of the League of Nations, submitted a memorandum on the world's monetary problems for consideration of the International Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920, and recently completed a second memorandum, by invitation of the Assembly of the League of Nations, embodying his views on the new complications in international monetary affairs. After a broad survey of the situation Professor Cassel recorded the following conclusions:

"The monetary problem of the world is at present so interwoven with political difficulties that it is vain to expect a definite solution until the chief political prerequisites for stability in economic conditions have been realized.

"It is first of all necessary that the international indebtedness inherited from the war should be settled on such terms as satisfy the world that the debts can really be paid, and make it clear by what concrete means payment can be offered and accepted. It might therefore seem that the whole discussion of monetary questions has to be deferred to some future day. But this would be a grave mistake. The world's monetary problem involves great technical difficulties which require a thorough examination by experts and a certain amount of co-operation between the different nations.

"There are two principal questions to be settled: the question of the stabilization of the internal value of currency and the gold question. How these questions are related to one another, and to what extent they are of an international character, has been shown above. The elucidation of these questions not only is an indispensable condition of the establishment in the future of a sound basis for the world's economic life, but also would be of great immediate utility. The experience of the last year has shown conclusively that some guidance is needed amid the confusion into which the world's monetary affairs have fallen, continued inflation on one side and excessive deflation on the other having deprived the world of every sense of equilibrium in the purchasing power of money and in international exchange.

"The only way to secure such guidance within a reasonable time would seem to be to refer the whole problem, as far as it involves purely monetary questions, to a small committee of

experts. In view of the central position which the United States has come to occupy since the war in all monetary affairs, and particularly in connection with the gold market, the representation of the United States on such a committee is most important. In principle, however, the committee should not represent nationalities, but expert knowledge and experience.

"The creation of such a committee would be a sign of the willingness of the world to solve its monetary difficulties by mutual understanding and action along common lines. The feeling that the time is ripe for such action is visibly growing stronger day by day."

Professor Cassel's study, which is comprehensive and, in general, clearly presented, will be most sympathetically received by adherents of the quantity theory of money, for his conclusions and recommendations are based upon this theory—that the general price level must rise and fall according as there is excess or shortage of the purchasing medium. Accordingly, one of his suggestions is that there should be a more generous extension of credit on the part of the banks and a creation of money for the purpose of checking present deflation and substituting for it a "certain inflation." For, says he, when production has already been artificially stimulated by inflation, every further extension of credit and creation of money means a net increase in the nominal purchasing power of the community without any corresponding increase of the mass of commodities to be sold. The productive capacity of the community being already fully employed, there is no possibility for an extension of production. The fresh purchasing power created can therefore only find something to buy by causing a general rise of prices. Thus prices, as explained in the first memorandum, must rise.

Putting aside for the moment all question as to whether or not an increase of the purchasing medium is bound to be followed by a rising price level, it is pertinent to inquire just how credit might be expanded and money created. Certainly Professor Cassel does not mean to advocate that loans be made freely to undesirable and unworthy borrowers, yet it would seem that such as these would be most likely, if not almost the only class, to apply for loans, since the banks say that there is already plenty of credit for those who can make profitable use of it, and that restrictions have been clapped upon only those whose circumstances in the business world do not justify further extensions of their lines. The real problem seems to be not so much to increase the means of production as to find solvent purchasers for the goods which have been and now can be produced. An expan-

sion of loans and currency would not accomplish this.

Such statements as these give rise to speculation over the probable result of an acceptance of Professor Cassel's dicta, although the subscriber to the quantity theory of money must find in the survey a logical presentation of the case. Professor Cassel begins with the assertion that the collapse of prices which began in May of 1920, and which has been accompanied by a tremendous falling off of business, unemployment and uncertainty of exchanges, warrants a critical study of the whole policy of inflation. He cites the United States as the most outstanding example among nations of the effects of a policy of deflation persistently carried out, and asserts that these effects have been "rather pernicious" upon the United States in checking production, creating "frozen credit" and threatening the liquidity and even the solvency of smaller banks, and upon other nations by driving them to proceed further along the path of deflation than they might have deemed wise or expedient had not the constantly rising purchasing power of the dollar kept them hard put to maintain their exchanges at a steady level.

At the outset Professor Cassel's adherence to the quantity theory seems to lead him into difficulties, for, after stating definitely that "a fall in the general level of prices is always essentially a monetary phenomenon," and "in the preceding period of rising prices the stock of money generally grew in about the same proportion as the price level rose," he is compelled to note that "the subsequent fall of prices has, however, not been followed by a corresponding reduction of the means of payment." He offers the explanation, which many will regard as inadequate, that the anomaly may be due to two causes, one the hoarding of money, and the other the faulty testimony of price index numbers which reflect, in many instances, not true wholesale prices, but bankruptcy prices of demoralized markets, and so give no trustworthy representation of the actual situation in regard to prices. "According," says the professor, "if the present index numbers of wholesale prices give a somewhat exaggerated idea of the fall in the general level of prices, it is natural enough that the stock of money should not have been reduced in the same proportion as these figures indicate."

If the latter explanation be accepted, however, it is hard to see why Professor Cassel has not let himself in for another, though a minor, difficulty. He defines deflation as "a process by which the internal value of the monetary unit is increased," and, of course, prices are lowered. If, then, our index numbers are untrustworthy and exaggerate the fall in prices, it seems evident that deflation has not yet reached the degree which Professor Cassel accepts as the premise of his study.

No one, however, will quarrel with Professor Cassel's opinion that deflation, whatever its degree, has progressed far enough to warrant a study of its effects, and these he finds to be the same for other countries as he has stated them to be for the United States, differences

being accounted for by the degree to which the policy has been enforced. And here again there will be those who will differ with the professor. He asserts:

"The downward movement of prices has not, as is sometimes assumed, been merely a spontaneous result of forces beyond our control. It is essentially the result of a policy deliberately framed with a view to bringing down prices and giving a higher value to the monetary unit."

The merchant who has seen the stock on his shelves go begging at successively reduced prices will be much more inclined to believe that his misfortune has been the result of crowd psychology, the belief that, since prices are falling, they will fall more yet, rather than that any controlled policy directed the actions of his one-time customers.

Internationally Professor Cassel finds that the effects of deflation have been little less serious than upon domestic trade. Of this he says:

"The real disturbance of international trade arises in connection with the movements of the internal values of the different monetary standards. The general uncertainty as to the future of all exchanges caused by these movements is most detrimental to all regular business. The alteration of the rates of exchange, which a process of deflation in one country can bring about in the space of time required for the production in that country of certain commodities for export, may easily mount to such a reduction in the exchange value of the foreign money for which the commodities are sold that the whole transaction becomes a failure from a commercial point of view. True, the money of his own country which the producer receives in exchange has, in the meantime, acquired a correspondingly higher value. But that is generally of no advantage for the producer, who, as a rule, uses this money to pay back debts incurred during the process of production.

"This analysis shows that the real difficulty is, in principle, the same as the difficulty experienced in production for the home market where deflation, by producing a continuous fall of prices, acts as a great drawback to all forms of production that require more than a very short time."

Professor Cassel directs attention to the added burden of the public debt which results from a rise in the value of the purchasing medium, and asserts that stability, no matter at what level, is more to be desired than the present movement of exchanges. He concedes that the desire to restore the old gold standard "is a general and very powerful motive for deflation. This desire involves two different aims. First, it is felt that there is no way out of the present paper money muddle other than the re-establishment of the gold standard. Secondly, it is believed, often without much criticism, that this standard must necessarily be the old gold standard.

"As to the first, it is possibly true that the desire to revert to gold is so general and so strong that every effort, however well founded theoretically, to build up a sound system of money on scientifically regulated paper standards would prove, for the present at least, to be

a failure. But even if this is conceded, it does not by any means follow that the new gold standard must be founded on the same parity with gold as the pre-war standard."

Professor Cassel sees the value of gold practically determined by the value of the dollar, because of the peculiar situation of the market as a result of post-war conditions, and he despairs of the various nations getting back to the old gold standard, certainly within any measurable time, and not, at any rate, until a real stability of the gold market can be obtained. But this, he says, can never be until the gold standard has been restored in several countries and actual gold payments have been resumed in a considerable part of the world. The true basis of a trustworthy gold market "can only be a world-wide international trade carried on on a gold basis. On the other hand, such a restoration of the gold standard is only possible on the condition that the gold market has already acquired some stability. The only way to a solution of a problem which presents such complications seems to lie in a mutual co-operation of the nations, with a view of securing that agreement in policy and that unity of effort which alone promise success where isolated action would necessarily fail. A rational settlement of the question of war debts and their payment is of course a *sine qua non* if any effort to restore stability and reliability to the world's monetary machinery is to be successful. But the co-operation here suggested would be specifically directed at an arrangement with regard to the way in which this machinery should be connected with gold."

Professor Cassel cites the fact that the supply of gold has become insufficient to keep pace with the rate of economic progress "which we used to regard as normal before the war. Assuming that the world is not going to give up this rate of progress, a general restoration of the gold standard, with the consequent progressive development of the monetary demand for

gold, would inevitably result in an increasing scarcity of gold and a continuous rise in its value. This would mean that the world condemned itself, for an unlimited future, to a slow but progressive process of deflation with all its evil effects on enterprise and production as well as on public finance. The program suggested in the first memorandum of a progressive reduction in the monetary demand for gold is, under such circumstances, of very practical importance. In fact, the only reasonable alternative to such a program is the immediate and definite abandonment of the use of gold as a monetary standard."

Accordingly Professor Cassel proposes the fixing of a stable internal value to the monetary standards of different countries, and suggests that the authorities must determine the level at which they will try to stabilize prices, make their determination and their plan public, and adhere rigidly to it, though it will require alternating periods of deflation and inflation, making it essential that the public should be assured of the unity of purpose in the changing phases of action and in the seemingly opposite measures applied.

Professor Cassel acknowledges the difficulties in choosing a level, and suggests that a readjustment of wages will be necessary, since their relative position in different fields of endeavor is not now compatible with a true economic equilibrium. With the nominal level of wages agreed on, the general price level should be fixed at a point where an equilibrium between the price of products and the cost of their production is established with the least disturbance.

The disturbing effects of international war debts and indemnities are recognized by Professor Cassel, who is frankly pessimistic over the outlook in Germany, and feels that among the Allies there must be some reduction of debts if the world is ever to return to anything approaching what was once called "normal."

CHILE MAKES ADVANCES TO PERU

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile on Dec. 12, 1921, addressed a note to the Peruvian Foreign Office in which was expressed the intention of the Chilean Government to open immediate negotiations with Peru, with the purpose of reaching an agreement on the terms of the additional protocol contemplated in Clause 3 of the Treaty of Ancon, and by which the plebiscite destined to determine the final nationality of Tacna and Arica should be governed.

The Chilean note proposes as a workable basis the very terms advanced by Peru itself during the negotiations of 1912, terms which would have had a chance to succeed at that time had not the Billinghurst Government collapsed in Peru. Should these bases be acceptable to the present Peruvian Government, the plebiscite will be carried out in accordance with the following terms:

1. The plebiscite shall be held under the direction of a commission that shall proceed by majority vote, and shall be composed of five delegates, to wit: Two Chileans, to be appointed by Chile; two Peruvians, to be appointed by Peru, and the President of the Supreme Court of Justice of Chile, who shall preside.
2. Native-born persons in Tacna and Arica, and Chileans and Peruvians who shall have resided three years in the territory, shall vote.
3. All voters must be able to read and write.

The date for the plebiscite was fixed, according to that plan, for the year 1933, but in the present note Chile offers to agree to a nearer date, in fact to effect it "as soon as possible," so as to abolish a cause of international friction and anxiety for the whole of the continent. The Chilean Government is willing to welcome any suggestion on the part of Peru for the purpose of giving the act the highest measure of solemnity and correctness.

PROGRESS OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

How the British plea to abolish submarines was defeated by France and other nations—Passage of American resolutions curbing submarine methods—No limit placed on aircraft—Poison gas prohibited by a resolution unanimously adopted—Agreement on Chinese tariff—Solving the Shantung controversy

[PERIOD FROM DEC. 20, 1921, TO JAN. 18, 1922]

THE Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament bent its chief efforts during the month under review to the limitation of the submarine and other auxiliary craft, including airplane carriers. The British delegation, through Lord Lee of Fareham and Arthur Balfour, made an unsuccessful onslaught on the submarine as an inhuman agency of warfare. France had made her acceptance of the 1.75 naval ratio for capital ships conditional on a large auxiliary fleet, including 90,000 tons of submarines. Lord Lee seized this opening to make a powerful plea for the complete abolition of that agency of warfare. The report of the American Advisory Committee, combined with the unfavorable attitude of all the other delegations, showed that the British plea had no chance of success. At the session held on Dec. 23 the French and the British delegations came into sharp conflict, Admiral de Bon for France seeking to prove that the submarine had demonstrated its effectiveness as a weapon of defense, Mr. Balfour for Great Britain sustaining Lord Lee's view that it was chiefly an offensive weapon, and essentially inhuman. On Dec. 24 Secretary Hughes proposed to reduce submarine tonnage from 90,000 to 60,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain, and that France, Italy and Japan should retain the status quo, approximately 31,500 tons for France and Japan, and 21,000 for

Italy. This proposal followed another sharp debate between the French and British delegations, in which Mr. Balfour demanded to know the reason for the large submarine fleet insisted on by France. Though all the delegations maintained their view that the submarine should be retained, the result of the three days' debate was felt to have been a moral victory for Great Britain, the arguments of whose chief delegates, especially Mr. Balfour, made a deep impression on all, especially on the American delegation. All hopes of eliminating the submarine, or even limiting its tonnage ratio, came to an end on Dec. 28, when France flatly refused a quota of less than 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft, and less than 90,000 tons for submarines. The announcement of this decision precipitated another clash between the French and British delegations, Mr. Balfour and M. Sarraut academically discussing the possibility of future war between Great Britain and France, and Mr. Balfour making it clear that if France insisted on this large submarine force, Great Britain would accept no limitation for craft adapted to fight the submarine. M. Sarraut made a spirited defense of France, and this first phase of the submarine debate here reached its logical end.

At this same session of Dec. 28, however, a new phase began with Elihu Root's presentation of a series of resolutions formally condemning

the illegal use of the submarine as a weapon of naval warfare. The original proposals restated the existing international law regarding attacks on merchant vessels, declared that submarines were not exempt therefrom, invited all other powers to accept these principles, and then went further in declaring that as it was virtually impossible for submarines in making such attacks to observe the laws of humanity above laid down, their use should be prohibited, and to this end, the five conference nations assented to such prohibition, and invited all other nations to adhere thereto. A further resolution urged that all submarine commanders who violated these rules should be tried for piracy. These proposals led to an animated debate which ended only on Jan. 6 with the passage of the resolutions in an extended form—one of the most momentous results achieved by the conference, the effect of which was to give the British delegation a virtual victory after all in its attempt to outlaw the submarine.

Total tonnage of auxiliary ships could not be limited, owing to the attitude of France, but limits were fixed on individual tonnage and armament, including aircraft carriers. A total tonnage ratio was finally fixed for these last vessels. The conference, basing itself on an exhaustive technical report, rejected any attempt to limit aircraft (Jan. 7). The use of poison gas was prohibited at this same session—an action considered almost as momentous as the passing of the Root submarine resolutions.

The Committee on the Far East resumed its discussion on China on Jan. 5, and reached decisions to raise the Chinese customs tariff and to take steps devised ultimately to lead to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chinese territory. The special negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese delegates over Shantung continued, important agreements being in sight on Jan. 18.

The official proceedings of the conference, from Dec. 22 to the time

when these pages went to press, were as follows:

THE SUBMARINE DEBATE

The Committee of the Whole on Limitation of Armament and the Sub-committee on the Limitation of Naval Armaments held their second joint meeting on Dec. 22. At a previous session, Dec. 20 [see January CURRENT HISTORY], the naval ratio on capital ships had been provisionally settled by the consent of France to a proportion of 1.75 for France, as compared with the 5-5-3 ratio for the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The correspondence between Secretary Hughes and Premier Briand, however, showed that France's assent was contingent on securing a strong auxiliary fleet. This brought the submarine issue prominently to the fore, and Great Britain now seized the opportunity to urge that the use of submarines be entirely abandoned, or, at all events, substan-



(Photo International)

LORD LEE OF FAREHAM

First Lord of the British Admiralty, who made a memorable speech at Washington on behalf of abolishing the submarine

during the war showed how expensive the submarine might prove. Great Britain desired not only a decrease of naval armament, but a decrease of expenditure. What would Great Britain gain if the old competition were transferred to submarines? Not much, as the submarine menaced Britain's very life and existence. The submarine was essentially an offensive weapon, not a by-product of any industry, such as poison gas or air bombs, with which it had proved impossible to deal. It was a weapon of murder and piracy and the drowning of non-combatants. It had been used to sink passenger ships, cargo ships and hospital ships. It was technically so constructed that it could not even rescue women and children from sinking ships. That was why he hoped it would be abolished. For defense it was inefficient, and its advantages were outweighed by its disadvantages. It would be a great disappointment if the British delegates failed to persuade this conference to get rid of this weapon, which involved so much evil to peoples who live on or by the sea.

Great Britain, to prove her sincerity, was ready to scrap her whole submarine navy, the largest and most efficient in the world, composed of 100 vessels of 80,000 tons, provided the other nations would do the same. He believed this was a greater contribution to the cause of humanity than even the

limitation of capital ships. It was, however, useless to be blind to the facts, and he realized that he could hardly hope to convince all the powers represented at the conference, though he believed that eventually all civilized nations would accept the British view. In any event, the British delegates did not intend to allow failure of submarine abolition to affect the settlement in regard to capital ships, and they stood ready to welcome any suggestions for the reduction and restriction of submarines—especially from their French colleagues—in case submarines were continued.

REPLIES OF OTHER DELEGATES

Secretary Hughes, following the conclusion of Lord Lee's address, rose to make a statement of correction. The figures supplied by the American naval experts, he said, and upon which the American proposal was based, concerning submarine tonnage built and building, did not appear to coincide with those referred to by Lord Lee. The tonnage from these American figures stood thus:

	Tons.
United States	95,000
Great Britain	82,464
France	42,850
Italy	20,228
Japan	31,400

The United States, therefore, he pointed out, had 95,000 tons, which it was prepared to reduce to 90,000, as set forth in the American proposals. The reduction was slight, but it was a reduction. It was not the intention of the United States to increase, but to reduce. [Later revised figures given by Secretary Hughes at the session of Dec. 24 estimated approximate submarine tonnage for France at 31,500; for Japan at 31,500, and for Italy at a little less than 21,000 tons.]

M. Sarraut, on behalf of France, joined with the other delegations in expressing profound disapproval of the barbarous use which was made of submarines in the late war. Both the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, however, he said, had discussed the question of submarines, and public opinion had showed itself favorable to their continuance. The French delegation believed the submarine was essentially a defensive



(Times Wide World Photos)

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

Member of the Vice Regal Council of India,
chief delegate from British India

weapon, especially adapted to nations scantily supplied with capital ships. It could not be considered as a dominating weapon; it was undeniable that it could be used under honorable conditions, and it was certain that these conditions would be examined, discussed and formulated in accord with the lessons of the late war. The French delegation thus felt called upon to approve the use of the submarine under these restrictions. M. Sarraut pointed out that in view of the technical considerations governing their use at sea, it would be necessary for a navy to possess a number of them proportionate to the needs of national defense. He also advocated the use of submarines of the larger type, which he declared to be far more fitted for observing the law of humanity, and further declared that submarines of a large cruising radius were necessary to assure the defense of distant colonies and to maintain the long line of communications which such possessions necessitated.

Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, though recognizing the humanitarian considerations urged by Lord Lee, stated that Italy did not share the British view regarding the technical efficiency of submarines, and stressed the importance of this weapon to Italy, with its long coast line and sea communications, and the proximity of many of its most important centres to the coast. He also believed that the conference could not settle the question of submarines, in view of the absence of other powers. Italy, therefore, he said, was not in a position to associate itself with the proposal to abolish submarines, and the Italian delegation was not authorized to do so.

Mr. Hanihara said that Japan be-

[American Cartoon]



—C Chicago Tribune

The beginning of European reconstruction

lieved a legitimate use of submarines was justifiable for the purposes of national defense, but was wholly opposed to their abuse, to guard against which he proposed a modification of the international rules of war so as to embody specific prohibitions.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

Secretary Hughes rose as Chairman to say that all could not fail to be deeply impressed by the statement made by Lord Lee on submarines. One clear and definite point of view emerged, he said, on which all the delegates present were agreed: there was no disposition to tolerate the illegal use of the submarine, and all were ready to prepare and announce to the world a statement of the intentions of the nations represented at the conference that submarines must observe the well-established principles of international law regarding visit and search in attacks on merchant ships. Mr. Hughes pointed out that even if the delegates were will-

down for United States naval vessels when exercising the right of visit and search, make no exception in favor of the submarine. In the early part of the World War the German submarines exercised this right of visit and search in the same manner as surface vessels. When sunk, the papers and crew of merchant ships so visited were saved. Later, when the cases came up in a German prize court sitting on appeal at Berlin, the responsibility of the German Government was often acknowledged and indemnities paid.

When unlimited submarine warfare commenced, in some cases where necessary evidence was produced by the owners making claim in the prize court, the court decided that the matter was outside the pale of the prize regulations, though it did not deny the justice of the claim.

Assuming that a merchant ship may be halted by a submarine in a legitimate fashion, it becomes difficult, because of limited personnel, for the submarine to complete the inspection, place a prize crew on board and bring her into port. It is also difficult for her to take the passengers and crew of a large prize on board should circumstances warrant sinking the vessel. However, these remarks are applicable to small surface craft as well.

During the World War, on account of the vulnerability of the submarine and on account of the probability of its sinking the vessels it captured, the tendency was for all merchant ships (including neutrals) to arm themselves against the submarine. Such action greatly hampers the activity of the submarine and tends toward illegal acts both by the merchant vessels and by the submarine.

In other words, the general tendency of submarine warfare against commerce, even though starting according to accepted rules, was sharply toward warfare unlimited by international law or any humanitarian rules. This was because the vulnerability of the submarine led the Germans to assume and declare she was entitled to special exemptions from the accepted rules of warfare governing surface craft. The merchant ship sank the submarine if it came near enough; the submarine sought and destroyed the merchant ship without even a knowledge of nationality or guilt.

GROWTH OF LAWLESS METHODS

Submarines were largely responsible for the extensive arming of merchant vessels, neutral and belligerent, during the World War. The average merchant vessel cannot hope to arm effectively against enemy surface combatant vessels, and as a rule submits to visit and search without resistance. Prospects of saving the ship and certainty of safety to personnel have caused them to accept as the lesser risk the visit of belligerent surface vessels.

When, however, as in the World War, they met a belligerent submarine, with a strong probability of being sunk by that submarine, the law of self-preservation operated and the merchant ship resisted by every means in its power. Defensive armament was almost sure to be used offensively in an attempt to strike a first blow. The next step was for each to endeavor to sink the other on sight.

War on commerce by surface combatant craft causes change of ownership of merchant vessels only, provided the surface craft does not sink these ships, but these merchant vessels for the most part remain in service. They are not destroyed. The world does not lose them. The object of war on commerce is not to destroy shipping, but to deprive the enemy of its use. Submarine warfare on commerce, if unlimited in character, injures the enemy and greatly injures the world as well. The world is so highly organized and so dependent on ocean transportation that shipping is essential to livelihood. Without it vast populations would starve.

At present, when war breaks out, belligerent vessels tend to transfer to neutral flags and also to fly false flags. This hampers lawful warfare by submarines, as, owing to their great difficulty in making the proper visit and search, it is thus impossible for them to prevent belligerent commerce from going forward.

The net results of unlimited submarine

[American Cartoon]



—New York Tribune

We hope we may be excused if we just happen to remember an important engagement

warfare in the World War were (a) flagrant violations of international law, (b) destruction of an enormous amount of wealth, (c) unnecessary loss of many innocent lives and (d) to draw into the war many neutrals.

Unlimited submarine warfare should be outlawed. Laws should be drawn up prescribing the methods of procedure of submarines against merchant vessels, both neutral and belligerent. These rules should accord with the rules observed by surface craft. Laws should also be made which prohibit the use of false flags and offensive arming of merchant vessels. The use of false flags has already ceased in land warfare.

No one can prevent an enemy from running "amuck," but immediately he does he outlaws himself and invites sure defeat by bringing down the wrath of the world upon his head. If the submarine is required to operate under the same rule as combatant surface vessels, no objection can be raised as to its use against merchant vessels. The individual captains of submarines are no more likely to violate instructions from their Government upon this point than are captains of any other type of ship acting independently.

SUBMARINES AND WARSHIPS

Against enemy men-of-war the submarine may be likened to the advance guard on land which hides in a tree or uses under-

brush to conceal itself. If the infantry in its advance encounters an ambush, it suffers greatly, even if it is not totally annihilated. However, an ambush is entirely legitimate.

In the same fashion a submarine strikes the advancing enemy from concealment, and no nation cries out against this form of attack as illegal. Its navy simply becomes more vigilant, moves faster and uses its surface scouts to protect itself.

The submarine carries the same weapons as surface vessels, i. e., torpedoes, mines and guns. There is no prohibition of their use on surface craft, and there can be none on submarines. Submarines are particularly well adapted to use mines and torpedoes. They can approach to the desired spot without being seen, lay their mines or discharge their torpedoes and make their escape.

The best defense against them is eternal vigilance and high speed. This causes added fatigue to the personnel and greater wear to the machinery. The continual menace of submarines in the vicinity may so wear down a fleet that when it meets the enemy it will be so exhausted as to make its defeat a simple matter.

The submarine as a man-of-war has a very vital part to play. It has come to stay. It may strike without warning against combatant vessels, as surface ships may do also, but it must be required to observe the prescribed rules of surface craft when opposing merchantmen as at other times.

As a scout the submarine has great possibilities. It is the one type of vessel able to proceed unsupported into distant enemy waters and maintain itself to observe and report enemy movements. At present its principal handicaps are poor habitability and lack of radio power to transmit its information. However, these may be overcome in some degree in the future. Here, again, the submarine has come to stay. It has great value, a legitimate use, and no nation can deny its employment in this fashion.

[Here followed a statement of the proposal of the United States for limitation of naval armament, so far as submarines are concerned, as made at the opening session of the conference.] The report then continued:

A nation possessing a great merchant marine protected by a strong surface navy naturally does not desire the added threat of submarine warfare brought against it. This is particularly the case if that nation gains its livelihood through overseas commerce. If the surface navy of such a nation were required to leave its home waters, it would be greatly to its advantage if the submarine threat were removed. This could be accomplished by limiting the size of the submarine so that it would be restricted to defensive operation in its own home waters.

On the other hand, if a nation has not a large merchant marine, but is dependent

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
Something to howl about

upon sea-borne commerce from territory close at hand, it would be necessary to carry war to her. It would be very natural for that nation to desire a large submarine force to attack the approaches on the sea and to "attack troop transports, supply ships, &c., of the enemy. Control of the surface of the sea only by the attacking power would not eliminate it from constant exposure and loss by submarine attacks.

ATTITUDE OF UNITED STATES

The United States would never desire its navy to undertake unlimited submarine warfare. In fact, the spirit of fair play of the people would bring about the downfall of the Administration which attempted to sanction its use. However, submarines acting legitimately from bases in our distant possessions would harass and greatly disturb an enemy attempting operations against them. They might even delay the fall of these possessions until our fleet could assemble and commence major operations.

It will be impossible for our fleet to protect our two long coast lines properly at all times. Submarines located at bases along both coasts will be useful as scouts and to attack any enemy who should desire to make raids on exposed positions.

The submarine is particularly an instrument of weak naval powers. The business of the world is carried on upon the surface of the sea. Any navy which is dominant on the surface prefers to rely on that superiority, while navies comparatively weak may but threaten that dominance by developing a new form of attack to attain success through surprise. Hence submarines have offered and secured advantages until the method of successful counter-attack has been developed.

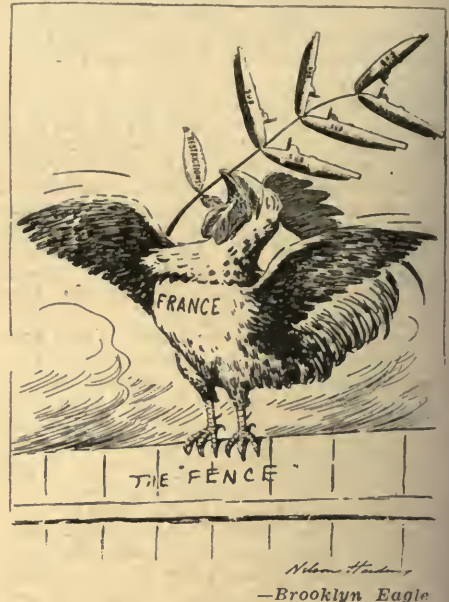
The United States Navy lacks a proper number of cruisers. The few we have would be unable to cover the necessary area to obtain information. Submarines could greatly assist them, as they cannot be driven in by enemy scouts.

The cost per annum of maintaining 100,000 tons of submarines, fully manned and ready, is about thirty million dollars. For the work which will be required of them in an emergency, this cost is small when taken in connection with the entire navy.

The retention of a large submarine force may at some future time result in the United States holding its outlying possessions. If these colonies once fall, the expenditure of men necessary to recapture them will be tremendous and may result in a drawn war which would really be a United States defeat. The United States needs a large submarine force to protect its interests.

The committee is therefore of the opinion that unlimited warfare by submarines on commerce should be outlawed. The right of visit and search must be exercised by submarines under the same rules as for

[American Cartoon]



Not exactly our idea of the dove and the olive branch

surface vessels. It does not approve limitation in size of submarines.

After reading the Advisory Committee's report, Secretary Hughes closed the session with a short statement to the effect that the American delegation would carefully consider the arguments set forth by the British delegation, and would consult American experts.

The report of the Advisory Committee was attacked by the National Council for Limitation of Armament on Dec. 27 as not correctly representing American public opinion regarding submarines. Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the Council, appealed to the Advisory Committee on that date to revise its opinion that the submarine was a necessary weapon of defense for America, but that its use in violation of recognized rules of visit and search should be outlawed. The appeal asked the committee to reconvene, and to take up the question again in the light of public opinion as recorded by the Subcommittee on Public Information of

[American Cartoon]



—Los Angeles Times

The foursome

the Advisory Committee since the Advisory Committee's report was submitted. Mr. Libby declared in his letter that "the statement made by Secretary Hughes before the conference regarding 'the widespread sentiment against the submarine in the United States,' bears out the conviction that your report is not in harmony with opinion in America today, which we are sure you wish faithfully to represent." Hundreds of thousands of names and opinions, it was made known, had been registered with the Subcommittee on Information referred to in favor of the abolition of undersea craft.

FRANCE REJECTS BRITAIN'S PLEA

The debate on submarines was resumed at the third joint session of the two committees, Dec. 23. At this session the difference existing between the French and British views came out into sharp relief. Admiral

de Bon, speaking for the French Government, combated the arguments of Lord Lee as set forth at the preceding session, and presented to the conference, sitting as a committee of the whole, an elaborate statement of the French view in favor of retaining the submarine as a defensive weapon. Briefly stated, his argument was that the submarine had proved its effectiveness as a weapon of defense against warships and the protection of coasts, that it had a right to figure as an integral part of naval forces, that the Germans had abused it during the war, and that the 90,000 tons proposed by the American plan was the minimum submarine strength that any important naval power should have. He advocated, therefore, that this quota be assigned to France.

Mr. Balfour made a strong argument in rebuttal of Admiral de Bon's views, and in support of Lord Lee, reiterating the belief of the British delegation that the suppression of the submarine would be in the national interests of both France and Italy. Signor Schanzer for Italy declared that the arguments employed by the British delegates only justified the Italian position favoring the retention of submarines as a protection for Italy's coasts. Neither the United States nor Japan participated in the debate at this session. Following is a summary of the official report of the session:

Admiral de Bon began the argument for France by declaring that the statement by Lord Lee favoring the abolition of the submarine had presented the most forcible arguments that could be brought to bear upon this side of the question. On the other hand, he pointed out that the report of the American Advisory Committee, as read by Secretary Hughes, had presented arguments of incontestable value for the reverse of the British view and in favor of the preservation of the submarine under due regulation. It would seem, he said, that these two statements had exhausted all arguments that could be used either pro or contra. There were, however, certain differences of opinion regarding the various arguments which it seemed desirable to clarify before the committee.

The first of these was the question of the submarine's effectiveness both as a weapon of offense and defense. During

the war France had lost three battleships and five cruisers and had had several other ships torpedoed, incurring a total loss of 130,000 tons. Great Britain and Italy had also lost a certain number of battleships. Germany had not maintained her coasts intact, moreover, merely by the barrier of mines with which those coasts had been protected. These could have been crossed by any force supplied with mine sweepers had not a force of submarines rendered approach really dangerous. Submarines in the Adriatic, also, had proved one of the most powerful means of action by the enemy. The Allies had felt submarine power in the Dardanelles and during the long months at Gallipoli.

As a means of attack against warships, as well as for scouting and wireless purposes and a means of general weakening of enemy morale, said Admiral de Bon, the submarine had proved its worth. It had showed itself especially effective against the merchant marine. Germany's results in this direction were known to all, and had struck terror to all peoples. But what had inspired this terror was not the fact that

German submarines had attacked merchant shipping; it was that they had violated neutrality, had attacked steamers loaded with noncombatants, even transports bearing the wounded, flying the Red Cross flag. It had always been admissible to attack an enemy's merchant marine as one of the most effective means of seriously crippling one's adversary, and he believed it would always be considered legitimate. Would it not be less cruel and wasteful of human life than direct military force, if one might bring one's adversaries to their knees through use of the submarine? This could be done especially in the blockade, which is a legitimate practice, the effects of which would not be confined to the submarine.

CURBING INHUMAN METHODS

The Admiral then briefly reviewed the origin and motives of the inhuman practices adopted by Germany in her unlimited submarine war, to point his view that if the use of the submarine against enemy shipping were allowed it would have to be confined within certain limits of humanity.

The Germans, by attacking neutral ships and torpedoing passenger ships and hospital ships without warning, had lost the respect of the world for the submarine. The speaker then pointed out how the Germans could have waged this warfare differently, giving warning to a vessel that it would be sunk, bringing it to a place of safety, removing the crew, and not sinking the ship until all these humane preliminaries had been observed. The submarines would not have been exposed to any greater risks by adopting this procedure than the frigate and corsairs of other days.

The underseas craft, in short, must be curbed. A proper set of rules should be drawn up with this object in view and adopted when the rules of international law in application to all life at sea in time of war are made subject to revision. Even under these limitations, submarine warfare could be very effective. Lord Lee had recalled the hours of anguish lived through when Great Britain, and at times France, had been threatened with deprivation of the supplies on which the very life of the nation depended. But this was submarine warfare at its inhumane worst. Within proper limitations, it was legitimate and could be very important. Admiral de Bon then took up the moral argument urged by Lord Lee and combated the view that submarine commanders were bound to in-

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
THE CHINESE PUZZLE

fringe the code of humanity in the heat of passions engendered by war. He did not believe that any Government would risk hereafter incurring such a responsibility.

A submarine was useful for fighting war fleets, for fighting merchant marines. It was the opinion of the French delegation that it was especially the weapon of nations not possessing a large navy. Its cheapness made it possible to build a large number at a cost far below that of capital ships. As for the cost of maintaining a counter-submarine fleet referred to by Lord Lee, Admiral de Bon emphasized the fact that France could utilize a considerable number of elements drawn from both the merchant marine and fishing vessels. Defensive measures might thus be considerably reduced. Furthermore, this was a general argument which might be applied to any other naval weapon. In fact, it seemed that henceforth the submarine had the right to figure as an integral part of naval force. Though at first, as with every new weapon, it had come upon its adversaries when they were without sufficient defense, and thus had caused great damage, from now on, as Lord Lee had emphasized, it would be greatly limited, as the risks of its own destruction had greatly increased. The Admiral did not agree that its activities had become ineffective, but it was possible to think that the struggle against the submarine might now be carried on under conditions comparable to that of any action between warships. There was no doubt that further great progress would be made in two directions—in the submarine's power of attack and in the efficiency of methods of combating its operations. The progress of human ingenuity could not be stopped. The Admiral drew a vivid picture of the possibilities of the submarine as an agent of attack and protection in naval warfare of the future and intimated that the submarine had come to stay.

The French spokesman then took up the question of what minimum of submarine tonnage was necessary. The French figures on the number of U-boats kept in service by Germany out of her fleet of 320 underseas vessels were slightly different from those presented by Lord Lee. Not ten, but fifteen or twenty, the French figures showed, were kept available at one time. The American Advisory Committee had estimated 90,000 tons as necessary for the United States

and Great Britain. This would represent about ninety submarines of an average of 1,000 tons, and thus some fifteen or twenty for continuous action. This seemed the minimum possible for any nation desiring to make use of this weapon. The Admiral ended by declaring that he would oppose any attempt to reduce this minimum. In his opinion, it was the absolute minimum for all navies desiring to use a submarine force.

MR. BALFOUR'S REPLY

Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation, replied to the French argument for continuation of the submarine as a war weapon. He combated the French view that the destruction of commerce by submarines was legitimate, and cited the findings of the Advisory Committee in favor of the British view that such an employment of the submarine was inhumane. It was, he intimated, bound

[Austrian Cartoon]



—Die Musket, Vienna

FRANCE SOWING HATRED

"All French communications to Germany and Austria bear this postage stamp"

to be inhumane. Mr. Balfour said at this point:

Let me ask upon this question of destruction of commerce on the high seas by means of submarines, is there any man who has listened to this debate, is there any man who knows what occurred in the late war, is there any man who knows what must occur in the course of any future war, who doubts that if submarines are sent on their dangerous and difficult mission on the high seas—one of the most difficult and most dangerous as well as one of the most disagreeable tasks which can be imposed upon a sailor—it is for something more important than the remote chance of destroying some well guarded and efficient ship of war, and that if they are once let loose to deal with merchantmen it is incredible that in the stress of war their powers will not be abused in the future as they have been so grossly abused in the past?

Mr. Balfour did not deny the other useful objects which could be attained through the submarine, its ability to attack warships, its serviceability for scouting, &c. The main object, however, he declared, was clear—the destruction of commerce—and he made clear the attitude of the British delegation on that point. He further declared that Admiral de Bon had exaggerated the utility of submarines for genuine war purposes. He declared of his own personal knowledge that Germany had not enjoyed immunity for her coasts during the war because of her possession of submarines. He further did not believe that submarines were a valid defense against any sudden attack by a ship of war on an unprotected coast. They had not protected the English coast against sudden attacks by German ships sent swiftly across the North Sea. They had not protected the German forces at Zeebrugge against bombardment by British ships. Their effect in the Dardanelles had been insignificant. The real issue, however, he defined as follows:

The question before us now is whether you are going to encourage an instrument of war which, if it be encouraged—if, indeed, permitted at all—will undoubtedly be used in the illegitimate destruction of commerce.

Who, asked Mr. Balfour, is going

to be injured by that? Not Japan, not the United States, self-contained and independent of imports. But what of Italy, which for the purposes of this debate counted almost as an island. He recalled the extreme difficulty experienced by the Allies in the war to supply Italy even with the minimum of coal necessary to keep her arsenals and manufactories going. He doubted if Italy could feed herself, supply herself, or continue as an efficient fighting force if she were really blockaded. The continuance of the submarine would put it in the power of every nation to make itself a formidable enemy. Italy had five maritime neighbors in the Mediterranean. The speaker hoped that eternal peace would reign in those waters, but the cold and calculating point of view of a member of a general staff would lead him to say to Italy: "You have five neighbors, each one of which can, if it so desires, blockade your coast and make your position untenable, without having a single surface ship of war at its disposal."

And what was the case of France? France was nearly self-supporting in point of food, with a great land frontier giving her direct access to all the great markets of the world. She has a position of great military security from the side of the sea. But from the land side M. Briand had pointed out to the conference the existing military danger, against which France required a large army, and might even, in the future, again require assistance from overseas, across the Atlantic or across the Channel. This new French argument, "this encouragement of submarines, this passionate declaration that it would be almost criminal to interfere with the growth of this promising, though at present infantile, weapon of war—how is that going to be met?" Admiral de Bon had said the small craft necessary to deal with submarines could be drawn from merchant ships and from the fishing population. But during the war it was Great Britain, not France, that had furnished the

[American Cartoon]



SHE NEEDS THE SAME REMEDY

bulk of such vessels which finally broke the U-boat blockade. "It was the British craft that did it, not the Italian or French craft," Mr. Balfour declared. He gave the figures to prove his contention: France, 257 ships; Italy, 288 ships; Great Britain, 3,676 ships.

As for Admiral de Bon's declaration that you could not stop the progress of humanity, Mr. Balfour said:

I confess that in so far as the progress of humanity consists in inventing new methods of warfare, I would stop it tomorrow if I could, and this conference cannot set itself to a better work than to stop it as far as it can be stopped. I believe it can be stopped in the matter of submarines, if we all decide to do it. I believe the conscience of mankind would help us. I believe that public opinion would be on our side.

But if we cannot do it, then let us thoroughly realize that permission for submarines is not only an increase to the burdens of the taxpaying world; it not only adds to the cost of the navies, at all events in countries which are threatened by other peoples' submarines; it adds greatly to the cost of those navies by the non-military organization, so to speak, which it requires to have ready, and it adds largely to the number of States which can potentially and without any cost in battleships, and without any huge estimates add themselves not to the list of nations anxious merely for self-

defense, but to the list of those nations who wish to supplement their desire for an aggressive policy upon land by adding to their power on the sea.

Mr. Balfour closed his argument with a reassertion that the motive of Great Britain in proposing the abolition of the submarine was not one of fear. He did not underestimate the difficulties his country had had to struggle against to overcome the submarine menace, but the necessity had brought its own remedy, and England had shown she could prevent her own destruction. It was England's great naval population, its great fishing population, that had ultimately brought protection. No other country could provide that defense against submarines. It was not lodged elsewhere. Britain would have to provide it for France and for Italy under similar circumstances. The position of England was strong. The submarine menace would increase her national expenditure, but it would not imperil her security. He did not know whether all those at that table could speak with equal confidence of their position.

SCHANZER SPEAKS FOR ITALY

Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, began his reply by expressing his country's gratitude for England's efficient aid during the war. He also wished to express his thanks for Mr. Balfour's important observations on Italy's vulnerability to blockade from the Mediterranean and to offensive action by as many as five maritime neighbors. Nothing he could himself have said could justify better the position that the Italian delegation had assumed in this debate. Mr. Balfour had said submarines constitute no real defense for coasts; that instead of guaranteeing the security of supplies to a country dependent on the sea, they endanger those supplies, and that they could be used by hostile neighbors in blockading her shores. There was here, said Signor Schanzer, a substantial difference in expert opinion. The au-

thority of Lord Lee and Mr. Balfour was undoubtedly great, but there were technical experts of great authority who insisted on the necessity of maintaining the submarine as a defensive weapon, and this opinion was shared by the Italian experts and the Italian Government.

Italy was ready to study the whole subject further, but Signor Schanzer made plain his belief that it was impossible to decide on the abolition of the submarine at present, inasmuch as many of the States that could avail themselves of this dangerous weapon were not represented in the conference. If such a decision were taken, he pointed out, the nations participating would be placing themselves in a position of manifest inferiority in respect to the States not represented. The Italian delegation believed, therefore, that the problem must be examined at another and wider conference. For the present the best course would be to follow the spirit of the American proposal, and to limit submarines to the extent necessary for a purely defensive policy.

Admiral de Bon rose to say, in partial reply to Mr. Balfour, that he had never wished to support the theory, which was neither his Government's nor his own, that submarines had the right to destroy merchant vessels after having saved the crews. Mr. Balfour declared in turn that he had no desire to misrepresent Admiral de Bon, and that what he had attempted to show was that if the submarine was to play the great role in future wars which the Admiral had suggested, it could do so only by resort to extreme methods. It was futile, he declared, to suppose that submarines would make a practice of stopping merchant ships and placing prize crews on board to take them into port.

The session then adjourned, with the submarine debate still unfinished.

NEW PHASE OF THE DEBATE

The fourth joint session of the two naval committees, which occurred on the morning of Dec. 24, was marked

by new proposals made by Secretary Hughes, the Chairman, regarding the limit of submarines acceptable to the United States. The compromise proposed was briefly this: The maximum tonnage for the United States and Great Britain was to be reduced from 90,000 to 60,000 tons; the measure for Japan, France and Italy was to remain roughly at the status quo, estimated for Japan at 31,500 tons, for France at 31,500 tons, and for Italy at 21,000 tons. The British delegation accepted the reduction at the afternoon session, but the Japanese, French and Italian delegations declined to accept the quota allowed to their respective Governments; and no definite result was reached. The Japanese representatives refused to consider any reduction from the 5-5-3 ratio already agreed upon, declaring that the 54,000 tonnage under this ratio was the minimum consistent with Japan's defensive needs. The French declared that the new tonnage assigned to France was below the minimum considered necessary, and that they must await advices from the home Government before any decision was reached. The Italians, on their part, following their announced policy of parity, declined to accept a submarine tonnage less than that allotted to France.

The debate on the British proposal of abolition in the morning session began with another French statement by M. Sarraut. He reiterated the French Government's desire for the retention of the submarine, and pointed out the great danger that nations not represented in the conference might misconstrue any attempt to abolish, and to force them to abolish, a naval weapon considered by them as a valuable means of national defense. The motives of certain members of the conference, particularly those still possessing a large naval armament in capital ships, he pointed out, were more than likely to be impugned. These outside nations could neither be persuaded nor coerced, as had been seen during the

Peace Conference at Paris and in the League of Nations, and it was wholly undesirable that any of the outside nations should gain the impression that they were being dictated to in matters concerning their own sovereignty and theories of defense. Let the tonnage in capital ships be limited—that was well—but as to a defensive navy, each country best knew its own needs.

Mr. Balfour presented again the British side of the argument. His words made a deep impression on all the delegates, although most of them were opposed to the solution which he advocated. Mr. Balfour answered M. Sarraut's arguments in detail. France, he said, having put an end to all chance of even discussing disarmament by land, "now proceeds to develop her sea policy, and her sea policy embraces the creation of a vast submarine fleet." Suppose that the French fears of new German aggression were realized, he said, and that some 60,000,000 or 70,000,000 Germans were supplied with submarines to wage a naval war on France. What could France do to cope with this new situation? No number of submarines—which were, he maintained, a weapon of offense, not of defense—could help her to protect her own merchant ships or the transports of her neighbors and friends. Her only protection would be in that large maritime population of England already referred to, and France would be dependent on England's anti-submarine craft for ultimate protection. How was that consistent with the large fleet of submarines planned by France, which, from a strategical and geographical point of view, might seem directed against no one more than Great Britain herself?

Mr. Balfour knew, he said, that M. Sarraut, in his expressions of friendship for Great Britain, had uttered not one word in excess of the truth. He added, however:

I know it represents what comes from his heart, but no present expression of goodwill, however sincere, can control the future. We must take account of facts, and when

we try to combine the military policy announced by M. Briand with the naval policy announced by Admiral de Bon we cannot fail to see that there is a naval and a military scheme strangely inherent and inconsistent. Men will inevitably ask themselves, "What is the ultimate end underlying all that is being done? Against whom is this submarine fleet being built? What purpose is it to serve? What danger to France is it intended to guard against?" I know of no satisfactory answer to such questions.

The British spokesman also combated the view of M. Sarraut regarding the outside nations. The last thing such smaller powers would do, he declared, was to resent an international arrangement by which the use of submarine fleets was forbidden, or to say that this was an example of "British arrogance, pride and tyranny." If they considered the influence of Great Britain at all, they knew that that influence had always been exercised on the side of liberty. He certainly would not be prevented from doing his best to bring about this great moral reform in the use of weapons of war by fear of "even the bitterest and most unscrupulous calumny."

M. Sarraut in rebuttal pointed out the connection between France's land armaments and her need for submarines, which Mr. Balfour had confessed himself unable to understand. Both were for defense. France was compelled to make a double effort, both military and naval. France had no proud aspirations for naval power; this was proved by her acceptance of the capital ship tonnage which had been allotted to her. She had asked for submarines. For what purpose—to attack her neighbors? Such a suspicion did not merit a reply. France was confronted by a situation of fact. Besides her continental coastlines she possessed also a colonial domain whose ramifications are spread all over the world. She must have the weapon needed to defend those possessions and the safety of her transports and lines of communication. He had had absolutely no desire to impugn the motives of Great Britain, and had only warned against the dan-

ger for all those assembled of any suspicion of having attempted to reduce to vassalage those powers, large or small, which had not participated in the conference. He admitted that the might and safety of Britain constituted one of the essential safeguards of the peace of the world and of the progress of civilization. Great Britain herself, by her course in the war, had largely contributed to the overthrow of any hegemony by any nation in the world. But the susceptibilities of certain peoples must nevertheless be respected. The small ones also had the right to express their views and to make their voices heard. The creation of a will to peace in the world can be based only on confidence and a spirit of justice. This is the deep conviction which must be imparted to all nations, but they must be persuaded of this, not by having it forced on them, but by letting it penetrate gently into their minds.

SECRETARY HUGHES'S STATEMENT

Secretary Hughes followed M. Saraut. It was clear, he said, that a decision could not be reached on the matter just discussed. He added, however, that the arguments set forth by Mr. Balfour were deeply impressive, both because of the spirit with which they were permeated, and because of "the manifest desire to present and enforce, against apparently hopeless odds, a proposition which was deemed important for the maintenance of the peace of the world and for such an adjustment of weapons of war as might favor the maintenance of conditions of peace." He wished to express his profound sympathy with what Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee had said; their arguments had derived force not only from humanitarian sentiment, not only from abhorrence of the atrocities of submarine warfare, but also because they were buttressed by facts drawn from Great Britain's own experience. The strong American sentiment against the submarine—the feeling that as

an offensive weapon it should be outlawed—would be powerfully reinforced by what had been said. The words of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee would carry far beyond this conference, and might be ultimately successful in inducing the nations to forego the use of a weapon which, as Mr. Balfour had urged, was valuable only as an aggressive weapon, and then only in the form of aggression condemned by humanity and international law. President Harding, said Mr. Hughes, had been equally impressed by the strength of the arguments for abolition, and the United States was ready to give the problem its most serious consideration when it became feasible to take the matter up again.

What could now be done? The powers participating in the conference were bound, he believed, not to use the conference "to impinge upon the full liberty of discussion of those desiring to be heard in a matter relating to their defense." Full discussion, however, could not but be useful; and he hoped that this discussion would lead the five powers to agree to a denunciation of the illegal methods of submarine warfare and in favor of the application of the principles of international law. The moment had now come for an expression of views on concrete proposals for limitation of submarines.

The only response to this invitation made at this time was by Mr. Balfour, who voiced his thanks, and those of the whole British delegation, for the words that Mr. Hughes had spoken. "We regard your utterance," he said, "as a great step forward, and we do not doubt that it will find an echo in all parts of the civilized world, and will greatly promote the cause we have so much at heart." He then asked to have placed upon the record the views of the entire British delegation, which would take the following shape:

The British Empire delegation desires formally to place on record its opinion that the use of submarines, while of small value for defensive purposes, leads inevitably to acts which are inconsistent with the laws of

war and the dictates of humanity, and the delegation desires that united action should be taken by all nations to forbid their maintenance, construction or employment.

THE NEW AMERICAN PROPOSAL

It was at this point that Chairman Hughes presented to the joint committees the new American proposals for the relative ratios for submarine strength. Instead of the 90,400 tons allowed as a maximum under the original plan, the United States, he said, was now ready to accept a maximum of 60,000 tons, thus scrapping 35,000 tons of the existing submarine tonnage, on the understanding that Great Britain should also accept 60,000 tons for her maximum tonnage, and scrap 22,464 tons—her present amount of submarine tonnage being 82,464 tons, according to the American figures; and that Japan, France and Italy should retain the tonnage they now have. In reply to a query by Lord Lee, Mr. Hughes gave the present submarine tonnage of these last named three countries as follows: Japan, 31,452 tons; France, 31,391 tons; Italy somewhat less than 21,000 tons. A tabulation showing the old plan, in contrast with the new, is given below:

SUBMARINE TONNAGE LIMITS

Country.	Old Plan.	New Plan.
United States	90,000	60,000
Great Britain	90,000	60,000
Japan	54,000	*31,500
France	Not decided	*31,500
Italy	Not decided	*21,000

*The status quo.

The discussion of the new American proposals was reserved for the afternoon session, which was the fifth joint meeting of the main Committee on Limitation of Armament and the Subcommittee on Naval Limitation. The official bulletin stated that "the discussion concerning the limitation of submarine tonnage was continued, and Mr. Balfour accepted, on behalf of the British Empire, the American proposal that the maximum submarine tonnage for the American and British navies should be 60,000 tons." The communique then gave, either verbatim or in

paraphrase, the comments of the other delegations.

Signor Schanzer pointed out that, as Mr. Balfour himself had shown the day before, Italy could make special claims as regards her need of light craft and submarines to protect her exposed coasts and to assure her food supplies from the sea side. He also pointed out the insufficient nature of the existing submarine flotilla. During the war Italy had found her submarines too small to cope with the situation, and had had to rely on the co-operation of French and British submarines. Since the armistice the Italian Government had demolished thirty submarines. It was left with forty-three in active service and four under construction, a total of 20,250 tons. Only ten of the forty-three were of any use. Since the others were of 700-tons displacement, they would have to be successively replaced. Despite these conditions, and despite the view of the Italian naval experts that the quota of 31,500 tons in submarines was not sufficient in its relation to the 175,000 tons in capital ships already accepted, Italy was ready to accept the quota of 31,500 tons, on condition that France received no more. In plain words, Signor Schanzer voiced Italy's rejection of the quota of 21,000 tons proposed by the new plan, and insisted on receiving the same quota as that allowed to France.

Mr. Hanihara for Japan said that although the Japanese delegates had been deeply impressed by the British arguments for abolition, they had not been convinced that the submarine was ineffective or unnecessary as a weapon of defense. Japan had already made it clear that the 5-5-3 ratio, alike for capital ships and submarines, meant to her a sacrifice. In respect to submarines, this ratio would have given her 54,000 tons. This was considered, so far as Japan was concerned, the lowest minimum of submarine tonnage with which the insular position of Japan could be defended. The new proposal, which

meant that Japan would have only 31,500 tons, was wholly inadequate. The delegation, therefore, felt constrained to insist on the tonnage assigned under the first American plan. Mr. Hanihara stressed self-defense as the motive for this attitude, and pointed out that Japan's remote geographical position made it plain that her submarines could not constitute a menace against any other nation.

M. Sarraut, for France, stated that as the new American plan contemplated a considerable reduction from the minimum considered necessary for the French Government, his delegation had no recourse but to await instructions.

Closing the day's program, a suggestion was made by Mr. Balfour that a technical examination be made of the system of naval tons and the measure of tonnage. Every nation represented in the conference, he pointed out, had a different standard, which made for confusion. Chairman Hughes suggested that such an examination be referred to a subcommittee of two experts from each delegation, to determine what constituted a standard ton. The following committee was thus formed:

UNITED STATES—Admiral Taylor and Admiral Pratt.

BRITISH EMPIRE—Real Admiral Sir Ernle Chatfield and Instruction Commander Stanton.

FRANCE—Captain Frochot and Captain Dupuy-Dutemps.

ITALY—Vice Admiral Baron Acton and Commander Prince Fabrizio Ruspoli.

JAPAN—(Not named at this session).

British public opinion strongly tended to the belief that in the three days' debate at Washington the British delegation had won a moral victory. Arthur J. Balfour, as head of that delegation, received warm praise in the British press on Dec. 28. France's claims for a large fleet of submarines were generally attacked, and the French were charged with the ambition of seeking to become the greatest submarine power in the world. In France, on the other hand, the French claims were warmly defended. France's determination to

have a powerful fleet, and French nationalist objections to the submarine limitation efforts of the Washington conference, were vigorously voiced in the French Senate and in the Paris press. During the course of interpellations in the Senate on Dec. 27, an important statement was elicited from Minister of Marine Guisthau by Senator de Kerguezec, who defended the submarine as an essential weapon of defense, though urging that it be confined to military uses instead of being applied to torpedoing commerce. Minister Guisthau, in response to this, declared that nothing had been proposed at Washington that would reduce France's auxiliary naval power. In further answer to intimations that the Senate would ratify no agreement until it had examined and passed on it, the Minister gave assurance that no decisions reached at Washington would be effective until the French Parliament approved them.

On hearing M. Guisthau's statement, the Naval Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 28 decided to invite the Minister to uphold energetically the naval interests of France. The resolution passed declared that France required an adequate fleet to assure the defense of her coasts, her colonies and her communications. The committee was presided over by Pierre Dupuy, and the motion was presented by Jules Cels, former Under Secretary for the Navy.

FRANCE REJECTS NEW PLAN

Meanwhile the final decision on submarine limitation waited on the response of the French Government. This response was presented by the French delegation at Washington in the sixth joint session of the two committees, Dec. 28. France, on the ground of her needs for national defense, refused flatly to accept an allotment of submarines less than 90,000 tons, and also refused a quota of less than 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft. She confirmed, however, her acceptance of the 1.75 ratio for capital ships, with slight modifications

regarding replacement. Secretary Hughes, after M. Sarraut, Minister of Colonies for France, had transmitted this decision, expressed his disappointment over this outcome, which seemed to make any agreement on submarine and auxiliary craft limitation impossible. He was, however, gratified by France's acceptance of the ratio laid down for capital ships.

The British delegation, through Mr. Balfour, expressed even keener disappointment, and the session resolved itself into a debate—the most heated the conference had yet had—between M. Sarraut and Mr. Balfour. The discussion reached a point where both delegates were openly discussing what would be done by their respective Governments in case of war between them, and in the event that France carried out her ambitious plan for submarine expansion. Mr. Balfour made it clear that if this program were carried out, Great Britain would accept no limitation for the light craft adapted to fight submarines. This serious turn of the debate hinged on a remark of Mr. Balfour that France wanted a large fleet of submarines to attack merchant vessels, and for no other reason, with the clear implication that the chief party menaced was Great Britain. This M. Sarraut warmly resented. France, he declared, had not charged Great Britain with harboring hostile designs on her neighbor across the Channel because of her retaining 525,000 tons in capital ships. Why, then, should Great Britain suspect France of such designs in connection with her submarine requirements? Lord Lee, Senator Schanzer, Mr. Hanihara and Secretary Hughes also took a hand in the debate, the upshot of which was that France's decision had made all agreement on submarines and auxiliary craft impossible, and that the various delegations deeply regretted this turn of affairs.

The speech in which M. Sarraut had announced the French Government's decision, and which provoked

the historic debate just summarized, was given out as follows—in the official translation:

At the last meeting of the committee and as the outcome of the examination of the submarine question, a proposal was made to fix for each of the nations represented in the conference the submarine tonnage that it might possess. Instead of the 90,000 tons required by France, it was proposed that this tonnage should be limited as far as she is concerned to 31,500 tons. Confronted by such a considerable reduction of the figures which had been given as the minimum of what France considered necessary for herself in future, the French delegation was obliged to refer the matter to its Government.

At a meeting of the Cabinet and of the Supreme Council of National Defense, the situation was examined and discussed with the most earnest desire to do whatever would seem possible to further the aim of the conference and assist in reaching results. This deliberate intention has been carried out in the resolution passed at the meeting as regards capital ships.

As a token of the good-will of France, it has been resolved to accept the reduction to 175,000 tons of her tonnage of capital ships, although it seems nearly impossible with such reduced tonnage to constitute a naval force composed of ships such as those which it is contemplated to build, and one normally organized, according to the tactical principles in force in every fleet.

The conditions of application of the agreement as regards capital ships will be easy of settlement by taking into account such qualifications as it may be useful to introduce in carrying out the naval holiday through the liberty of laying down, beginning in 1927, ships intended to replace, within the limits of the admitted tonnage, French ships as they reached their twentieth year of existence. It will be likewise easy to settle the question still outstanding of the duration of the agreement as to limitation of capital ship tonnage.

After examining, on the other hand, the composition of the forces needed by France in auxiliary craft and submarines, which are specially intended for the protection of the colonies and their communications, the Cabinet and the Supreme Council of National Defense have reached the conclusion that it is impossible to accept a limitation below that of 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft and 90,000 tons for submarines, without imperiling the vital interests of the country and its colonies and the safety of their naval life. The French delegation has been instructed to consent to no concession on the above figures.

To sum up, France accepts, as regards capital ships, the sacrifice which she must face in order to meet the views of the conference, and which represents an important

reduction of her normal sea power. She limits the program of the future constitution of her fleet to 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft and to 90,000 tons for submarines.

Though regretting that she cannot possibly, under the present circumstances, entirely carry out the reductions and limitations contemplated in the American proposal, she at least feels quite certain that she is taking an important share in the work of the conference by reducing the French naval power in capital ships, a weapon specifically offensive and particularly costly, and by accepting a limitation for craft of other categories.

RESPONSE OF MR. HUGHES

Secretary Hughes's speech in reply to the foregoing was given out in the following official summary:

The Chairman said that the committee had heard the statement on behalf of the French Government. It was a definitive statement, made after careful deliberation, and he assumed that it should be accepted as the final expression of the attitude of the French Government in regard to the limitation of naval armament. He was greatly gratified at the willingness of the French Government to limit the tonnage of its capital ships to 175,000 tons. He felt that the importance of this statement should not in any way be minimized.

Capital ships were the chief weapon of offense. If the conference could succeed, as it was now evident that it would, in reducing in a fairly satisfactory manner armament as represented in capital ships, it would have done much to relieve the burden of taxation and would aid in establishing a better basis for a lasting peace. He wished to repeat that he was highly gratified and appreciated the manner in which the problem had been approached by the French Government. He understood that there were, however, certain reservations with respect to replacements and the duration of the agreement. These matters must receive further consideration and be the subject of continued negotiations.

He confessed that he was disappointed with the statement concerning submarines and auxiliary ships. If submarines were to be available for distinctly defensive purposes in connection with the movements of fleets, it would seem that they should bear some definite proportion to the fighting fleets; that is, if they were to be used in connection with the laying of mines, scouting, &c.—the necessities inherent in large defensive preparations—they should bear some relation to the operations of the fleet as a whole. The suggestion that France should have 90,000 tons of submarines would, on any basis of a practicable ratio, involve the assumption that Great Britain and the United States should

greatly increase their submarine tonnage. This could hardly be called a limitation or reduction. Furthermore, if a large number of submarines were to be provided, then cruisers and destroyers, the natural enemies of submarines, would have to be provided in numbers adequate to deal with the situation created by a large submarine fleet. It was a serious question whether there was hope of accomplishing anything like limitation in regard to submarines and auxiliary craft. He understood that the attitude of the French Government was that, regardless of the requirements of other nations, 90,000 tons of submarines were deemed to be the minimum essential for France.

If this was so, the suggestion of 330,000 tons of auxiliary vessels for France would have its bearings on what was considered necessary for the other nations and might make it difficult to arrive at an agreement limiting submarines and auxiliary craft. He did not desire at this time and in view of the existing situation to discuss details, but he wished to say that an agreement for the expansion of armament was not under consideration. The conference was called to consider the limitation of armament. He left it for the committee to decide in the light of the very definite statement of the French Government what was practicable to be done.

In conclusion, he wished to say that in expressing his disappointment in regard to submarines, he did not wish in any way to detract from the importance of the definite acceptance by France of the program for capital ships. This was a matter of the first importance and he could assure his French colleagues that their attitude was cordially and sincerely appreciated.

MR. BALFOUR'S PROTEST

The official paraphrase of Mr. Balfour's British protest was as follows:

Mr. Balfour admitted, as the Chairman had justly pointed out, that there was a side to the statement just made by their French colleagues which profoundly disappointed him. The French position with regard to disarmament on land they already knew. What was their position with regard to disarmament at sea?

They were prepared, and he rejoiced that they were prepared, to accept the ratio which gave them 175,000 tons of capital ships. He was glad that the French Government had accepted that all-important part of the American program, and he agreed that if nothing else was done by the conference in reference to naval disarmament the scheme already in sight with regard to the limitation of capital ships did immensely relieve the burden of armament upon an overburdened world. He did not feel himself that the sacrifice on the part of France was in itself of an over-

whelming character, even as regards capital ships, for he thought that if the naval strength of a nation was to be estimated in relation to the naval strength of other nations it would be found that the relative strength of France under the arrangement already accepted as regards capital ships would be increased. He did not begrudge her that increase. He rejoiced in it.

But when he turned from the matter of capital ships to the matter of other craft, he confessed that a very different picture met the eye. The French proposed to increase the number of submarines threefold. If they carried out that intention, it was evident that they would not only be equal to the other two greatest naval powers, America and Britain, in point of tonnage, but that they would have a very much larger proportion of submarines of a newer type than either of them. He understood the submarine was still in process of development; it was still adding to its powers of offense, and each new model was an improvement on the capacity of its predecessors for commerce destruction.

Thus it was certain that when that program was carried out the French quota of submarines would exceed that of any other power in the world. It had further to be noted that their French colleagues accompanied their views of the necessity of submarines with the announcement that they intended greatly to increase the tonnage of their auxiliary craft. It must be acknowledged that this constituted a somewhat singular contribution to the labors of a conference called for the diminution of armament. Considered in conjunction with refusal of the French delegation to discuss land armament, this position must cause anxiety and disappointment to those who had come to the conference with high hopes regarding the limitation of naval armaments. Furthermore, it had to be observed that the pleasure derived from the agreement with regard to the limitation of capital ships was subject to a qualification.

He understood that the French intended to begin replacing ships in 1927. This seemed to be a serious interference with the principle of a ten-year naval holiday, but that was only a small part of the anxiety and disappointment which the French program had created in his mind. They had now come forward with a great building program of submarines and auxiliary craft. He was perfectly unable to conceive how that could be regarded as a defensive policy.

If submarines were to be used as a strictly military weapon, in the manner contemplated by the American Advisory Committee, how came it that a fleet of capital ships limited to 175,000 tons required 90,000 tons of submarines to scout for it and protect it? And if 90,000 tons of submarines were really required for a fleet of 175,000 tons of capital ships, how many submarines would America and Britain require to build to assist their fleets of 500-

000 tons? It was perfectly obvious that the proposed 90,000 tons of submarines were intended to destroy commerce. They could not be intended for any other purpose.

It therefore appeared that at a moment when we were all assembled to discuss the limitation of armaments we were asked to agree to their increase, and that a country which did not desire to be among the first three naval powers in the world proposed nevertheless to build instruments of illegitimate warfare to an extent equal in numbers and superior in efficiency to those legitimately required by any other fleet in the world. We should therefore have the melancholy spectacle of a conference called for the limitation of armament resulting in a vast increase in the very weapon which the most civilized elements in all civilized countries condemned. For the moment we need say no more. The whole of this controversy would again come up before the public conference. For this occasion he reserved himself.

He must, however, dwell shortly on the effect which the French declaration of naval policy must inevitably produce upon British opinion. It was perfectly clear that if at our very gates a fleet of 90,000 tons of submarines, 60,000 of which were to be of the newest type, was to be constructed, no limitation of any kind of auxiliary vessels capable of dealing with submarines could be admitted by the Government which he represented. Public notice had now been given in the most formal manner that this great fleet was to be built on the shores nearest Britain, and it would necessarily be a very great menace to her. He had no doubt if the occasion ever arose that Britain would be equal to it, but it was on condition that we reserved the full right of Britain to build any auxiliary craft which she considered necessary to deal with the situation.

Signor Schanzer, for Italy, also expressed his deep regret that it was impossible to reach an understanding concerning auxiliary craft and submarines. He feared that the absence of such an understanding would give new impetus to competition in naval armament along these lines, which would have a serious financial effect on all the countries interested. Both economically and politically, he said, the decision of France might prove momentous to Italy, especially because the solution of the land armament problem had been deferred.

Vice Minister Hanihara, for Japan, stressed the importance of the capital ship agreement "as a great step forward" toward relief from the

heavy burden of armament. It was, however, he said, the Japanese view that it would be a great misfortune if the conference failed to agree on the limitation of auxiliary combatant craft. His delegation did not wish to claim freedom for building such craft, but to support the original American proposal of Nov. 12, and to aid in assuring the success of the conference along this line.

It was evident, Mr. Hughes said, that no agreement could be reached on the basis suggested by France, and also apparent that other powers desired freedom of action for the construction of anti-submarine auxiliary craft.

SARRAUT DEFENDS FRANCE

M. Sarraut then took the floor to say that the decisions of his Government had given rise to certain observations which he could not allow to remain unanswered. He spoke as follows:

To tell the truth, gentlemen, I am not here to make comment on the orders of my Government, which possess an authority and a value sufficient in themselves; the decisions which I have just communicated to you have been carefully considered by the highest authorities representing national sovereignty in my country. I have received them respectfully from their hands and have brought them just as they stand to the conference.

It is my duty, however—and I perform this duty in the perfectly friendly spirit which has never ceased to animate the French delegation—to take up the allegations which have just been made, certain ones of which I find wholly unacceptable.

Certain delegations, while testifying to their satisfaction in seeing France accept the reduced proportion of capital ships which has been determined for her, have expressed a real disappointment on learning that the French Government was unable to make similar sacrifices in other classes of vessels. Allow me to say that this disappointment, if it really exists, will call forth a similar feeling in my own country when it is learned there how the amount of tonnage allotted to France has been authoritatively determined without taking any account of her manifest needs and of the absolute necessities of her defense—for the security which no country is justified in trusting to the good offices of its neighbors.

It is this idea, this conception of the true

needs and interests of France and of her colonies, which has inspired the decisions of the French Government; it is this idea which is both the measure and the limit of their demand; and it is in no way influenced by any comparison with what our neighbors are doing or by any anxiety to measure our naval force against theirs.

Herein lies the profound difference between our point of view and those of others. We have not apportioned our needs and our demands by carefully examining the consequences to the French navy of the increase of the naval power of certain neighboring countries with whom we cherish, under the happiest of conditions, relations of friendship, co-operation and alliance. We are not guided by any fear of what their strength may be, precisely because they are friends. Great Britain, with her 525,000 tons of capital ships, will possess a fleet of great vessels stronger than the corresponding fleets of France and Italy put together.

So be it; we ourselves do not take offense. We are not the least in the world haunted by this eventuality, no more than we are apprehensive of the fact that the fleets of the other friendly nations, the United States and Japan, will be considerably increased in comparison with our fleet.

Why, then, they say, is a submarine fleet such as is demanded by France a necessity for her? Do we quibble over the needs of the others? Do we call into question their possible intentions? Do we suspect them? Assuredly we shall not do so. It is not only the right but the duty of each country to assure its safety by its own means, and it is perfectly possible to consider this problem without being haunted by the idea of a possible aggression on the part of a neighbor. That others should apply to us such a method of reasoning while we do not think of applying it to them we cannot permit in any way. This would be still more painful to us, would appear to us more especially inadmissible at this table around which we are gathered in a spirit of the most cordial co-operation, at the very moment when, in bringing the answer of France in the matter of capital ships, we are furnishing the most positive proof of the effective participation of our country in the success of the great ideals of peace aimed at by this conference.

If our answer is not the same for other categories as it is for capital ships, this is because the tonnages which we have indicated correspond to material needs of defense, to necessities of protection which must no longer be denied, for we shall not cease to affirm them strongly. We have no desire to destroy merchant vessels, as Mr. Balfour has said; we have formally declared the contrary here, and this declaration was echoed not later than yesterday in the French Senate. But France has coast lines which she must defend; she has also, and above all, a great colonial domain,

second in importance only to that of Great Britain, which is distributed over all the seas, and concerning which we also may have, I presume, our anxiety as to its defense, its police, and its surveillance.

We have the duty of safeguarding the communications of these colonies with the mother country, and I have already said here that in case of war the safe transport of our troops overseas to the mother country would be among the first of our obligations. This is not a mere theory. Have we not in the last war seen a belligerent transform merchant ships into auxiliary cruisers or into privateers to torpedo our transports; and has not this been done against all the allied navies? And should it cause surprise here to see the Minister of Colonies of France take account of colonial considerations and call to mind that our colonial empire, though some would seem to be ignorant of it, really exists, and that its needs, as well as its interests, must be strongly affirmed, defended, protected, especially in the matter of safe communications with the mother country?

I reiterate that the French delegation is bound by formal instructions from its Government. This is a fact of which it reminds you anew. It cannot deviate from them. I wish to repeat again that it is impossible for me to hear it said, without protesting, without asserting the contrary, that there was an inevitable and necessary correlation between what we are obliged to do and what our neighbors would deem themselves obliged to do.

Nor do we admit that there is an indispensable and logical correlation between the proportion of a country's naval force in capital ships and the proportion of its auxiliary craft and submarines. That is an abstract rule which you thought you ought to lay down here. But we have shown why we could not recognize it. We are guided by our needs, duly stated, proved, legitimized.

It is this rule, and no other thought, which dominate our feelings on the submarine question. We object to having it believed or to having it said that the creation by France of a defensive weapon involving a certain tonnage of submarines could be considered as a menace to any of her friends.

If such a thought were to weigh all too heavily on our deliberations, if I found myself obliged to defend my country here against such a suspicion, this would indeed result in eliminating the hopefulness and the enthusiasm with which I have so far collaborated in the work of relieving the burden of armaments, in accord with the desire of France as clearly manifested by her sacrifice to which she has consented in the matter of capital ships.

But, to tell the truth, I am not likely to be discouraged in this matter. The work is too fine and too generously humanitarian to permit our efforts and our good will to

grow weary. They will remain faithful to the end to the noble project aimed at by this conference.

PERIL TO GREAT BRITAIN

The British answer to this was given out in the following summary:

Mr. Balfour said that M. Sarraut was the last man in the world whom he would suspect of hostile intentions toward his country, but the speech which M. Sarraut had just delivered was sufficient to show that he had not really understood the way in which Britain regarded the question now under consideration.

Mr. Balfour begged him to consider one or two elementary facts without which he would not understand the position of the British Empire. While it was almost unthinkable that their respective countries could be on anything but the most cordial terms, one must not overlook the teaching of history. Britain had had many conflicts with France, though happily in the distant past.

Britain had always been superior in naval armament and always inferior in land forces. Never in the history of France had she had to fear the power of Great Britain to strike a blow at her heart. In the nature of things that must be so. No inferior military power had ever yet been able to invade or seriously imperil a superior military power merely because she had more ships.

Suppose the almost inconceivable happened and close allies became enemies, it was perfectly clear that in that case no British superiority of capital ships would imperil the life of France for an hour. To be fair, he must admit that it might conceivably imperil some remote islands belonging to France; but France, with her land armament, would remain secure in the face of superior sea power.

Now compare the position of France in the face of a superior British surface fleet with the position of Britain in the face of France with the largest submarine fleet in the world. She could use that fleet, if she chose, for commerce destruction, and it was difficult to believe that in time of stress she would not so use it. If Britain were unarmed against submarines, it was evident that France, using that felonious weapon, could destroy her very existence.

Therefore, it was quite impossible for Britain to treat the submarine fleet with the serene and friendly philosophy shown by M. Sarraut in connection with the British fleet of capital ships. M. Sarraut talked of the absolute necessity for France of possessing a fleet of 90,000 tons of submarines. For what purpose? Not to co-operate with a fleet of 175,000 tons of capital ships. It was altogether out of proportion. What did he want the 90,000 tons of

submarines for? According to him, it was not for commerce destruction; it was for the protection of France's lines of communication.

There was no doubt that submarines were powerful for the destruction of lines of communication, but they were powerless to protect them. M. Sarraut would not obtain security for his lines of communication by those means. For those purposes they were useless, or nearly useless. They were powerful weapons for one purpose, and for one purpose only, namely, the destruction of commerce; and it was not unreasonable that Great Britain, when threatened by the establishment within a few miles of her coasts of a vast fleet of submarines which were of no use except to destroy commerce, should say candidly that she could not look with indifference upon the situation that would be thus created.

He regretted that he had been compelled to insist upon an aspect of the question which he would gladly have left undealt with. He did not yield to M. Sarraut in his conviction that the good feeling existing between his own country and their great ally across the Channel would remain unshaken through all the changes which time might bring.

The long and animated debate here reached its logical end. It was stated by Secretary Hughes, and generally acknowledged by the conference, that the refusal by France had made further progress impossible. The discussion then initiated on the subject of tonnage and gun limitation for auxiliary craft will be found treated under the appropriate sub-head further along in these pages. The next large question discussed centred about the resolutions offered by Mr. Elihu Root at this same session of Dec. 28 asking the conference to declare formally that the submarine could not be legally used against merchant shipping. The debate precipitated on this proposal is recorded in the pages that follow.

The London press reacted strongly to France's refusal to modify her submarine and auxiliary craft program, declaring that the world's hope was thus defeated. France was likened to the former Germany in the role she was now playing, and unfavorable omens were drawn as to the future relations between France and Great Britain. The London Times endorsed the view, already expressed by Mr. Balfour, that the French program

would necessitate a counter-building program on the part of Great Britain. The dangers of French isolation were generally emphasized.

The Paris Temps, on the other hand, declared that the French viewpoint was still imperfectly understood. It said in part:

France put forward at Washington a claim which, in the minds of her plenipotentiaries, was purely theoretical, demanding that, when her financial condition permitted, she should take a fitting place in the consortium of great naval powers, which base sea peace on their armored forces, and she sacrificed the demand in the interests of the peace of the world.

Can she agree to further sacrifices? The whole country is behind the Parliament and the Government on this point. She cannot abandon the right to defend herself. If some day soon we have to transport once more our Algerian and Moroccan divisions to the Rhine, it will be under the protection of our dreadnoughts, light cruisers and submarines.

THE ROOT RESOLUTIONS ON SUBMARINES

One of the most momentous results achieved by the arms conference was the passing of a series of resolutions drawn up and presented in their first form by Elihu Root of the American delegation at the joint session of the Committees on Limitation of Armament and Naval Limitation, held on Dec. 28, and finally adopted in their entirety at the sessions of Jan. 5 and Jan. 6, 1922. The resolutions formally condemned the illegal use of the submarine as a weapon of naval warfare. Resolution I. stated the existing law, as universally recognized by the civilized world, and prohibited submarines from attacking merchant vessels unless these laws could be observed. Resolution II. embodied an invitation to all the world powers to give their assent to these proposals. Resolution III. went still further; it recognized the virtual impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violation of law, and bound the conference powers to prohibit such use among themselves. Resolution IV. made not only all submarine commanders, but the commanders of any ships guilty of such

transgression, liable to punishment for piracy.

Resolutions I., II. and III. were adopted at the session of Jan. 5; Resolution IV. at the session of Jan. 6. The official text of all four resolutions, as finally passed, is as follows:

I.

The signatory powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, declare that among those rules the following are to be deemed an established part of international law:

(1) A merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search to determine its character before it can be seized.

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to submit to visit and search after warning or to proceed as directed after seizure.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

(2) Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated, and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules, the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from seizure and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

II.

The signatory powers invite all other civilized powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law so that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

III.

The signatory powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating, as they were violated in the recent war of 1914-1918, the requirements, universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants, and to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves and they invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

IV.

The signatory powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any power who shall violate any of these rules, whether or

not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

These resolutions, as first presented by Mr. Root at the session of Dec. 28, came as a climax to the three days' debate on submarine limitation, in the course of which Mr. Balfour, as spokesman for the entire British Empire delegation, made a strong but unsuccessful plea for the total abolition of the submarine by all civilized powers. The British plea failed because of the attitude taken by the French, Italian and Japanese delegations backed by instructions from their Governments, and even by the United States, that the submarine had real utility as a defensive weapon, and that the conference powers, by abolishing this agency, would place themselves at a great disadvantage with respect to the nations not represented. The French Government's flat refusal to accept anything less than a submarine fleet of 90,000 tons brought that phase of the conference to an impasse.

All the more electrifying, therefore, were the resolutions offered by Mr. Root on Dec. 28, which, on the very ground urged by Mr. Balfour, namely, the impossibility of using the submarine against merchant shipping without infringing the accepted laws of humanity, asked the conference and the world to agree that such use should be prohibited.

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS

In order to understand the stages by which the foregoing document was shaped, it is necessary to examine Mr. Root's original proposals (Dec. 28.), which were as follows:

I.

The signatory powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, declare that among those rules the following are to be deemed an established part of international law:

1. A merchant vessel must be ordered to stop for visit and search to determine its character before it can be captured.

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to stop for visit and search after warning.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

2. Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated, and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from capture and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

The signatory powers invite the adherence of all the civilized powers to the foregoing statement of established law to the end that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

II.

The signatory powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of the neutrals and noncombatants and, to the end that the prohibition of such use shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, they declare their assent to such prohibition and invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

III.

The signatory powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules declared by them with respect to the prohibition of the use of submarines in warfare, further declare that any person in the service of any of the powers adopting these rules who shall violate any of the rules thus adopted, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war, and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy, and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any such powers within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

OPENING OF THE DEBATE

All the delegations expressed sympathy with the spirit of these resolutions from the outset. The text was distributed for examination and study, and debate upon them was opened at the session of Dec. 29. When that session closed, the first part of the Root proposals had been unanimously accepted in principle.

All the members of the American delegation spoke in its favor.

Secretary Hughes, in opening the morning session of that day, proposed that the discussion at that time be confined to the first part of the Root proposals, which summarized the existing rules of war regarding attacks on merchant ships and declared that the submarine was not exempt from those regulations. Mr. Balfour said that he was in favor of reaffirming those rules. Admiral de Bon for France stated that his delegation would welcome every opportunity to condemn the use Germany had made of her submarines during the war, but he, as well as Signor Schanzer for Italy and Mr. Hanihara for Japan, though favoring the spirit of the proposals, expressed a desire to have the resolutions submitted to a committee of jurists to test the correctness of the international principles laid down by Mr. Root, and to redraft the resolutions if it should prove necessary. Signor Schanzer made the point that the second part of the Root proposal, forbidding all use of submarines against merchant craft, was not in agreement with the first part. He further believed that it would be useful to give a clear definition of merchant craft in order to make them recognizable and to establish plainly in which cases a submarine shall abstain from attacking a ship, and in which cases, on the contrary, attack is to be permitted, as, for example, in the case of a merchantman regularly armed, or of a privateer.

Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada on the British delegation, pointed out that the Root proposal in its second part was intended to mark a notable and most desirable advance on the existing rules governing international warfare. This part urged that the prohibition of illegal use of the submarine should be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, and asked the conference nations to declare their assent to such prohibition, and to invite all other nations to adhere

thereto. Though he believed that this was wise, he also believed that the exact wording should be carefully examined, and, like the other delegates who had spoken, he favored submitting the proposal to a body of experts, provided that this would not prevent action by the conference. He specially stressed his country's approval of the clause which made a lawless submarine commander liable to punishment for piracy, and cited a case where twenty Canadian nurses had been drowned during the war as the result of the torpedoing of a hospital ship.

MR. ROOT ON HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS

Mr. Root arose to reply specifically to the points made by Signor Schanzer. He said in part:

As to the agreement of Article I. of the resolutions now before the committee with the second article relative to the prohibition of making use of submarines as commerce destroyers, which he deems inconsistent with Article I.:

Article I. is a statement of existing law; Article II., if adopted, would constitute a change from the existing law, and, therefore, it is impossible to say that it is not inconsistent. If it were not inconsistent, there would be no change. Article II. could not be consistent with Article I. and still make a change.

Senator Schanzer also suggests that the resolution be completed, including a definition of "a merchant ship." Throughout all the long history of international law no term has been better understood than the term "a merchant ship." It could not be made clearer by the addition of definitions, which would only serve to weaken and confuse it. The merchant ship, its treatment, its rights, its protection, and its immunities are at the base of the law of nations. Nothing is more clearly or better understood than the subject we call the merchant ship.

Now, with regard to the proposal to refer this matter to a committee of lawyers, far be it from me to say anything derogatory to the members of the profession of which I have been an humble member for more years than I care to remember. They are the salt of the earth; they are the noblest work of God; they are superior in intellect and authority to all other people whatsoever. But both this conference and my own life are approaching their termination. I do not wish these resolutions to be in the hands of a commission even of lawyers after we adjourn.

I supposed when we adjourned yesterday and after what had been said concerning the opportunity for critical examination, that the different delegations would call in their own experts and ask their advice with regard to this resolution, which is now the only one before the committee. I had supposed that the experts in international law brought here for the purpose of advising, would have been asked whether this was a correct statement of the rules and that we would have here today the result of that inquiry.

I would like to say that I am entitled to know whether any delegation questions this statement of existing international law. You are all in favor of the principle of the resolution, if it is correct. Does this or does it not state the law of nations as it exists? If it does, you are all in favor of it. What then hinders its adoption?

Senator Schanzer in describing the action of submarines with regard to merchant vessels repeated on his own behalf the very words of this resolution. The very words—*ipsisimis verbis*—of this resolution may be found in Senator Schanzer's remarks. My respect for the learning, experience and ability of the various delegates around this table forbids me to doubt that every one here is perfectly familiar with the rules and usages as stated in the first clause of Article I. This does not purport to be a codification of the laws of nations as regards merchant vessels or to contain all the rules. It says that the following are to be deemed among the existing rules of international law. The time has come to reaffirm them:

1. A merchant vessel must be ordered to stop for visit and search to determine its character before it can be captured.

Do we not all know that is true? It is a long-established principle.

2. A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to stop for visit and search after warning.

3. A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have first been placed in safety.

Is there any question whatever as to the correctness of these statements? * * * This is only elementary. The object of the resolution is to form something which will crystallize public opinion of the world. It was made perfectly simple on purpose.

AN IMPASSIONED APPEAL

Then follows a principle of vital importance, on which I challenge denial. If all the lawyers in the world should get together they could not decide the question more conclusively. The public opinion of the world says that the submarine is not under any circumstances exempt from the rules above stated, and if so, they cannot capture merchant vessels. This is of the greatest importance. That is a negation of the assertion of Germany in the war that

if a submarine could not capture a merchant vessel in accord with established rules the rules must fail and the submarine was entitled to make the capture. The public opinion of the civilized world has denied this and has rendered its judgment in the action that won the war. It was the revolt of humanity against the position of Germany that led to Germany's defeat.

Is that not a true rendering of the opinion of the civilized world which we seek to express? My friends and colleagues, this is real life we are dealing with here. This is no perfunctory business for a committee of lawyers. It is a statement of action and of undisputed principles universally known and not open to discussion, put in such a form that it may crystallize the public opinion of the world, that there may be no doubt in any future war whether the kind of action that sent down the *Lusitania* is legitimate war or piracy.

This conference was called for what? For the limitation of armament. But limitation is not the end, only the means. It is the belief of the world that this conference was convened to promote the peace of the world—to relieve mankind of the horrors and the losses and the intolerable burdens of war.

We cannot justify ourselves in separating without some declaration that will give voice to the humane opinion of the world upon this subject, which was the most vital, the most heartfelt, the most stirring to the conscience and to the feeling of the people of all our countries of anything that occurred during the late war. I feel to the depth of my heart that the man who was responsible for sinking the *Lusitania* committed an act of piracy. I know that all my countrymen with whom I have had intercourse feel the same, and I should be ashamed to go on with this conference without some declaration, some pronouncement, which will give voice to the feeling and furnish an opportunity for the crystallization of the opinion of mankind in the establishment of a rule which will make it plain to all the world that no man can commit such an act again without being stigmatized as a pirate.

ACTION AT THE HAGUE

There are two ways in which this question that Germany raised about the right of submarines to disobey the rules of international law—what they said in the way of destroying a merchant vessel—can be settled. With the whole dominion of the air unregulated by international law, with the score of difficult questions staring us in the face (such as blockade, contraband and other questions in the field of law), there was a recommendation made by the committee of jurists which assembled at The Hague last year, 1920, upon the invitation of the Council of the League of Nations, to devise and report a plan for an international court of justice.

[Mr. Root then described the meeting of that commission, and quoted in full the resolution finally passed by it favoring the calling of a new conference of the nations for the purpose of restating the established rules of international law, especially in the fields affected by the events of the recent war, of amending them where necessary and of considering new regulations not covered by the existing international law. That recommendation, he said, was communicated to the Council of the League of Nations and referred by it in a somewhat modified form to the League Assembly, which rejected it. "The door was closed," said Mr. Root. He continued:]

Where do we stand? Is this not to be a world regulated by law? What are our disarmaments worth if we give our assent to the proposition that the impulse of the moment, the unregulated and unconstrained instincts of brute force, shall rule the world and that there shall be no law? If there is to be a law, somebody must move.

There is no adequate law now with regard to submarines. There is no law now regarding aircraft. There is no law now regarding poisonous gases, and somebody must move. The door to a conference is closed, and here we are met in a solemn conference of the five greatest powers upon the limitation of armaments and charged to do something toward the peace of the world. This resolution proposes to restate the rules of war that have been trampled under foot, flouted and disregarded. This resolution proposes that we assert again the domination of those humane rules for the protection of human life, and that we discredit and condemn the attempt to overturn them. This resolution proposes to tell what we really believe, that we characterize as it ought to be characterized the attempt to overturn the rules impressed by humanity upon the conduct of its Governments.

Mr. Root then urged an immediate vote on his resolutions, declaring: "Either we speak clearly and intelligently the voice of humanity, which has sent us here, and to which we must report, or that voice will speak for itself, and, speaking without us, will be our condemnation." He added one last explanation:

I omitted, in answering Senator Schanzer's question regarding the relations between Articles I. and II., to say that of course, if the second article were adopted by all the world, it would supersede Article I. This, however, would be a long, slow process, and during the interval the law as it stands must apply until an agreement is reached. Article I. also explains in authorized form the existing law, and can be brought forward when the public asks what changes are proposed. In proposing a change it is necessary to make clear what the law now

is. It is very important to link this authoritative statement in Article I. with the new principle proposed in Article II.

ADOPTING THE RESOLUTIONS

The remainder of the morning session was devoted to suggestions for clarifying and developing the resolutions. When the committees met in their ninth joint session that afternoon (Dec. 29) they formally adopted Article I. In the discussion of changes Mr. Root showed entire willingness that the resolutions should go through the process known to parliamentarians as "perfection by amendment." All the heads of delegations took part in the debate, and after Secretary Hughes had spoken again in favor of Article I., he finally put it to the vote of the conference, subject to such verbal changes as might be made by the Drafting Committee still to be appointed. After each delegation had signified its consent, the Chairman announced that the article had been unanimously carried, and requested the delegations to appoint their representatives on the Drafting Committee whose task it would be to shape the phraseology. Mr. Root had been designated to serve in that capacity for the American delegation, he said. The Subcommittee on Drafting, as finally constituted, was made up thus:

United States—Mr. Root.

British Empire—Sir Auckland Geddes.

France—Vice Admiral de Bon and M. Kammerer.

Italy—Signor Ricci.

Japan—Mr. Hanihara.

Article II. was then taken up, but it was found impossible to adopt it formally at this session. It provided for agreement that submarines should not be used against merchant shipping in any way whatsoever, inasmuch as this was impossible without violating the principles of humanity. The delegates showed an inclination to defer action on this until it could be studied further. Secretary Hughes pointed out that it was in effect a proposition to change the law

already restated in Article I.; the law which had been ignored and trampled upon, but which, nevertheless, was still regarded as internationally obligatory. The new resolution would mean that the civilized world was asked to outlaw the submarine as a weapon against commerce. He also pointed out that the assent of the nations present, under the last words of the resolution, would be binding only if the resolution became a part of international law, not if other nations, by their refusal, prevented it from becoming a general international principle.

Mr. Root rose to confirm this interpretation. Mr. Balfour, referring to Mr. Root's statement that the powers here represented were only pledging themselves to induce other nations, if possible, to support a great reform, asked if it was not possible to go a little further; why should the five nations not agree among themselves to act on the rule which Mr. Root proposed? Instead of merely adopting a resolution which would be inoperative until generally adopted, why not adopt immediately the principles which they desired to see eventually embodied in international law?

Mr. Root in reply laid down the broad principles governing the constitution of international law, notably the general rule that international law requires universal acceptance. He saw, however, no objection to the nations represented giving their own prior and individual assent, and cited as a precedent the process by which the Constitution of the United States was amended by a progressive vote of all the States, the amendment not becoming valid until all the States had voted in its favor. Such an assent, preliminary to ratification by the other nations of the world, and providing that the five powers represented at this conference should be bound by such a prohibition as between each other, he declared, would make for security and good understanding.

A SIMPLE RULE THE BEST

Mr. Root further discussed the policy of making the prohibition broad and not detailed. A detailed prohibition could not be enforced, he said. The wisdom of a broad prohibition did not rest on theory, but on their memory of the most painful events of recent times. To the world's indignant protests to the torpedoing of innocent merchant ships and the blowing up of captured vessels the Germans had replied that it was impossible for the submarines to comply with the rules made to govern the actions of surface craft. Germany declared it to be impossible, said Mr. Root, and it was impossible. The submarine could not take a great load of passengers into its small interior, where air had to be furnished artificially. The distress of the passengers and crew left to die was obvious. The United States admitted that the submarine had no alternative, but instead of accepting the decision that the rule must fail it adopted the other alternative, that all such warfare must end. There was no fact more firmly established than that a belligerent nation would not resist the temptation to gain its point at whatever cost, and this would always stand between the submarines and compliance with the rules of civilized procedure. The only way to secure the safety of innocent noncombatants was to pass a simple and enforceable rule like the one proposed, prohibiting an attack which could not be made without breaking the rule. The public opinion of all civilized countries would give it sufficient support; no nation would willingly face the punishment of world condemnation.

Secretary Hughes then restated the proposals before the committee, including Mr. Balfour's separate motion that the five nations present record their individual assent. Mr. Balfour put his motion to amend the last part of Article II. (it later became Article III.) in the following definite form:

They declare their assent to such prohibition and they agree to be bound forthwith thereby, as between themselves, and they invite all other nations to adhere to the present agreement.

NEW FRANCO-BRITISH CLASH

The debate on the Root resolution was resumed at the session held on Dec. 30, the tenth joint meeting. A sensation was produced early in the discussion by Lord Lee. Renewing his attack upon the French attitude on submarines and declaring that the French, by passing the Root resolution, had a splendid opportunity to reassure the British Admiralty regarding France's future use of the submarine weapon, he read in justification of the British apprehensions an article published two years ago in a French naval magazine by one Captain Castex, now Chief of Staff for the Second French Naval Division, who defended the German methods of employing the underseas boats during the war. The seriousness of this lay in the fact that Captain Castex had but recently been designated as principal lecturer to the senior officers' courses for the year 1922, and unless a change of French policy occurred, would be "pouring what we regard as this infamy and this poison into the ears of the serving officers of the French Navy." Lord Lee cited particularly the concluding paragraph:

Thanks to the submarine, after many centuries of effort; thanks to the ingenuity of man, the instrument, the system, the martingale is at hand which will overthrow for good and all the naval power of the British Empire.

After depicting the fears and the bitterness which the British felt over the thought that their late comrades in arms and present allies should contemplate the possibility of such warfare and such designs, Lord Lee closed with a new appeal to the French to pass the Root resolution, and thus regain the ground that France had lost through this misunderstanding.

M. Sarraut and Admiral de Bon

both made vigorous replies, repudiating emphatically the views of Captain Castex as an expression of the policy of the French Navy. M. Sarraut took occasion to deplore the hostile propaganda of which France was continually the victim.

The session had opened with a statement by both the French and Italian delegations to the effect that, pending the receipt of instructions from their home Governments, they thought any present discussion of submarines would be unprofitable. Thereupon Lord Lee launched his verbal broadside, speaking in part as follows:

I quite appreciate the position in which we stand in the absence of complete instructions to two of the most important delegations here. I cannot help feeling that in the minds of the French delegation and Government there exists some misunderstanding as to the attitude of the British Government in regard to submarines which it is desirable to clear up before the French Government commits itself in regard to the second resolution.

I cannot help feeling that here we have a unique opportunity for the French delegation and Government to reassure the British Admiralty and public opinion in regard to this matter, of which I hope they will avail themselves. * * * The difficulty is (and this is a point that our Admiralty and our naval staff have to face), we are not clear what are the views of the French naval staff on this matter of the utilization of submarines in time of war. * * *

M. Briand quoted the other day in his memorable speech the atrocious sentiments expressed by General Ludendorff and by von Moltke, sentiments which still constitute in his view a menace to France and which it is essential that France should guard herself against. It is, therefore, I hope, not improper nor in any sense provocative if I have to call attention to the kind of statement, the kind of suggestion of policy which is openly made in high and responsible quarters of the French Naval General Staff in connection with the use of submarines.

If, as I believe, they do not represent the views of the French Government, if, as I hope and believe, they will be at once repudiated, and in an effective manner, then possibly our apprehensions and the attitude which we are compelled to adopt with regard to the use of submarines in war may be very largely modified. I feel bound to give chapter and verse to illustrate the anxiety we feel in regard to this matter. There was published quite recently in the *Revue Maritime*, a technical and official

publication published in January, 1920, under the direction of the French Naval General Staff, a series of articles now incorporated, I believe, in "*Synthese de la Guerre Sous-Marine*" by Capitaine de Frégate Castex, who at that time was chief of one of the important bureaux of the French Naval Staff; who is now Chief of Staff to the Admiral of the Second Division of the Mediterranean and who has just been designated as principal lecturer to the senior officers' courses for the next year.

VIEWS OF CAPTAIN CASTEX

"Therefore I am not quoting some retired naval officer writing from his club. We all suffer from such gentlemen, who propound extraordinary theories. I am speaking now of a responsible officer of the French Naval Staff in a high position, who wrote in particular an article on "Piracy," in which after some preliminary observations destined to throw ridicule on those who criticised the German methods in the late war and treat them with great contempt, he proceeds to say this:

"In the first place, before throwing stones at the Germans we should have recalled that this war of the torpedo was, like so many other novelties of our planet, the application of an idea, which in its origin was essentially French."

Then he quotes in support of his view the doctrine which had been laid down some years ago by Admiral Aube, who was a very distinguished and celebrated French Minister of Marine, who had used the following words when speaking of the use of the torpedo from a torpedo boat [Captain Castex goes on to point out that they are equally applicable to the submarine today]:

"Will the torpedo boat tell the Captain of the liner that it is there, that it is lying in wait for him, that it can sink him, and in consequence take him prisoner? In one word, will it seize its prize by platonic methods? On the contrary, at an appropriate distance, and unseen, the torpedo boat will follow the liner which it marks out for its victim. In the dead of night, quietly, silently, it will send to the abyss the liner, cargo, passengers and crew. Then with a mind not only serene, but fully satisfied with the results achieved, the Captain of the torpedo boat will continue his cruise."

He continues:

"The Germans, as is their wont, have only appropriated in this case the invention of others. The young French school no doubt only had in mind the torpedo boat as such, but, if the effect of the torpedo is independent of the tube which launches it, it will be agreed that the German submarine war had its germ in the observations quoted above. But approaching the question from a higher standpoint than that of mere inquiry as to who conceived this new

form of warfare, it must be recognized that the Germans were absolutely justified in resorting to it."

He says, indeed, that to neglect to do so would have been to commit a great blunder. Further:

"It is thus that resolute belligerents have acted throughout the course of history when people have been engaged in desperate conflict."

Further:

"To sum up, one can see nothing in the attitude of the Germans which, militarily speaking, is not adequately correct. The failure to give notice before torpedoing has raised a storm of protest, but it is not inadmissible, as at first sight appears. * * *

There is much more of the same kind, but he concludes his article with these words:

"Thanks to the submarine, after many centuries of effort, thanks to the ingenuity of man, the instrument, the system, the martingale is at hand which will overthrow for good and all the naval power of the British Empire."

I have quoted this because, as I say, it is the utterance of a responsible member of the French naval staff who, at the time of writing, was in a high position and was the actual head of a bureau. These things are known to our naval staff, of course; indeed, they were published to the world under the authority of the French naval staff.

Now, this officer, who is appointed principal lecturer to the senior officers' course, will, no doubt, unless a change of policy takes place, be pouring what we regard as this infamy and this poison into the ears of the serving officers of the French Navy.

That is the justification for what I can only describe as the apprehensions and even the bitterness that we must feel in the thought that under any conceivable circumstances our present allies, our late comrades in arms in the greatest war the world has ever known, should contemplate the possibility of warfare of that kind.

It seems to me, now that we have expressed those apprehensions, the way is open for the French delegation and the French Government, as I fervently trust they will, to disavow and repudiate these things. I suggest respectfully that there is only one way in which that can be effectively done, and that is by the adoption of these resolutions which have been moved by Mr. Root, and particularly No. 2, with the amendment suggested by Mr. Balfour attached to it. * * *

ADMIRAL DE BON'S REPLY

Speaking for France, Admiral de Bon made this reply:

I have been deeply gratified by Lord Lee's statement. Since the beginning of this discussion we could not comprehend the misunderstanding which seemed to have

arisen between us, because—I state it openly and declare it most emphatically—there is nothing more foreign to our minds than the idea of attacking a friend. It is not even conceivable to us. Our only regret is that this misunderstanding has lasted so long and that we did not know that it was based on an article like that written by Captain Castex.

He is, it is true, an officer who belonged to the General Staff, but who was attached to a literary section. He was above all a man of letters. His article was published in the *Revue Maritime*, which is, to a certain extent, an organ recognized by the French Navy, but on its title page it bears a statement to the effect that the French Admiralty and General Staff decline to assume any responsibility whatever as regards utterances contained in the articles, which responsibility rests wholly with the authors of the articles. Each writer is free to express his own opinions, but he does so at his own risk.

The charge should be laid at the door of the man who wrote the article, and to him only. The article in no way represents, thank Heaven, the views of the French.

Captain Castex brings up an old argument regarding the torpedo boat. I was telling you only the other day in regard to submarines that we were going through once more the same stages of discussion which marked the appearance of the torpedo boat. There has been no instance in history when the appearance of a new weapon has not unleashed a sort of fanaticism in the ranks of partisans. There are always extremists who wish to impose their ideas and make fantastic statements to that end. But in the end common sense always steps in and public opinion keeps the ultimate judgment within reasonable limits.

At the time when frantic enthusiasts believed that torpedo boats were the noblest of inventions, abominable things appeared in print which had no effect on actual practice or on the doctrines adopted by the various Governments with regard to the use of torpedo boats, I can find no better way of condemning the article in question.

The author of that article has written what we consider to be a monstrosity. The French delegation has repeatedly stated that it unreservedly condemned the practices of the German submarines during the late war and that it desired that a declaration strongly condemning them should issue from the conference and be spread over the entire world.

I beg Lord Lee to believe that the French Navy has never harbored any idea of using methods of war practiced by the German submarines, for which we feel only horror, not only against the British Empire, but against any other country whatever.

I maintain that the honor of the French General Staff and of the French Navy, which have a record of centuries of struggle without a single stain on their escutcheon—

cannot be sullied by the article in question. This article is the work of an officer who is a man of letters rather than a sailor; and I formally repudiate it in the name of the French Navy.

M. Sarraut, as head of the French delegation, solemnly confirmed Admiral de Bon's formal repudiation, adding:

Truly, we have had enough of these misunderstandings; they must be done away with. I, for my part, hope for it with all my strength. Mutual confidence free of all reserves must again prevail among us. In this respect the French Government has given and is ready to give every guarantee; its word, indeed, should suffice.

COMPLETING THE RESOLUTIONS

With the ending of this episode, Secretary Hughes, having noted Japan's general approval of Resolution II. of the Root proposals and also her inability to give formal approval until the receipt of instructions from Tokio, brought Resolution III. before the Joint Committee. Mr. Pearce, representing Australia on the British Empire delegation, rose to say that there was one point connected with this resolution which he believed should be amended forthwith. He referred to the fact that the declaration of outlawry on all transgressors of the international code laid down by Mr. Root included only persons in the service of any of the powers "adopting these rules." This would mean, he said, that the submarine officers of nations not adhering to these resolutions would not be liable. He believed that an amendment should be made to extend the rules so that they might become part of international law in order to make them universally effective. Mr. Root acknowledged the "importance and interest" of the point that Senator Pearce had raised. The session closed with a debate on the limitation of tonnage for auxiliary craft, an account of which will be found further along under the appropriate heading.

The sessions of the joint committees were temporarily discontinued

at this date (Dec. 30) in order to give the heads of the various delegations an opportunity to supervise the work in preparation for the coming agreement on all matters relating to naval armament. The committees did not meet again until Jan. 5. At this session all the five powers represented in the Naval Committee adopted all but the last of the Root resolutions. The form in which the resolutions were adopted differed from the original version in the following respects: Resolution I. was divided into two parts, and renumbered. The new Resolution I. laid down the international rules governing submarine attacks on merchant vessels, and declared that the submarine was not exempt from these rules. The new Resolution II. embodied the invitation to all other powers to subscribe to this statement. Resolution II. of the original proposals, which declared against the destruction of merchant vessels by submarines, then became the new Resolution III.

Because of the divergence of views, the committee did not adopt any definition of a merchant ship, viz., the conditions under which an armed merchantman would become an auxiliary cruiser. Each nation thus remained free to decide for itself what class of ships shall or shall not be immune from attack as commerce ships in time of war.

The third original resolution, now renumbered as IV., made the commanders, not only of submarines, but of all other ships, who transgressed the international laws, subject to punishment on the charge of piracy; this was not adopted until the following session, held on Jan. 6. With the passing of this last resolution, the long debate on the submarine issue reached its logical close, and the five greatest naval powers of the world stood committed to the prohibition of the use of submarines as destroyers of commerce, accepting this prohibition as binding on themselves, and inviting all other nations to adhere thereto.

LIMITING AUXILIARY SHIPS

The question of auxiliary ships was first taken up by Secretary Hughes at the session of Dec. 28, after it had become apparent that no progress could be made toward auxiliary ships and submarine limitation, owing to France's refusal of the American proposals. In answer to Mr. Balfour's declaration that if the French Government insisted on carrying out a large submarine program Great Britain would consider herself free to construct anti-submarine auxiliary craft to the extent she deemed necessary, Mr. Hughes said that he did not understand that Mr. Balfour intended to include capital ships in this freedom of action, and also that it was not the intention to build capital ships under the guise of auxiliary craft. If it was not possible to agree on the total tonnage limitation of auxiliary craft, he continued, some arrangement might be made to define the tonnage limit of individual ships. As a basis for such a definition, he offered the following resolution:

No ship of war other than the capital ships or aircraft carriers hereafter built shall exceed a total tonnage displacement of 10,000 tons, and no guns shall be carried by any such ship with a calibre in excess of eight inches.

The second part of this motion was adopted by the joint committees, but the proposal limiting an auxiliary ship's tonnage was referred to the respective Governments. Such a limitation, Lord Lee said, was a necessary corollary to the agreement to limit capital ships, as it would prevent the building of so-called light cruisers, which would be battleships in disguise. He understood that the experts were in agreement as to the reasonableness of the 10,000-ton limit as proposed by Secretary Hughes, and also as to the 8-inch gun for all such ships. Britain, he said, had no gun in excess of 7½ inches on her auxiliary vessels; France, he understood, had a similar calibre, viz., 7.6 inches. Great Britain, however, he said, would make no objection to the

8-inch maximum proposed in Secretary Hughes's resolution. Believing, however, that the limitation of armament should apply also to the aircraft carrier, which might otherwise be transformed into what would be virtually a capital ship, he proposed the following amendment:

No ship of war other than a capital ship or aircraft carrier hereafter built shall exceed a total tonnage displacement of 10,000 tons, and no gun shall be carried by any such ship, other than a capital ship, with a calibre in excess of eight inches.

The American delegation found no objection to the amendment, and it was in this form that Mr. Hughes brought the resolution up again at the afternoon session—the seventh joint meeting of the two committees. Vice Admiral Acton expressed the consent of the Italian delegation to the 8-inch calibre limitation, but stated that his home Government must be consulted on the question of tonnage replacement. Secretary Hughes, in view of the fact that France and Japan had assumed a similar position, suggested that the resolution be laid over for later discussion.

The subject arose again at the tenth joint session, Dec. 30. The Italian and Japanese delegations accepted both parts of the resolution, but final adoption was delayed by the failure of the French delegation to hear from its Government.

LIMIT ON AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

The question of limitation of aircraft carriers came up for discussion on Dec. 28, after Mr. Root had presented his submarine resolution. It was settled after thorough discussion at the session of Dec. 30. The conference had found it impossible to limit the total tonnage of auxiliary craft, owing to the attitude of France on submarines. In the motion offered by Secretary Hughes (see Auxiliary Ships), capital warships and aircraft carriers had been specially excepted from the 10,000-ton limitation. It had now been generally conceded that

aircraft carriers were in a different category from auxiliary cruisers, and Secretary Hughes attacked the problem of total tonnage limitation for these carriers from the very start. Let the official summary here continue the narrative.

In the American proposals at the opening session, he said, it had been agreed that the total tonnage of aircraft carriers should be fixed as follows:

United States—80,000 tons.

Great Britain—80,000 tons.

Japan—48,000 tons.

If the same ratio provided for capital ships should be applied to aircraft carriers for France and Italy the result would be as follows:

France—28,000 tons.

Italy—28,000 tons.

The American proposition had added a proviso that no country exceeding the quota allowed should be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacement began, at which time the total tonnage of airplane carriers for each nation should be reduced to the prescribed allowance. Certain other rules had been proposed.

Mr. Hughes added that in view of the fact that aircraft carriers might approach in tonnage to capital ships, it would be wise also to set a limit in this respect. It was now proposed not to lay down any ships of this character whose displacement should exceed 27,000 tons. This was the proposition which was now presented for discussion. He said that he thought he should add that what had appeared in the resolution regarding aircraft carriers should be deemed to be the same as that included in the resolutions respecting all ships of war except capital ships, in that their guns should not have a calibre exceeding eight inches. If added to the resolution regarding aircraft carriers, the latter would read:

"No aircraft carrier shall be laid down during the term of this agreement whose tonnage displacement is in excess of 27,000 tons and no gun shall be carried by any such ship other than a capital ship with a calibre in excess of eight inches."

When these proposals were brought up again for full discussion at the joint session on Dec. 30, Admiral Acton of the Italian delegation pointed out that under the ratio allowed for Italy (28,000 tons) that country would be able to build only one airplane carrier of the 27,000-ton maximum laid down. If this one carrier should be laid up in drydock for repairs or should be sunk, Italy would

be left destitute of this weapon. He therefore presented Italy's request that the allowance be 54,000 instead of 28,000 tons.

The request was approved by Lord Lee of the British delegation, and he seized the opportunity to point out that his own Government stood in similar need of an increase in tonnage in respect to this type of vessel. The tonnage proposed, he said, was felt by his delegation to be inadequate, especially if the British Navy was to have carriers proportional in number to the two ships which Italy had demanded. The airplane carrier was essentially a fleet weapon, and should be adequate and proportional to the size of the fleet it served. In view of the fact that submarines were to be continued, he did not feel that the airplane carriers, which were an equally important weapon of anti-submarine defense, should be reduced. His delegation felt that the ratio of 5-5-3 for capital ships should be applied also here. At the present time Great Britain possessed only five airplane carriers, which included four vessels which were really experimental, three of which were small and inefficient. In view of this, whatever the division might be as to the total tonnage, Great Britain would have to demand that she be allowed to scrap these experimental ships and replace them with new ships designed to meet the requirements of the fleet.

Admiral de Bon for France similarly put forth demands for a higher ratio. The French delegation, he said, considered that France required two airplane carriers for European waters, and a third for use in her colonial possessions. Assuming an average size of 25,000 tons, the French demand would be for an aggregate of 75,000 tons. To meet the general wishes, however, he was willing to agree that 60,000 might be sufficient to meet his country's needs.

Baron Kato for Japan pointed out that under the proposed ratio his country would have the right to construct only one and a half airplane

carriers—an aggregate of 48,000 tons. The insular character of Japan, he pointed out, the extensive line of its coasts and the location of its harbors, as well as the susceptibility of Japanese cities, built of frame houses, to easy destruction by fire if attacked by air bombs, made it necessary for his country to have at least three airplane carriers of 27,000 tons each, or a total tonnage of 80,000. His delegation would make no objection, he added, if the United States and Great Britain received a proportionate increase.

Secretary Hughes then stated the new proposals. He saw no reason, he said, why the increased demands set forth as necessary should not be accepted by the United States, it being understood, however, that the latter country would receive an increase proportionate to that of Great Britain. He then called for a vote on the ratios asked by each power, viz.:

	Number of Carriers.	Total Tonnage.
Great Britain	5	135,000
United States	5	135,000
Japan	3	81,000
France	3	60,000
Italy	2	54,000

The vote was unanimously in the affirmative. Secretary Hughes then pointed out that this included, without separate action, agreement on the 27,000-ton limitation for individual ships and the eight-inch maximum calibre for guns. He also stated, in view of the general feeling that the development, not only of airplanes, but of airplane carriers, was in an experimental stage, that the prohibition stated in Item 24 of the original American proposals, viz., "no new airplane carrier tonnage except replacement tonnage shall be laid down during the period of agreement," would not be applicable to the existing situation. Thus the disadvantageous position of those nations who already possessed such experimental carriers, as compared with those who had not built such ships, and could take advantage of the latest information and inventions, would be equalized, he

said. Each nation would be left free to proceed with replacement to the maximum laid down; but not beyond. This was a liberty of replacement, not of addition. After another vote, the Chairman announced that the proposals as stated had been unanimously adopted.

AIRCRAFT LIMITATION REJECTED

Though the conference had thus decided on Dec. 30 to limit the tonnage and armament of aircraft carriers, it found itself in a different frame of mind regarding the limitation of aircraft itself. The deciding factor in this regard was a long and technical report presented by the Aircraft Limitation Subcommittee to the Naval Committee of the conference at its session of Jan. 7. This report declared that any attempt to restrict airplane development through limitation in numbers, size or military characteristics would be unwise. It was presented by Chairman Hughes immediately after the adoption of the Root resolution declaring against the use of poison gas, and discussion was opened on it as the third new agency of warfare which the conference had to consider from the point of view of limitation, the first two—namely, submarine and chemical warfare—having already been disposed of. [See page 738.]

The report dealt exhaustively with the whole subject under the following categories: (1) commercial aircraft; (2) civil aircraft—meaning aircraft controlled by a State, but not for military purposes; (3) military aircraft. Heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air craft were considered separately, since the conditions governing the two are not in all cases the same. The report was signed by the full Committee on Aircraft, which was composed of the following members:

United States—William A. Moffett, Rear Admiral U. S. N. (Director of the Naval Air Service), Chairman; Mason M. Patrick, Major General, U. S. A.

British Empire—J. F. A. Higgins, Air Vice Marshal, R. A. F.

France—Albert Roper, Capitaine, Pilote aviateur, French Army.

Italy—Riccardo Moizo, Colonel, R. I. A.

Japan—Osami Nagano, Captain, I. J. N.

The findings of the subcommittee may be summarized as follows:

It is the opinion of this committee that the limitation of military air power (as regards heavier-than-air craft) is not practicable at the present time.

Their reasons for this decision are as follows:

1. The difficulty of finding a basis for the proportion of aircraft to be allotted to the various nations.

2. The difficulty of devising technical methods to impose such limitation.

3. The difficulty of enforcing such methods.

4. The interdependence between air power and a commercial aircraft industry, which it is not practicable to limit.

As to lighter-than-air craft, the report said many of these remarks also applied, but that limitation of dirigibles was possible and practicable because, their war power being dependent upon size, infractions of a rule of size as to commercial dirigibles could be learned quickly, and also any limitation of number to be maintained was enforceable. But again the committee held restrictions would be imposed on commercial development of the industry which it deemed unwise to enact.

The committee also took up rules of aerial warfare and urged that this should be made the subject of an international agreement. It pointed out, however, that though the American and Japanese delegations to the present conference were prepared and authorized to take up such discussion, the British, French and Italian groups were not, and that in some cases a national policy on the subject in various countries had not been matured as yet.

For that reason the committee recommended postponement of consideration of the rules of air warfare to a later conference to be called for the purpose.

In a closing paragraph as to use of aircraft, the report said:

"The committee is of the opinion that the use of aircraft in war should be governed by the rules of warfare as adapted to aircraft by a further conference which should be held at a later date."

As an annex to the report, the Italian group stated its belief that one way in which it would be possible to limit the air power of a nation "would be by placing a limit upon the number of pilots in the permanent military establishment, and consequently agrees with the general reasoning of the report in so far as it is not contrary to this opinion."

DEBATE ON THE REPORT.

Formal debate on the report was opened on Jan. 9. All the delegations in turn expressed the view that the experts were right in their belief that aircraft limitation was impossible at present. Chairman Hughes expressed disappointment that the conference was unable to suggest practical limitations on the building of military aircraft, probably the most formidable weapon of the future. The experts had well presented the difficulties. They were dealing with facilities needed in peaceful development. No ban could be put on progress. The question, Secretary Hughes said, resolved itself, not into a limitation of armament, but into a limitation of civil progress, and therefore there seemed to be nothing to do but to accept the experts' report. The report was then formally accepted. Secretary Hughes asked discussion on lighter-than-air craft, which the experts had said might be limited. As none of the delegations wished to urge action along this line, Mr. Hughes proposed the following resolution, covering aircraft in general:

The committee is of the opinion that it is not at present* practicable to impose any effective limitations upon the numbers or characteristics of aircraft, either commercial or military.

INQUIRY COMMISSION APPROVED

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman then brought up the recommendation of the experts that rules for the use of airplanes in war might be considered at another conference. Signor Schanzer approved this suggestion, but thought that the present conference could pass a resolution against the bombardment of cities by aircraft, from which practice Italy had greatly suffered during the war. Admiral de Bon then drew attention to the fact that this was provided for by Article 25 of the

*The words "at present" were inserted at the suggestion of Mr. Balfour.

Hague Convention of 1907. Mr. Root, however, pointed out that this article referred only to unfortified cities. Almost all towns in Europe, he said, were fortified to some degree against land attack, but completely defenseless against attack from the air. In view of this, he declared, some definition of what constituted a fortified town should be made.

Chairman Hughes then said it was apparent that a very technical question had been raised, and that long and thorough study would be needed by a commission of jurists on this as on other rules of warfare which seemed to be demanded by the development of new instruments of warfare; he suggested that this commission take the place of a new conference recommended by the experts. Any new conference, he intimated, would be as hampered by lack of the technical knowledge required, and which only highly trained jurists possessed, as the present conference. Mr. Borden of the British Empire delegation approved this suggestion in general, but doubted if the five powers of the conference could establish such a commission without inviting the participation of other nations. To this the Chairman replied that his desire was only that those five powers should have the right of initiation, and suggested that the formulation of an appropriate resolution be referred to the Drafting Committee.

Mr. Balfour approved this, but offered two suggestions. The first was that the commission of inquiry proposed should not be limited to jurists, but should also include technical experts, people who had seen the new agencies of warfare at work, who knew what those agencies had involved in the past and what they would involve in the future, and who, in his view, should have more to say on the framing of such new rules than the most expert jurists. The second suggestion was that the inquiry itself be divided into two parts, (1) revision of the rules of warfare in general, and (2) what had been de-

scribed by the agenda brought forward by the Chairman at the beginning of the conference as "rules for the control of new agencies of warfare," and that the conference should limit the work of the future examining body to the latter strictly limited and specific subject. He pointed out the vastness and complexity of international law as applied to warfare, and declared his belief that even the limited field proposed would be sufficient to occupy the attention of the most powerful committee which the conference would be able to provide.

Mr. Hughes found no objections to these suggestions, and they were referred, together with the shaping of the contemplated resolution, to the Drafting Committee.

POISON GAS PROHIBITED.

Another achievement of the arms conference, considered as almost equal in importance to the resolutions banning the submarine, was the adoption by the Naval Committee on Jan. 7 of a resolution offered by Secretary Hughes in favor of the abolition of the use of poison gas in international warfare. The presentation of this resolution on Jan. 6, immediately after the committee had adopted the last of the Root submarine resolutions, came as a surprise to the other delegations.

Secretary Hughes based his discussion of "chemical warfare" on the reading of three reports: (1) The report of the conference Experts' Committee on poison gas, which declared it unwise to try to prohibit the use of such gas; (2) the report adopted by the Advisory Committee of the American delegation, which favored prohibiting it; and (3) a report by the General Board of the United States Navy, which similarly declared that chemical warfare should be abolished.

EXPERT COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The Experts' Committee, composed as follows: Professor Edgar F. Smith, for the United States, Chairman; Brig. Gen. Fries, United States;

Colonel Bartholomew, Great Britain; Professor Moureau and Professor Mayer, France; Lieut. Col. Penti-malli, Italy, and Major Gen. Hara-guchi, Japan, had reported as follows:

The committee agreed more or less **unani-mously** on the following points:

1. (a) Chemical warfare gases have such power against unprepared armies that no nation dare risk entering into an agreement which an unscrupulous enemy might break if he found his opponents unprepared to use gases, both offensively and defen-sively.

(b) Since many high explosives produce warfare gases or gases which are the same in their effects on men, any attempt to forbid the use of warfare gases would cause misunderstandings at once. That is, one or both sides would in the first battle find men dead or injured from gas. The doubt would at once arise whether gas was actually being used, as such, or whether the casualties were due to high explosives. This could be made the excuse to launch a heavy attack with warfare bases in every form.

(c) Research which may discover additional warfare gases cannot be prohibited, restricted or supervised.

(d) Due to the increasingly large peace-time use of several warfare gases, it is impossible to restrict the manufacture of any particular gas or gases. Some of the delegates thought that proper laws might limit the quantities of certain gases to be manu-factured. The majority of opinion was against the practicability of even such pro-hibition.

(e) It is possible to confine the action of chemical warfare gases the same as high explosives and other means of carrying on war. The language used in this connection was that "it is possible, but with greater difficulty." On this question, as in the cases of (f) and (g) following, it was evident that among the representatives of the three nations thoroughly acquainted with chemi-cal warfare gases, namely, the United States, Great Britain and France, there was less doubt as to the ability to confine their gases than among the Japanese and Ital-ians, who know less about them.

(f) The kinds of gases and their effects on human beings cannot be taken as a basis for limitation. In other words, the com-mittee felt that the only limitation practi-cable is to wholly prohibit the use of gases against cities and other large bodies of non-combatants, in the same manner as high explosives may be limited, but that there could be no limitation on their use against the armed forces of the enemy, ashore or afloat.

(g) The committee was divided on the question as to whether or not warfare gases form a method of warfare similar to other methods, such as shrapnel, machine guns,

rifle, bayonet, high explosives, airplanes, bombs, hand grenades and similar older methods. In this, as in (e) and (f), the United States, Great Britain and French members (five in number), who know gas, were emphatic that chemical warfare gases form a method of waging war similar to the older forms.

REPORT OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Secretary Hughes than said that he desired to read, on behalf of the American delegation, the report adopted by the American Advisory Committee on the recommendation of its subcommittee which had studied new agencies of warfare. The report follows:

The Committee (of the Advisory Com-mittee) on New Agencies of Warfare, hav-ing had a number of meetings, one conjointly with the Committee (of the Advisory Committee) on Land Armaments, has the honor to report that it has given careful consideration to the subject referred to it. Chemical warfare, which is the scientific term to cover use of gases in all their forms, reached very important and signifi-cant phases during the World War. The surprise of the first gas attack on the Brit-ish forces at Ypres shocked the civilized world, but its military effectiveness caused the allied Governments at once to take measures not only of protection against gas attacks, but also of offensive action. In consequence, at the close of the war the use of poison gases, not only temporarily injurious but of a toxic character, became universal.

The committee has found on consultation with experts and reference to scientific study of the subject that there are argu-ments in favor of the use of gas which ought to be considered. The proportion of deaths from their use when not of a toxic character is much less than from the use of other weapons of warfare. On the other hand, the committee feels that there can be no actual restraint of the use by com-batants of this new agency of warfare if it is permitted in any guise.

The frightful consequences of the use of toxic gases if dropped from airplanes on cities stagger the imagination. No military necessity can excuse or extenuate such events as were of frequent occurrence during the recent war, when bombs were dropped on undefended and thickly popu-lated cities, towns and villages for no other purpose apparently than to demoralize the population. If lethal gases were used in such bombs it might well be that much permanent and serious damage would be done, not only of a material character, but in the depopulation of large sections of the country.

The committee is of opinion that the con-science of the American people has been

profoundly shocked by the savage use of scientific discoveries for destruction rather than for construction.

The meeting of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament in the city of Washington affords a peculiarly advantageous opportunity for comparison of views on all questions bearing on the subject. Whatever may be the arguments of technical experts, the committee feels that the American representatives would not be doing their duty in expressing the conscience of the American people were they to fail in insisting upon the total abolition of chemical warfare, whether in the army or the navy, whether against combatant or noncombatant. Should the United States assume this position, it would be an evidence not of weakness but of magnanimity. Probably no nation is better equipped by reason of scientific knowledge among its technicians and by means of its material resources to use chemical warfare effectively.

This committee, therefore, submits the following resolution for adoption by the Advisory Board and to be communicated to the American delegates on the Conference on the Limitation of Armament:

"Resolved, that chemical warfare, including the use of gases, whether toxic or non-toxic, should be prohibited by international agreement, and should be classed with such unfair methods of warfare as poisoning wells, introducing germs of disease and other methods that are abhorrent in modern warfare."

Secretary Hughes then called attention to the fact, stated at the beginning of this report, that the Conference Subcommittee had held a joint meeting with the Advisory Committee's Subcommittee on Land Armaments. This last-named subcommittee had submitted a report which the Advisory Committee had unanimously adopted. This report, signed by General John J. Pershing, as Chairman, had made the following recommendation with regard to chemical warfare:

Chemical warfare should be abolished among nations, as abhorrent to civilization. It is a cruel, unfair, and improper use of science. It is fraught with the gravest danger to noncombatants, and demoralizes the better instincts of humanity.

UNITED STATES NAVY REPORT.

In view of the differences of opinion among experts, and especially of the finding of the Expert Committee of the conference in favor of chemical

warfare, said Secretary Hughes, he wished to read a report by the General Board of the United States Navy upon this question. This report was as follows:

Question: Should gas warfare be prohibited?

Answer: Yes.

Comment: 1. The United States would undoubtedly give up a material advantage if gas warfare were abolished. The resources and scientific development of this country place it in the front ranks of nations in the ability to wage efficient gas warfare and insure an adequate supply of special gases. Nevertheless, its abolition would be popular in this country even though its effectiveness as a weapon in war has been clearly proved when employed under special conditions.

2. The tendency of rules of modern warfare is toward restraint in the employment of weapons that produce unnecessary suffering. The limitations in the employment of the different weapons have that end in view. The dum-dum bullet and the explosive bullet are well-known examples. Following this general principle, gases which produce unnecessary suffering should be prohibited.

3. Gas warfare has a peculiar futility different from any method heretofore employed, in that though directed toward a particular target its destructive effect is not limited to that target, but passes beyond control of the belligerent agent and may involve a sacrifice of innocent lives over a wide area. On account of this peculiarity the use of gas which causes death is objectionable because not only the combatant is killed, a perfectly legitimate target, but many noncombatants may also be victims. And these innocent persons may deliberately be made objects of gas attacks by unscrupulous belligerents. Lethal gases should therefore be prohibited.

4. The two principles in warfare, (1) that unnecessary suffering in the destruction of combatants should be avoided, (2) that innocent noncombatants should not be destroyed, have been accepted by the civilized world for more than 100 years. The use of gases in warfare in so far as they violate these two principles is almost universally condemned today, despite its practice for a certain period during the World War.

5. Certain gases, for example tear gas, could be used without violating the two principles above cited. Other gases will no doubt be invented which could be so employed, but there will be great difficulty in a clear and definite demarcation between the lethal gases and those which produce unnecessary suffering as distinguished from those gases which simply disable temporarily. Among the gases existing today there is undoubtedly a difference of opinion as to which class certain gases belong.

Moreover, the diffusion of all these gases is practically beyond control, and many innocent noncombatants would share in the suffering of war, even if the result did not produce death or a permanent disability.

6. The General Board foresees great difficulty in clearly limiting gases so as to avoid unnecessary suffering in gas warfare and in enforcing rules which will avert suffering or the possible destruction of innocent lives of noncombatants, including women and children. Gas warfare threatens to become so efficient as to endanger the very existence of civilization.

7. The General Board believes it to be sound policy to prohibit gas warfare in every form and against every objective, and so recommends.

W. L. RODGERS.

In view of all this expert evidence, Secretary Hughes said that he felt that the American delegation should present the recommendation that the use of asphyxiating or poison gas be absolutely prohibited. He then asked Mr. Root to present the resolution.

MR. ROOT'S EXPLANATION

"There was," said Mr. Root, in moving the resolution, "an expression on this subject which presented the most extraordinary consensus of opinion that one could well find on any international subject." He had based his draft on the Treaty of Versailles, subscribed to by four of the five chief powers represented at the conference, and taken over by the United States and Germany in their peace treaty of Aug. 25, 1921; repeated in the Treaty of St. Germain between the same four powers and Austria; in the Treaty of Neuilly between the same powers and Bulgaria; in the Treaty of the Trianon with Hungary, and in the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey. He then read from Article 171 of the Treaty of Versailles:

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany. The same applies to materials specially intended for the manufacture, storage and use of the said products or devices.

That declaration, said Mr. Root, he understood to be a statement of the previous rules which had been adopt-

ed covering the history of The Hague conference. He had therefore followed the language of the Versailles Treaty, which all the subsequent treaties had adopted. He then read the American resolution, which was phrased thus:

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids or materials or devices having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized powers are parties;

Now to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, the signatory powers declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby between themselves and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.

Inasmuch as some thirty or forty powers had assented to this prohibition in the various treaties named, said Mr. Root, there was not much further to go in securing that general consent which changes a rule from contract to law. The session closed with an expression of deep satisfaction by Signor Schanzer of the Italian delegation, who pointed out that the Italian representative in the subcommittee had been the first to propose the abolition of poison gas in warfare. The American proposal, he declared, would constitute one of the conference's greatest claims to honor, and a real step in the path of progress and civilization.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by all the delegates at the session of Jan. 7, after some further debate which brought into strong relief the general feeling that the moral effect of the resolution would be felt throughout the civilized world. Mr. Balfour was especially convinced of this, though he maintained the right of every nation, in case of future use of this inhuman agency in war, to prepare its defense, just as in the case of the submarine. In the latter case, the international law had been extended. In the case of poison gas the conference powers could do no more than reaffirm the existing law,

in view of the difficulty of controlling the production of poison gases. Mr. Balfour believed, however, that such a reaffirmation would "bring home to the consciences of mankind that poison gas was not a form of warfare which civilized nations could tolerate." The resolution was then formally accepted by all five powers.

CHINESE TARIFF AGREEMENT

Important progress was made on Jan. 5 by the committee on the Far East. This was the first public session held by that committee since Dec. 14, when it had adjourned subject to call by the Chairman, in order to allow scope for the discussions on limitation of naval armament. At the session of Jan. 5 decisions were reached on two points previously debated—the raising of the Chinese customs tariff, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chinese territory.

The question of China's proportion of customs revenue, reduced by treaties with various powers to a nominal 5 per cent. ad valorem, but practically to only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., had first been raised by Dr. Wellington Koo, head of the Chinese delegation, at the session of Nov. 23. [See January CURRENT HISTORY.] At that meeting Dr. Koo had made a plea for complete autonomy in respect to customs tariff, and had asked at all events that China's quota be raised from 5 per cent. to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in view of the nation's financial necessities. He made it clear, however, that China had no wish to interfere with the existing administration of maritime customs, or with the application of customs revenue to the liquidation of foreign loans guaranteed by this revenue. The Chinese demands had been debated at length by the subcommittee on this subject, and though the final agreement reached did not grant China her full desires (viz., the immediate increase to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., scientific revision of the tariff within two years, and eventual autonomy), it took a considerable step forward by

raising China's customs revenue by \$46,000,000 annually, and providing for future additional revisions.

This decision was embodied in a report presented by Senator Underwood, as Chairman of the subcommittee, at the Jan. 5 session. The gist of the agreement was briefly as follows:

1. Increase to 5 per cent. effective, an addition of \$17,000,000 silver.
2. Surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., representing \$27,000,000 silver.
3. Surtax not exceeding .5 per cent. on luxuries, \$2,167,000 silver.
4. Total additional revenue, \$46,167,000 silver.
5. Total estimated customs revenues (based on the revenue for 1920, \$64,000,000 silver, plus the \$46,167,000 additional revenue referred to above), \$110,167,000 silver. (A maximum estimate based on the conclusion of all revision measures was subsequently given by Chairman Underwood at \$156,000,000 silver.)

Senator Underwood prefaced the reading of the report with an explanation both of its object and of its purport. The subcommittee had been influenced by the following considerations: The last revision of the tariff took place in 1918. Though this revision had been for the purpose of bringing the rates up to a 5 per cent. effective basis, the basis adopted had been the average of the value of imports during the years 1912-1916. The rates fixed, which became effective in August, 1919, were to last for at least two years after the end of the war. Manifestly, said Senator Underwood, "valuations based on an average of values from 1912 to 1916 no longer represent the true value of importations, and, as a result, the revision of 1918, instead of producing revenue representing 5 per cent. effective, actually produced only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. effective."

The agreement, he further explained, fell into two parts. The first part related to tariff readjustment measures which may become immediately applicable without taking treaty form and requiring ratification. This would be effected through a committee of revision, which would meet in Shanghai to re-

wise the present tariff on the 5 per cent. basis, its revision to become effective within two months after publication, without ratification. The second part related to subjects to be dealt with by a special conference, which will take measures looking to the speedy abolition of the likin (the transit tax between Chinese provinces and districts), the application of surtaxes, and the realization of the principle of uniformity in the customs rates on all frontiers, whether land or maritime. The surtaxes provided for in the treaty of 1902 between China and Great Britain and in the treaty of 1903 between China and the United States would be brought into effect by this special conference, which would likewise fix a specific surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, calculated to bring in \$27,000,000 silver additional, and a special surtax on luxuries not exceeding 5 per cent., estimated to bring in \$2,167,000 silver. When all these measures had been completed, it was expected that the total revenue would amount to fully \$156,000,000 silver. Senator Underwood declared that the new agreement was "a signal achievement, not only in the interest of China and of each of the treaty powers, but in the interest of trade in general and of peace itself." He especially stressed the effect it would have in removing "the highly unjust and controversial preferences with which the foreign trade of China has heretofore been encumbered."

TEXT OF TARIFF REPORT

The official text of the report, which Senator Underwood then read, was as follows:

The subcommittee on Chinese Customs Duties, having had under consideration the proposals of the Chinese delegates for the restoration of tariff autonomy and the readjustment of maritime customs duties with a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, reports that it has reached the following agreement:

"The powers attending this conference agree:

"I. That immediate steps be taken through a special conference representing

China and the powers which accept this agreement to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII. of the Anglo-Chinese commercial treaty of Sept. 5, 1902, and the corresponding articles of the United States and Japanese treaties with a view to levying the surtaxes as provided in those articles.

"II. That the present tariff on importations shall be forthwith revised and raised to a basis of 5 per cent. effective. That this revision shall be carried out forthwith by a revision committee at Shanghai on the general lines of the last revision. The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible, with a view to its completion within four months from the conclusion of the present conference, and the revised tariff shall become effective two months after publication without awaiting ratification.

"III. That the interim provision to be applied until the articles referred to in Paragraph 1 come into operation be considered by the aforesaid special conference, which shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports and subject to such conditions as they may determine. The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, except in the case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, and upon which the total surtax shall not exceed 5 per cent.

"IV. (1) That there shall be a further revision of the tariff to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the immediate revision herein authorized, in order to insure that the rates shall correspond to the ad valorem rates fixed.

"(2) That following this revision there shall be periodical revisions of the tariff every seven years for the same purpose.

"(3) That in order to prevent delay such periodical revisions shall be effected in accordance with rules to be settled by the special conference mentioned in Paragraph 1.

"V. That in all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all nations parties to this agreement.

"VI. That the principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied on all the frontiers, land and maritime, of China be recognized, and that it be referred to the special conference mentioned in paragraph 1 to make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle, with power to authorize any adjustments which may appear equitable in cases in which the customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic favor. In the meantime any increase in the rates of customs duties or surtax imposed in pursuance of the present agreement shall be levied at a uniform rate ad valorem on all frontiers, land and maritime.

"VII. That the charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of 2½ per cent. ad valorem, except when the arrangements contemplated in paragraph 1 are in force.

"VIII. That the treaty powers not here represented shall be invited to accept the present agreement.

"IX. That this agreement shall override all provisions of treaties between China and the powers which accept it which are inconsistent with its terms."

The delegate for China submitted the following communication, which it was unanimously agreed should form a part of the foregoing agreement as an appendix thereto:

"Declaration of intention not to disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs.

"The Chinese delegation has the honor to inform the Committee on Far Eastern Questions of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament that the Chinese Government have no intention to effect any change which may disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs.

REDUCING CHINA'S ARMY

In addition to this main report, Senator Underwood stated that a special resolution had been adopted on Jan. 2, 1922 (the Chinese delegate not voting), urging that China, in the interests of general disarmament, reduce the large military forces maintained at an enormous cost by the Tuchuns or Military Governors. This was urged also in the interests of China's own financial rehabilitation. The resolution read thus:

The members of the subcommittee in studying the question of increasing the customs tariff rates to meet the urgent needs of the Chinese Government have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on China's public revenue through the maintenance of excessive military forces in various parts of the country. Most of these forces are controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces, and their continued maintenance appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions.

It is felt that large and prompt reduction of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development, but hasten her financial rehabilitation. Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade, and inspired by

the spirit of this conference whose aim is to reduce, through the limitation of armament, "the enormous disbursements" which "manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity," the subcommittee venture to suggest for the consideration of the committee the advisability of laying before the conference for its adoption a resolution expressing the earnest hope of the conference and embodying recommendation to China that immediate and effective steps be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditure.

Dr. Koo expressed regret that the committee had not seen fit to grant China the full customs autonomy which she desired, and which, he said, all other countries enjoy respecting the regulation of their customs. He made it clear that China would not relinquish this demand, but would bring the subject up again for consideration on all suitable opportunities. The report was then unanimously adopted, together with the Chinese declaration regarding maritime customs. Senator Underwood answered Dr. Koo's criticism.

I do not think [he said] that there was any doubt in the minds of the men on the subcommittees as to the question that if China at present had the unlimited control of levying taxes at the Custom Houses, in view of the unsettled conditions now existing in China, it would probably work, in the end, to China's detriment and to the injury of the world, and I think that had more to do with the subcommittee not making a full and direct response to Dr. Koo's request than anything else.

I am sure there was no desire on the part of the other powers to be selfish, or not to recognize the full sovereignty of China, and I only rose to say this, that if I am a judge of the situation, a judge of the temper of conditions in the balance of the world, I feel sure that when China herself establishes a Parliamentary Government of all the provinces of China and dispenses with the military control that now exists in many of the provinces of China, so that the outside powers may feel that they are dealing with a Government that has entire and absolute and free control of the situation, China can expect to realize the great ideals of sovereignty that she asks at this table.

[At the eighteenth meeting of this committee, on Jan. 16, final agreement was recorded to the raising of the Chinese customs revenue, already thus approved by representatives of

the nine nations. This was done through the adoption of a resolution presented by Mr. Elihu Root, voicing the assent of the nine powers concerned to the 5 per cent. quota of revenue to be assigned to China; to the abolition of the likin, or transit dues, and to the levying of surtaxes. The United States, as the convener of the conference, pledged itself to communicate the decision to nations not participating, and to invite their adherence, on the obtaining of which the new agreement would override the terms of any existing treaties.]

WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS

Dr. Koo accepted the special resolution regarding China's reduction of her military forces, and the resolution was recommitted by the Chairman to the subcommittee for formal drafting in a shape to be approved by the committee as a whole.

Secretary Hughes then asked Mr. Root to present the resolution on withdrawal of foreign troops. Mr. Root read the resolution, which embodied an offer by the eight powers—United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Japan—to conduct through their diplomatic representatives at Peking, jointly with China, a thorough investigation of this problem, with a view to its ultimate solution. Mr. Alfred Sze voiced the Chinese delegation's appreciation of this offer, and the resolution, after some discussion, was unanimously adopted, China not voting. Its text follows:

Whereas, The powers have from time to time stationed armed forces, including police and railway guards, in China to protect the lives and property of foreigners lawfully in China; and

Whereas, It appears that certain of these armed forces are maintained in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement; and

Whereas, The powers have declared their intention to withdraw their armed forces now on duty in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement whenever China shall assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China; and

Whereas, China has declared her intention and capacity to assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China;

Now, to the end that there may be clear understanding of the conditions upon which in each case the practical execution of those intentions must depend, it is

Resolved, That the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the powers now in conference at Washington, to wit: the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, will be instructed by their respective Governments, whenever China shall so request, to associate themselves with three representatives of the Chinese Government to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry into the issues raised by the foregoing declarations of intention made by the powers and by China, and shall thereafter prepare a full and comprehensive report setting out without reservation their findings of fact and their opinion with regard to the matter hereby referred for inquiry, and shall furnish a copy of their report to each of the nine Governments concerned, which shall severally make public the report with such comment as each may deem appropriate. The representatives of any of the powers may make or join in minority reports stating their differences, if any, from the majority report.

That each of the powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or reject all or any of the findings of fact or opinions expressed in the report, but that in no case shall any of the said powers make its acceptance of all or any of the findings of fact or opinions either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favor, benefit or immunity, whether political or economic.

SHANTUNG DEADLOCK

The Shantung controversy between China and Japan, which had been debated through seventeen sessions of the two delegations, up to Dec. 20 (see January CURRENT HISTORY), had reached a deadlock at that date. The Japanese delegates had declined further discussion until they could communicate with their home Government. The crux of the situation was that China wished to buy back the Shantung railroad outright, and to pay for it out of her own funding, whereas Japan insisted on China's accepting a loan from Japanese financial interests. China also did not wish to have

Japanese officials admitted to the railroad's administration, whereas the Japanese insisted that officials from Japan should control the line.

After a period of delay the Japanese received new instructions and the interrupted parleys were resumed. A bulletin of the twentieth session on Jan. 6 showed that the Japanese negotiators had again refused the Chinese proposals, and that the conversations had again been suspended sine die "pending further developments." The official bulletin said in part:

The Japanese delegates proposed a railway loan agreement plan for the settlement of this question on the basis of the terms of ordinary railway loan agreements entered into by China with various foreign capitalists during recent years, namely, on the following general lines:

1. The term of the loan shall be fixed at fifteen years; while China shall retain an option of redeeming the whole outstanding liabilities upon six months' notice after five years from the date of the agreement.

2. A Japanese traffic manager and chief accountant shall be engaged in the service of the Shantung Railway.

3. The details of the financial arrangement shall be worked out at Peking between the representatives of the two parties to the loan.

This plan was not found acceptable to the Chinese delegation. The Chinese delegates, on their part, proposed the following two alternative plans:

1. China shall make a cash payment for the railway and its appurtenant properties with a single deposit in a bank of a third power at a specified date either before the transfer of the properties or when such transfer is effected.

2. China shall make a deferred payment either in Treasury notes or notes of the Chinese Bankers' Union, secured upon the railway properties, extending over a period of twelve years, with an option on the part of China at any time after three years, upon giving six months' notice, to pay all the outstanding liabilities. The first instalment is to be paid on the day on which the transfer of the railway and properties is completed.

China shall engage that she, upon her own initiative, shall select and employ in the service of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-fu Railway a district engineer of Japanese nationality.

Neither of these plans was found acceptable to the Japanese delegates in the present form.

Mr. Hanihara, the main Japanese negotiator, made it plain in an inter-

view after the meeting that the Japanese proposals were final. The delegation's instructions from Tokio, he said, were very explicit. He explained the Japanese position thus: Japan had no desire to sell the Shantung Railway at all; what she wished was joint operation on a 50-50 basis, and she even considered that this was a considerable concession, as the Japanese Government looked on the railroad, which it had taken over from Germany after the latter country's defeat in the Far East, as its own property. Japan at least must retain an interest in the railroad, and to do that she must effect the transfer through a Japanese railroad loan, similar to other railroad loans made by China previously with other foreign nations, and the terms must include the acceptance of a Japanese traffic manager and accountant. Japan was unwilling to accept the Chinese proposal of a cash payment.

The Shantung negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese representatives were renewed a few days later with the aid of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, but were soon again deadlocked over the question of the terms under which Japan should return the Shantung railway; pending further instructions on this main issue from Tokio, the Japanese delegates took up collateral issues. Important discussions on the disposition of the mines situated on the railway marked the twenty-eighth session, held on Jan. 17. Both delegations at that time declared that an ultimate agreement seemed to be in sight.

Just as these pages were going to press a new phase of the conference discussions on China began with proposals made by Secretary Hughes (session of Jan. 16) to assure the principle of the open door. These proposals, including a plan to establish a permanent commission pledged to maintain that principle, was earnestly debated for three hours on Jan. 17. The full debate on this topic must be reserved for the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

GANDHI'S WEAPONLESS REVOLT IN INDIA

BY BERNARD SEXTON

Strange power of the saint who is shaping the destinies of three hundred million people—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's own explanation of his plan to overthrow British rule by "soul force"

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WE are living in an age of marvels and superlatives. World-shaking events come one after another. Institutions that have endured for centuries are overthrown in a day and forgotten in a year. The war was not yet over when the Russian revolution began, and on the banks of the Neva a group of daring men attempted to build a communist commonwealth out of the ruins of autocracy. Ancient Ireland awoke, and the speech of the Gael was heard once more in camp and council. England came to terms with the Sinn Fein. Then the world, agape at this wonder, was astonished at the news that India had been reborn, that the gentle Aryan of the East was in revolt. Responsible officials stated that the empire was shaken by the uprising of a people who fought without weapons, who conducted a successful revolution without bullet or knife, who made war, according to their own declaration, not upon the bodies but upon the souls of official Englishmen, attempting to conquer by love and gentleness. To India the name of Gandhi is like the morning star. He is the leader of this insurrection in spirit, a man whose title is not General, but Mahatma (Great Soul). Gandhi has invented for war a new explosive, which he names soul-force. This saint, who has never injured a human being or an animal, who knows nothing of war, who forbids violence, has struck a

staggering blow at British rule in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer wrote some months ago in *The London Fortnightly*:

Since the mutiny the position of our Government was never so weak, its credit never so low * * * Our margin of safety in India was never very large, and in these days of world-wide anxiety and peril it has been reduced almost to the vanishing point.

The man through whose leadership these things have come to pass is evidently one of the great characters of history, one of those "pale thinkers" whom Emerson describes as being let loose on the planet now and then for its purification. A sketch of his life and his words will, therefore, illuminate the purpose of resurgent India.

GANDHI'S CAREER

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India, Oct. 2, 1869. His ancestors had held high office under the native princes, generation after generation. A grandfather was Prime Minister. His boyhood and youth were uneventful, and it was not until he undertook the voyage to London in 1888, to study law, that he saw anything of the great world. The first plunge into Western civilization was a rude shock to the sensitive Hindu, but he faced life in London, made valuable acquaintances and spent much time studying Christianity and Western civilization during the years he was at the law school. He returned to India in 1893.

Almost immediately an opening was offered him by a law firm in South Africa. He accepted.

In South Africa he encountered at once the savage prejudice which the Colonials entertained against his people. He was insulted, reviled, beaten. He had to learn that birth and education availed nothing in that violent land where all Hindus were called "coolies." During his years in South Africa his life was more than once in danger from mob violence. Before he left he spent several terms in jail as a convict for conscience' sake. At the date of his arrival, however, the Indians were not subject to the severe legal disabilities which in later years resulted in their passive resistance movement.

When the Boer War broke out Gandhi revealed at once his capacity for infinite tolerance and forgiveness. He organized the Indian Ambulance Corps and worked under fire with his faithful followers, trying to demonstrate to the British the loyalty of the Indian community. In 1906 again, at the time of the Zulu rebellion, Gandhi, with his volunteers, rendered medical service.

In spite of this spirit, the attitude of the white men toward the Indians had grown more menacing. In a lecture at Madras in 1896 Mr. Gandhi said: "The Indian is the most hated being in South Africa. * * * The railway and train officials treat us as beasts. We cannot safely walk on the footpaths. * * * We are 'Asian dirt,' to be 'heartily cursed.' We are 'stinking coolies,' living on 'the smell of an oiled rag.' We are the 'black vermin.' * * * We 'breed like rabbits,' and a gentleman at a meeting lately held in Durban said he 'was sorry we could not be shot like them.'" Matters became steadily worse until, at last, in September, 1906, there was a large gathering of Indians, which, after thoroughly facing the issue, under the inspiration of deep feeling, swore a solemn oath committing themselves to passive resistance.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In telling Mr. Doke, his biographer, how the idea of passive resistance originated, Mr. Gandhi said:

I remember how one verse of a Gujarati poem which, as a child, I learned in school, clung to me. In substance it was this:

If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing; Real beauty consists of doing good against evil.

As a child this verse had a powerful influence over me, and I tried to carry it into practice. Then came the "Sermon on the Mount."

"But," said the biographer, "surely the Bhagavad Gita came first?"

"No," he replied; "of course I knew the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit tolerably well, but I had not made its teaching in that particular a study. It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of passive resistance. When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in Heaven,' I was simply overjoyed and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened my impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' gave it permanent form.

"I do not like the term 'passive resistance'; it fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only a part. Real beauty—and that is my aim—is in doing good against evil. Still I adopt that phrase because it is well known and easily understood, and because at present the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea. To me the ideas which underlie the Gujarati hymn and the 'Sermon on the Mount' should revolutionize the whole of life."

SOUL-FORCE

Of the blessings attending the use of soul-force, Gandhi says:

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood; it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it.

Its equivalent in the vernacular, rendered into English, means truth-force. I think Tolstoy called it also soul-force or love-force. Carried to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. * * * Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. * * * It is impossible for those who consider themselves weak to apply this force. Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be passive resisters. * * *

The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed and clothe ourselves. * * * The exercise of the purest soul-force in its perfect form brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect passive resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of passive resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use therefore is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. * * *

Thus viewed passive resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come not after the ordinary education in letters, but should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should

learn that in the struggle of life it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering.

JAIL EXPERIENCES

Concerning his jail experiences in South Africa, when he was in prison as leader of the Passive Resistance movement, Gandhi wrote:

The greatest good I derived from these sufferings was that gained by undergoing bodily hardships. I could see my mental strength clearly increasing, and it is even now maintained. The experience of the last three months has left me more than ever prepared to undergo all such hardships with ease. I feel that God helps such conscientious objectors, and in putting them to the test He only burdens them with such sufferings as they can bear. [From The Modern Review.]

Gandhi brought the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa to a



(Photo International)

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
*Leader of the Nationalist movement that is seeking to
 overthrow English rule in India by boycotting
 everything British*

successful conclusion. The more glaring disabilities under which the Indians there had labored were at least legally removed. From that time on they suffered mainly from those social and industrial injustices which are outside the law, and which the dark-skinned Hindus everywhere in the world encounter in countries ruled by the British or American peoples. With the prestige of this great work accomplished, he was in London shortly after the outbreak of the World War and testified to his loyalty by organizing among the Indians and Moslems a Field Ambulance Corps. He was conscious not only of a generous interest in the British cause; he looked toward the near future for a realization among Hindus and Moslems of their common interest in India, the motherland.

On Oct. 1, 1914, Gandhi addressed a crowded meeting at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, London. The occasion was the inauguration of the Indian Field Ambulance Corps, which owed its existence largely to him. Acknowledging a gift of £200 from his Highness the Aga Khan, he said:

We Hindus have to live side by side with Mohammedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows; their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are the two eyes of the Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without Mohammedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between these two sections, who would war against one another, would only see with one eye and then but faintly and dimly.

CHANGE IN GANDHI'S VIEWS

Gandhi has not always held his present views as to British rule. Only a few years ago he was an ardent advocate of the imperial connection. He hoped then that Britain would recognize the loyalty of India's support during the war and her very material sacrifices of men and money. But the severity with which the expressions of native aspirations were repressed, after the close of the war, drove him and many other loyalists to

take more extreme views. Compare the following speech made in 1915 with his later utterances:

The British Empire has certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of these ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honor and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other Government. [Speech by Gandhi in April, 1915, at the annual gathering of the Madras Law Dinner.]

Following is an extract from his organ, *Young India*, dated Nov. 17, 1921, in which he answers the questions of a reader who reproaches him for his former pro-British views:

Experience has made me wiser. * * * I consider the existing system of government to be wholly bad and requiring special effort to end or mend it. It does not possess within itself any capacity for self-improvement.

Not only did I offer my services at the time of the Zulu revolt, but before that, at the time of the Boer war; and not only did I raise recruits in India during the late war, but I raised an ambulance corps in 1914 in London. If, therefore, I have sinned, the cup of my sins is full to the brim.

That the British Government in India is now unworthy the allegiance of its former loyal Hindu subjects he holds proved by the events of the last few years—events that have raised Gandhi from the position of a highly-respected Indian barrister, a reformer of moderate demands, to that of leadership in a movement which is regarded by the British as the most menacing in the history of the empire. It can always be said of Gandhi that his words are unpromising. They mean just what they say. In a recent issue of *Young India* he wrote:

When a man deliberately breaks his own laws, the disobedience becomes criminal. For he commits the breach, not against himself, but against some one else, and not only escapes punishment for the breach—for there is none provided against the maker of laws—but he avoids also the inconvenience caused by their observance. What is true of the individual is true of the corporation. At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from

questioning orders issued by officials, barefaced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. * * * It is against not only the spirit of Lord Reading's pledge but it is against the letter even of his predecessor's communiqué, in which it was declared in solemn tones that so long as non-co-operators remained non-violent there would be no repression. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

Nevertheless, the door of reconciliation was still held open. In November, 1921, he penned these significant words:

As a non-co-operator I neither own nor disown George as my King. I have disassociated myself from the system administered under the King's name. I keep myself free to give allegiance to him if I can attain my full growth in his kingdom and can secure full redress of the Khalifate and Punjab wrongs. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

Just as England has held India in subjection and servitude, the Hindus themselves have been guilty of an equally grave offense toward the pariah class—the "untouchables" of their land. Gandhi contends that caste degradation had no place in the virile traditions of ancient India. True, there were castes, which were in essence a mirroring of the four fundamental occupations — manual labor, trading, soldiering, teaching—but men and women of ability could rise into a higher caste, while the incompetent, the immoral, might suffer degradation into a lower group. The whole nation has suffered by Karmic law because of its cruelty toward the untouchables. For this lack of charity Gandhi has the severest censure. He has never hesitated to mix with the lowest castes; indeed, intentionally he used the terrible third-class accommodation while traveling through India, so that he might know by personal experience what the poorer folk endured.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ADVISED

He holds that it is not only the right but the duty of Indians to refuse allegiance to the Government; but he cautions his followers that they must take the consequences of

civil disobedience without a resort to violence. It may safely be asserted that any sporadic outbreak of violence occurring in India is not only contrary to the wishes of Gandhi, but is in every case regarded by him as a disaster, a failure, a defeat. For Gandhi is in all things sincere as a child, lucid in his sincerity, and utterly uncompromising as to principle. He holds that the nation is being tested and tempered, prepared for self-government in political affairs by demonstrating spiritual self-government through the difficult path of non-violent non-co-operation.

Civil disobedience which is entered upon prayerfully, as a sacrifice of selfish interests for the sake of the motherland, must not be confused with unsocial and unlawful actions performed in a selfish spirit. The action of a man practicing civil disobedience may bear some superficial resemblance to that of the unsocially minded self-seeker, but they are as far apart as the poles. Gandhi makes this distinction clear with his usual simplicity:

I was grieved to take notice that at the convocation meeting organized on the 9th instant by the National Board of Education, several people had entered Bradlaugh Hall without tickets and without permission. This is not merely uncivil, but criminal, disobedience. For they entered by force where they knew their force would not be resisted by force. Such men are unfit for civil disobedience, which presupposes a scrupulous and willing observance of all laws which do not hurt the moral sense. Obedience to laws of voluntary associations, as the rule of the manager of the convocation, is only the first step to voluntary and ungrudging obedience to the laws imposed by the State. Thoughtless disobedience means disruption of society. The first thing, therefore, for those who aspire after civil disobedience is to learn the art of willingly obeying laws of voluntary associations, such as congresses, conferences and other bodies, and similarly obeying State laws, whether they like them or not. Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

THE BOMBAY RIOTS

In November, 1921, during the visit of the Prince of Wales, rioting

broke out in Bombay. Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, Parsees and Christians were involved. Gandhi's lieutenants moved among the people, exhorting them to disperse and go to their homes. Several of these peace-makers were severely handled by one of the mobs. A few were beaten so badly that they had to have surgical service. On hearing of the riot, Gandhi came down and exerted his utmost influence to bring about peace. He was infinitely saddened by the results of this brute frenzy. At last he found peace by fasting. After four days of this self-inflicted penance the warring factions became alarmed and promised restraint in future. He then broke his fast amid general rejoicings. Writing a sorrowful message to the men of Bombay, he said:

Swaraj (self-determination) does not lie that way. India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. * * * Swaraj is freedom for every one, the smallest among us, to do as he likes, without any physical interference with his liberty. Non-violent non-co-operation is the method whereby we cultivate the freest opinion and get it enforced. [Young India, Nov. 24, 1921.]

There is only one God for us all, whether we find him through the Koran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta, the Talmud, or the Gita. And He is God of Truth and Love. I have no interest in living save for proving this faith in me. I cannot hate an Englishman or any one else. I have spoken and written much against his institutions, especially the one he has set up in India. I shall continue to do so if I live. But you must not mistake my condemnation of the system for that of the man. My religion requires me to love him as I love myself. I would deny God if I did not attempt to prove it at this critical moment. [Gandhi's appeal to Bombay citizens in Young India, Nov. 24, 1921.]

A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE

He regrets that there are still those, even among his nominal followers, who misunderstand the movement, who are likely to resort to violence when it seems profitable. These he urges to a deeper, a more spiritual understanding:

It has unfortunately to be confessed that non-co-operation still appears and commends itself to many only in its destructive form. While the latter is absolutely essen-

tial, it is the constructive which is the permanent and best part of it. I am painfully conscious of the fact that to many it appears only to be a preparation for violence, whereas non-violence is not only an integral, but the only sustaining part of non-co-operation. It is by itself the largest part of construction. Non-violence at once makes it a religious movement and throws man on God as his only Rock and Refuge. By non-violence the non-co-operator burns his boats and makes steady headway in all weathers. By non-violence the non-co-operator appears before his Maker in his nakedness and commands divine help. He may not appear before him with his Bible or Koran or the Gita in one hand and his gun in the other. He appears, on the contrary, with hands folded, a humble suppliant before the Great White Throne.

I believe in God working through us, and for or against individuals and nations, as surely as I believe in the sun rising regularly at the appointed hour from day to day.

By this discipline of non-violent non-co-operation, for which the Indians, Gandhi contends, are by nature fitted, Swaraj is obtained. There is no long historic process, there are no petitions, no appeals to Parliament. Swaraj *becomes*, descending from the spiritual and organizing itself on the political and industrial. Swaraj is *there* all the time—only it has to be realized. With its realization the great social abuses disappear. The Hindu-Mohammedan feud is settled. The evils of caste are eliminated. From the point of view of the life of a nation, the change is instantaneous. It all depends on the manliness, the virtue, the nobility of the nation. The British have no real power to prevent it, for it comes from within.

RAILWAYS AND MACHINERY

Since Gandhi is known to be an enemy of modern industrialism, many Americans have expressed curiosity as to his attitude in regard to what they consider the necessary mechanical contrivances on which modern life is based. Here, as on many other questions, his extraordinary sincerity is manifest. There is no other political leader in the world who would dare assert that a great people, aspiring to nationhood on an equality with other powers, should limit its use of

modern machinery—should, for example, abandon, whenever possible, the modern power-driven cotton spindle and revert to the use of the antique hand loom used for thousands of years in the Indian village. Other statesmen declare for limitation of armaments. Will the future assert that Gandhi struck deeper—that he struck at the root of the evil when he proposed a limitation of machinery? Here are his thoughts, written down in answer to an anxious questioner:

The question about railways and telegraphs is really too insignificant in relation to the great doctrine I have just discussed. I am not myself banishing the personal use of these conveniences myself. I certainly do not expect the nation to discard their use, nor do I expect their disuse under Swaraj. But I do expect the nation under Swaraj not to believe that these agencies necessarily advance our moral growth or are indispensable for material progress. I would advise the nation to make a limited use of these agencies and not to be feverishly anxious to connect 750,000 villages of India by telegraph and railway. The nation when it feels the glow of freedom will realize that they were needed by our rulers more for our enslavement than for enlightenment. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

SWADESHI AND AHIMSA

From the time of his arrival in India in 1915 Gandhi began to preach Swadeshi—the use only of goods made in India. Swadeshi has since become the principal economic weapon of his movement. Its practice has resulted in an appreciable decrease in the sales of British-made goods. But, to Gandhi, Swadeshi has deeper meanings than the economic. Speaking before the missionary conference at Madras on Feb. 14, 1916, he defined Swadeshi as follows:

And now for the last division of Swadeshi: Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But this was not to be. We were greedy, and so was England. The connection between England and India was clearly based upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for

her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without much hurt, though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken for revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. * * * I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve my own family. It were better to concentrate my efforts upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation, and, if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love!

The driving force behind Gandhi's political non-resistance is his sincere and passionate belief in the power of Ahimsa, which, as he interprets it, means conquering the enemy by love. In an address delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, Feb. 16, 1917, he defined Ahimsa, thus:

Literally speaking, Ahimsa means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go if I merely understood by Ahimsa non-killing. Ahimsa really means that you may not offend anybody; you may not harbor an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought: I do not say "whom you consider to be your enemy," but "who may consider himself to be your enemy." For one who follows the doctrine of Ahimsa there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So it is held that we may not harbor an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsa. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemies' action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce; but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to that enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, even by the action of somebody else, or, say, by divine agency. If we harbor even this thought we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsa. And there is no room for any violence, even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honor of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all, that would be a poor defense of honor. This doctrine of Ahimsa tells us that we may guard the honor of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the

hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness today in Europe.

This is an ancient doctrine, and it is indeed only a great and daring soul who would apply it in world politics. Gandhi intends his words to be taken quite simply and literally. Many in India are doing so—women as well as men. Col. Wedgewood, an Englishman, a political opponent of Gandhi, says:

He is as serious as a child, and as pure. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers.

Gandhi's followers are in a very simple and literal sense doing what he advises. People have made bonfires of their own foreign-made clothes, lawyers have abandoned lucrative practices, thousands of cases have been taken out of the law courts. The English-speaking schools are adversely affected. Over 25,000 titles have been renounced. The ancient hand-loom is coming into its own, and the sound of the spinning-wheel is again heard in the village. Women have a great part in this movement, for Gandhi is sternly against any thought of repression because of sex. The lowest castes are with him as well as the educated young men. It is a folk movement of all India—a passionate determination to return to that Aryan Way which gave so much to the world long ago when England was a forest and America was undiscovered. It is not

merely a political phenomenon; it is a remembering of that bright dawn of history when the virile Aryans poured down through the Himalayan passes upon the plains of India—these Aryans, who are our own cousins and whose speech we still carry into daily life. In India today they cry in different words the same slogan that was used by our ancestors—the words that fired the English at Runnymede, the Americans at Bunker Hill. It is an ancient word, a word that has ever stirred the Aryan blood—the word Freedom!

[RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA—At present the most interesting aspect of the silent revolt in India is its reaction upon the official tour of the Prince of Wales from one end of the country to the other—a visit that is to last eight months. Thus far no violence has been attempted against the young Prince, though in some cities his presence has been greeted with a hartal, a sort of general strike. His progress through the native States has left nothing undone by the ruling Princes to express their loyalty to the British throne and empire. Those scenes of gorgeous pomp and splendor—associated with great occasions in India—recall the stately ceremonials of bygone centuries, especially in Rajputana, a name synonymous with all that was best in medieval chivalry. But at Allahabad the hartal, or day of mourning, proclaimed by Mr. Gandhi was put into such effect that the flag-bedecked streets were empty of other welcome. Benares proved a more pleasant experience, for in spite of the hartal the populace indulged in a holiday festival. After some days' big game hunting in Nepal the Prince emerged at Patna, where the hartal was but half successful. He arrived in Calcutta on Dec. 24 and received a cordial welcome. On Dec. 28 the Prince opened the Victoria Memorial, a vast marble palace erected to the memory of Queen Victoria. After his arrival at Madras on Jan. 13 there was rioting. Arrests for sedition continue on an increasing scale over a large part of the country. Among many notables sent to prison in December was Mr. Gandhi's son and Lajpat Rai, a prominent Indian Nationalist. The Moplah revolt was reported on Dec. 22 as rapidly approaching a collapse, with only 2,500 active rebels in the field. * * * At a full session of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad on Dec. 29, a resolution was adopted declaring Gandhi the sole executive authority, with full powers over the Congress organization, and endorsing his non-violence policy. The apparent result of this is to make Mr. Gandhi the duly-appointed dictator of all Nationalist activities in India.]

THE CARNIVAL OF CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Astounding statistics showing the rapid increase of murders and robberies—Encouragement of criminality becoming a national cult—Laxity of laws and maudlin sentimentality the chief causes

EVIDENCE that crime is increasing in the United States in a most alarming way is so abundant and conclusive that it cannot be controverted. But because statistics on crime, so far as they are kept at all, are kept in a desultory, detached and fragmentary way which evokes the openly expressed amazement of foreign criminologists, it is not possible to present a comprehensive statement of facts on the subject. Annual reports of the Police Commissioner of New York City, for example, form huge volumes, from which it is altogether impossible to glean any true idea of crime conditions. Not a single large city in the country issues a clear and comprehensive police report. No two follow the same form; none follows the same form from year to year. Annual periods covered begin at different times of the year, so that comparisons are out of the question. For these reasons such facts as are available are necessarily *understatements*; yet, perhaps, they may suffice to give some idea of the growing menace to life and property which long ago attained the proportions of a national disgrace.

One significant indication of present tendencies is the increase in losses paid by burglary insurance companies, which grew from an aggregate of \$1,686,195 in 1916 to \$5,670,760 in 1919 and to \$10,189,853 in 1920—an increase of 543 per cent. in five years.

From the fragmentary information available the total amount of money and property stolen in the United States in 1921 is estimated at \$302,799,000. This includes only theft with or without violence, and does not include the many millions obtained by fraud.

The most trustworthy statistics on a single phase of crime are those of the American Bankers Association on bank burglaries and hold-ups. Even these are not complete; for, while they cover the 23,632 member banks fully, there is no way of knowing how complete the figures are for the 9,611 non-members. For another thing, these statistics make no mention of the numerous murders committed by bank robbers, such as the double killing at Pearl River, N. Y., last December.

These statistics tell a startling story. In the year ended Aug. 31, 1921, there were 136 hold-ups and 319 burglaries of banks—a *bank robbery in some form every 19 hours and 15 minutes of the year!* The aggregate loss was \$1,224,489, as compared with 122 hold-ups and 393 burglaries, with an aggregate loss of \$1,002,493, in 1920, and 80 hold-ups and 115 burglaries, with a loss of \$301,792, in 1917. In the twenty-three years ended with 1917 the aggregate loss amounted to \$2,609,754, an annual average of \$113,467. An increase from an annual average loss by robbery of \$113,467 to \$301,792, in the last year of the period, and to

\$1,224,489 four years later, may justly be characterized as startling.

The most disquieting thing about bank crimes is the increase in hold-ups. A few years ago the chances of a hold-up were so slight that they were covered in insurance against burglary without extra charge. Now the coverage for hold-ups is charged for. Losses by hold-ups in 1917 were double the losses by burglary; in 1921 the losses, while increasing more than fourfold in the aggregate, were more than three times as great by hold-ups as by burglary. Before the war burglary of safe-deposit boxes was unknown; now that Liberty bonds are as readily negotiable as currency, many boxes are broken open.

W. J. Burns is authority for the statement that thefts from railroads, express companies, steamships, trucks, lighters and piers aggregate \$106,000,000 a year.

It is impossible to ascertain from the report of the Postmaster General the total amount of mail robberies; but he does say that in 1921 the loss from 36 major crimes was \$6,346,407; and in rather ambiguous language he intimates that the department paid for losses by theft of registered and insured mail \$38,000,000. Stamp burglaries added \$100,508 more.

The statistics of automobile thefts are equally incomplete. Such figures as are possessed by the Automobile Chamber of Commerce show that in the principal 28 cities, 30,046 cars were stolen in 1920, as compared with 27,445 in 1918. At an average value of \$500 each this would represent \$15,023,000. One car out of each thirty registered in New York was stolen in 1920; one in each twenty-two in Chicago; one in each thirty-one in Detroit and Cleveland.

[American Cartoon]



—Sacramento Bee

THE EVIL AND THE CURE

ENORMOUS TOTAL OF THEFTS

As already pointed out, police statistics are so incomplete and so erratic as to be almost valueless. However, losses aggregating \$1,630,009 were reported to the police of Boston in 1920, as compared with an annual average of \$816,341 for the five years ended with 1920, or an increase of almost 100 per cent. for that year over the five-year average. Thefts reported to the Washington police aggregated \$1,008,875 in 1920, as compared with \$336,067 in 1916. Baltimore reported \$1,347,402 stolen in 1919, as compared with 410,486 in 1912. Chicago reported \$3,974,326 stolen in 1921.

In spite of Chicago's evil reputation it appears that Eastern thieves are the more efficient; for the proceeds of their crimes averaged \$2.11 per capita for the populations of Boston, Baltimore and Washington, as compared with \$1.47 per capita for

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

The Judge must be recalled!

Chicago. Applying the per capita rate of theft of these four cities, which may be taken as fairly representative, to the 52 per cent. of population living in cities and towns of 2,500 population or over, and a per capita of 50 cents for the remainder of the population, would give a loss by theft of \$138,605,000. Adding the various items enumerated in the foregoing gives a grand total of \$302,788,000 as the probable approximate loss annually by theft with and without violence. While there may be duplications in these figures, it is equally probable that some important items have been omitted. A gross annual income of \$302,799,000 is hardly enough to support the criminal population estimated hereinafter in the style to which its members have been accustomed.

The losses of property are but a single item in the terrific burden imposed by crime. Police protection,

the ponderous machinery of justice and the maintenance of penal institutions add hundreds of millions to the total. Dividing the police budget by the total number of arrests shows that the arrest of a suspect costs from \$14.60 in Indianapolis to \$90.70 in New York and \$163 in Youngstown, Ohio.

Judge Otto A. Rosalsky of the New York Court of General Sessions, who, for a quarter of a century, has been exclusively engaged in dealing with crime, first as Assistant District Attorney and for the last sixteen years as a Judge, estimates that there are 30,000 professional criminals in New York State. The Chicago Crime Commission estimates that there are 10,000 professional criminals in that city, or, roughly, one-third of 1 per cent. of the population. Applying this ratio to the population of the United States would give a total of 352,000

professional criminals; Judge Rosalsky's ratio would make it 300,000 in round numbers. Whatever its exact number, this army of professional criminals is highly organized and efficient, while the forces of law and order are pathetically inadequate. There are criminal cases that have been on the docket in New York City for two years; the docket as a whole is said to be about a year and a half behind. Such great delay amounts to a denial of justice, as is proved by results. Only one-third of the prisoners arraigned in New York City in the first eleven months of 1921 on the charge of robbery were convicted, while the cases tried represented but 54 per cent. of those reaching the District Attorney's office.

Federal courts deal with an indeterminate, but certainly a small, fraction of felonies; yet the number of cases dealt with there may serve as an indication of general condi-

tions. The Attorney General reports that in the year ended June 30, 1921, 54,487 criminal cases were commenced in the Federal courts, as compared with 47,443 in 1919, an increase of 14 per cent. in two years. But this does not tell the whole story, because these courts are falling steadily behind in their work from year to year. Indictments pending in Federal courts in 1921 numbered 70,000, as compared with 9,503 in 1912. Even after deducting the 30,000 cases arising under the prohibition laws, an increase of 332 per cent. in ten years is alarming, even for a nation given to boasting of big things.

SITUATION IN CHICAGO

As an indication of the increase in crime, the murders in Chicago are disquieting. In 1921 there were 352 murders in that city, almost one a day throughout the year, as compared with 336 in 1919, 255 in 1916, 216 in 1914 and 159 in 1910—an increase of 121 per cent. in twelve years. For years the average annual number of murders in Berlin, a city four-fifths the size of Chicago, was twenty-five. That is, the proportion of murders to population in Chicago is more than eleven times greater than in Berlin. Yet Chicago is not exceptional. Cleveland, with one-tenth the population of London, had twice as many murders as that metropolis in 1918. Los Angeles, one-twentieth the size of London, had 10 more murders than the latter city in 1917.

According to the murder statistics collected by The Chicago Tribune—the only data extant covering the whole country—59,377 murders were committed in the United States in the seven years from 1912 to 1918, inclusive. The total number of battle deaths of American soldiers in the World War was 50,327. That is, the number murdered in seven years was 9,050 greater than the number of American soldiers killed in all their battles in the greatest war in history. In every one of the seven years the number of murders was more than

double, and in one year more than treble, the number of Union soldiers killed at Gettysburg, the bloodiest battle of the Civil War.

First cousin to murder is lynching. In 1921 there were 63 lynchings, as compared with 65 in 1920, 64 in 1918, 38 in 1917, 54 in 1916, 69 in 1915. In the thirty-two years from 1889 to 1921, a grand total of 3,161 persons have been lynched by American mobs.

While the whole story of the increase of crime has not been told, and from the nature of the circumstances cannot be, enough has been said to justify the assertion that the United States is the most lawless nation on the globe, barring only Russia under Bolshevik rule. Even there crimes are not committed so much by individual enemies of society as under the pretext, at least, of official sanction.

WAR NOT THE CAUSE

It is customary to apologize for ever-increasing lawlessness by attributing it to the after-effects of the war. All wars are followed by temporary increases in crime, so we are told. Such an explanation is superficial and worthless. Only the shallowest memory or the most casual research is needed to establish the fact that the tendencies now bearing their perfect fruit began long before the war, and that they have not been accelerated beyond their normal rate of development by anything which honestly can be attributed to the war or its effects. For 30 years, at least, the increase in crime has been the subject of public comment. In 1908, six years before the war began, Chief Justice Taft, in an address before the Civic Forum in New York City, said:

The administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization. The prevalence of crime and fraud, which here is greatly in excess of that in European countries, is due largely to the failure of the law and its administration to bring criminals to justice. * * * Since 1885 there have been 131,915 murders and 2,286 executions. In 1885 the number of murders was 1,808; in 1904 it had grown to 8,482. The number of executions in 1885 was 108; in 1904, 116. This startling increase in the number of murders as compared with the number of executions tells the story. As

murder is on the increase, so are all offenses of the felony class; and there can be no doubt that they will continue to increase unless the criminal laws are enforced with more certainty, more uniformity and more severity than they now are.

But have the laws been enforced with more uniformity, certainty and severity? They have not. In 1915, two years before the United States entered the World War, the number of murders had increased to 9,230, while executions numbered only 119.

In 1885 there was one execution to each 16.7 murders; that is, the odds in favor of the murderer were 16.7 to 1; pretty safe, but still serious enough to give pause to those bent on homicide; for even if they escaped the gallows there was the chance of a long term of imprisonment. In those days prisons were not the pleasant retreats for gentlemen with conscientious objections to hard work that they have since become. By 1904 the odds that the murderer could escape the death penalty had increased to 73 to 1; by 1915 the odds had lengthened to 77.5 to 1; by 1918, to 90 to 1.

In these more enlightened days the murderer does not have to run even one chance in 90 of suffering the extreme penalty. In 1920 the District Attorney of New York City investigated 679 homicide cases. Of these 130 were presented to a Grand Jury, which returned 78 indictments. Of the total just one was convicted of murder in the first degree! The odds had lengthened to 679 to 1 in favor of the murderer, in New York City, at least. Even that does not tell the whole story; for the record does not disclose whether this solitary convicted murderer actually paid the extreme penalty, or whether by numberless legal tricks he was released on bail and eventually turned loose.

CANADA'S BETTER METHODS

In Canada things are done differently. At the United States ratio of murder to population, Canada should have had 460 such crimes in 1913. The actual number was 55. The number of accused brought to trial was 55, of

whom 23 were convicted and sentenced to death; and the sentence was executed without any of the long delays so familiar on our side of the boundary. Of the rest, 5 were sent to insane asylums and the remaining 27 were acquitted. When the crime of murder is accompanied by such grave risk it is small wonder that murders are few.

In Philadelphia there were 501 highway robberies in 1919, as compared with 471 the preceding year and 330 in 1913. In Baltimore there were 319 highway robberies in 1919, as compared with 27 in 1913. In New York City, 1,133 assaults and robberies were reported in 1919, as compared with 864 in 1917. In the whole Dominion of Canada just 20 highway robberies were reported in 1918.

During the construction of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States, the railroad was a temporary camp in which every species of crime flourished with no restraint whatever. Conditions were so outrageous that these temporary towns came to be known as "Hell on Wheels." The only excuse, when anybody took the trouble to offer one, was that these temporary towns were on the frontier beyond the reach of organized society. Every other Western railroad was built under identical conditions. Yet the Canadian Pacific was built entirely without the obligation of crime considered inevitable in this country. The frontier camp was a peaceful community, without disorder and without drunkenness. The few unsophisticated American bootleggers who volunteered to assuage the thirst of the railroad men in Canada were treated by the Northwest Mounted Police with a discourtesy that amounted to rudeness.

As late as the first decade of the twentieth century, when the last of the transcontinental lines, the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway, was built, the old familiar "Hell on Wheels," a trifle subdued, to be sure, accompanied the van. The same contractor who built a tunnel for this road with the usual accompaniment

of drunkenness, gambling, robbery and murder at his camp, immediately after the job was done obtained a contract to build a tunnel for the Canadian Pacific in the same range of mountains a few hundred miles further north. There was not a single murder, nor even so much as a robbery or assault in or around that Canadian camp from beginning to end.

Canadians are descended from the same ancestral stock as ourselves; they live on the same continent under similar climatic conditions, separated from us, physically, only by an invisible line. Morally the breach seems to be considerably wider; for the Canadians respect their own laws and are prompt to compel respect from the few who need compulsion.

ORGANIZATIONS OF THIEVES

As further evidence that the war has had no more to do with the increase in crime than the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883 had on the ravages of the boll weevil in 1921, observe that criminal depredations which had been steadily increasing in Chicago at least since the world's fair in 1893, became so intolerable that at last on May 18, 1914, ten weeks before the war began, the city council appointed a committee of three to investigate and report on conditions and recommend remedies. This committee's report, submitted March 22, 1915, allowing for differences in volume in proportion to population and perhaps in details of particular varieties of crime, would serve to describe conditions existing in an unpleasantly large number of American cities.

The committee found that the greater part of the stealing, amounting in the aggregate to millions of dollars, was done by organized thieves. In fact, the business of burglary, highway robbery and the like, with incidental murder on occasion, was highly organized. Professional criminals had built up a system which the committee designated as a "crime trust," with roots extending through the police force, the bar, the public

prosecutor's office, bondsmen and political officials. Collusion existed between members of the detective force and professional criminals, while graft, favoritism and political influence tended strongly toward demoralization of the police force and particularly the detective branch.

The burglars' trust had its wholesalers, its jobbers and its retailers with interstate and interurban branches. The committee found 39 fences, 100 "hang-outs" for professional criminals, many of them kept by criminals, and 500 professional criminals. Of course, they did not pretend to have exhausted the possibilities of discovery; but what was found was enough to show how flagrant and unafraid the crime trust had become.

Certain professional bondsmen not only supplied bonds for criminals unfortunate enough to be arrested, but acted as general "fixers," to smooth out misunderstandings with the culprits' associates on the police force. There was also a group of criminal lawyers whose work included dealing with the police, furnishing professional alibis and professional witnesses, jury fixing and spiriting away inconvenient witnesses, procuring exhaustive continuances, and all the underground activities of all-around fixers.

The police organization and methods were found to be wholly inadequate to cope with conditions, even if all had been honest. Crime statistics were incomplete and not assembled or published by authority, and not open to the public. Even at that the committee was able to find and report an increase in criminal complaints from 11,732 in 1905 to 14,340 in 1913—some time before the war, it will be observed. Of 7,342 felony cases 932 resulted in convictions, but only 208 finally received penitentiary or reformatory sentences; that is, only one felony in 69 was punished at all. "Treatment of those sent to penal institutions is pitifully ineffective," said the committee.

From this it will be seen that the risk of punishment for crime in Chicago is hardly great enough to be very effective as a deterrent. To offset this and provide the desirable camouflage of great zeal on the part of the police department and the courts, the committee reported that "the present machinery catches poor, petty and occasional criminals and punishes them severely," while "thousands of innocent persons are annually imprisoned in the county jail, many of them under disgraceful conditions, tending to create criminals."

CRIME IN NEW YORK

New York City employs other methods. New York has even gone so far as to reprimand a convicted burglar! In the two years, 1920-21, there were 6,035 arrests for burglary in New York. Of these, 3,380 were discharged and 2,755 convicted. But, of the 2,755 convicted, 987 received suspended sentences; 94 were paroled or bonded, while 67 were fined, a punishment which involved no loss of liberty, or their bonds were forfeited, which means that they were freed by their own act. And then, of course, there was the one that was reprimanded. Thus, of the grand total of convicted burglars, 41.7 per cent. were able to escape jail altogether; the rest went either to hospitals for the insane or to prison.

Suspended sentences are by no means peculiar to the city. The Secretary of State of New York reports that 34.6 per cent. of all sentences imposed in 1919 by the criminal courts of the State were suspended. Yet 90 per cent. of all convictions were secured on pleas of guilty. The routine seems to be: Commit your crime, wait at the police station until a bail bond can be made out, which frees you to continue operations until your case is reached (and the courts are one to two years behind on their work), then plead guilty, accept a suspended sentence, and repeat.

Sometimes the trial Judge forgets to suspend the sentence. In that case

the Parole Board comes to the rescue of the culprit. In the year ended June 30, 1920, the New York Parole Board placed 19,637 prisoners, one-third of the total prison population of 59,033 for that year, on parole.

The New York law provides that "courts may place defendants on parole for all offenses except those punishable by death or life imprisonment." In Michigan, defendants may be paroled "where it appears to the satisfaction of the court that the defendant is not likely again to engage in an offense or criminal course of conduct, and that the public good does not require that the defendant shall suffer the penalty imposed by law."

PROBATION LAWS ABUSED

Every State in the Union has a probation law along these general lines. In 1919 no fewer than 200,000 delinquents were "dealt with" on parole. And for fear some criminal might suffer the inconvenience of a temporary sojourn in jail, the National Probation Association procured the enactment by Congress of a bill conferring upon the Federal courts the privilege, now enjoyed by State courts, of freeing felons; but President Wilson vetoed the bill, thus putting the National Probation Association to the trouble of going through with its Congressional campaign all over again.

Addressing the National Probation Association in 1920, Edwin J. Cooley, Chief Probation Officer of New York City Magistrates' Court, asserted that the "success of the probation system, which had its origin in America, had been remarkable." Massachusetts, which originated the system, had not built a prison cell in twenty years, he said, while half the existing cells were empty.

Unemotional statistics compiled by the Secretary of State seem to indicate that if Massachusetts has stopped building prisons it is not for the reason that they are not needed. Nor do these statistics tend to encourage the ardent faith in criminal nature

professed by the uplifters; for they show that criminal trials begun in the courts of Massachusetts in 1919 included 181 murder cases, as compared with 161 in 1918; 472 robbery cases, 89 burglary and 971 cases of breaking, entering and larceny, as compared with 288, 50 and 375 cases, respectively, in the preceding year.

In further confirmation of conclusions to be drawn from statistics in preference to the assertion of uplifters, it may be remarked that in 1917 the records showed that 87 per cent. of the prisoners confined in various New York State prisons were repeaters. On this showing it would appear that the 200,000 probationers dealt with in 1919 must have included 174,000 professional criminals who would take advantage of their liberation to resume depredations upon society.

In this connection it should be remembered that a prison sentence is not what it appears to be. Such liberal deductions are provided by law that, for example, a sentence of twenty years, which happens to be the maximum permitted for manslaughter in New York, is automatically reduced to ten years two months and twenty days in the case of an ex-convict. A first offender would receive an indeterminate sentence of ten to twenty years, on which he would receive a reduction of about ten days in each thirty of his minimum sentence.

AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BLAME

Perhaps enough facts have been adduced to show that the administration of justice has been growing steadily worse in the fourteen years since Chief Justice Taft characterized it as a "disgrace to our civilization." It follows, then, that the American people, not the war, are to blame for what amounts to a breakdown of the whole system of administering justice. It has been the people's own chosen representatives who, responding in some instances to explicit demands, in other instances prompted by an ever-growing public spirit of lawlessness, an intolerance of author-

ity and a maudlin sentimentalism regarding those whose misdeeds have brought them into conflict with the law, have enacted statutes restricting Judges, Prosecutors and police in the performance of their duty and conserving the rights of the wrong-doer until the superior rights of society have been altogether lost sight of. In effect, the American people seem to have resolved themselves into a standing committee of the whole to encourage crime and protect the criminal.

Bearing in mind the complacency with which the acquittal of the Matewan murderers was received; the horrible record of lynchings; the spectacle of San Francisco women overwhelming with kisses and flowers a motion picture actor upon his release from jail charged with killing a girl under disgusting circumstances; the oration of the committing magistrate from the bench to justify his refusal to hold this same actor on a charge of murder; the clamor for the release of Debs, who confessed in court that he had done all he could to stab his country in the back while it was at war, and a thousand other kindred incidents which will readily occur to any newspaper reader, it would seem as if the encouragement of crime had become a national cult.

THE REMEDY

The fact is worthy of note that the aforementioned report of the Chicago Council Committee had no effect whatever, because it was not followed by action. Nothing happened until 1919, when the Chicago Association of Commerce, as the result of its own study of crime conditions, appointed a permanent crime committee, led by a former District Attorney, to deal with a condition which seemed almost hopeless. This committee's successor, under the name of the Chicago Crime Commission, is now at work. A part of its program is embodied in these suggested remedies:

A larger police force, free from political taint.

Better Judges, and restrictions on granting new trials.

Repeal of the law permitting change of sentence after it is imposed.

Take the selection of Judges out of the sinkhole of politics.

Dispense with juries in certain criminal cases where it would be to the advantage of the community and not unjust to the defendant.

Begin criminal prosecutions, except capital offenses and conspiracy charges, by filing information, thus eliminating the Grand Jury.

Maintain efficient bureaus of records of criminals.

Amend indeterminate sentence and parole laws.

Study further the problem of mental defectives and secure legislation to segregate this class from normal citizens.

More severe punishment for carrying concealed weapons.

Basing his suggestions on the retention of the present probation system, Judge Rosalsky proposes that in every case involving moral turpitude the State should have control over the delinquent in such a way as to keep him under restraining influence for a long period. Judge Rosalsky would create a board of rehabilitation composed of criminologists and penologists, to whom the delinquent should be responsible after his release. If charged with violation of

his parole, the delinquent, instead of having a trial by jury, should be brought before the Judge who sentenced him—or his successor—with witnesses, and if the charges are sustained the culprit should be sent back to prison. Only if the Judge should be left in doubt should there be trial by jury. Thus ex-convicts could be disposed of with celerity. Instead of two days, the case could be settled in fifteen minutes; and the calendars, now a year and a half behind, would no longer be crowded. A further important point is that the prisoner is not to be released without the consent of the Judge who committed him. Above all, the fact should be emphasized that the commission of crime involves severe punishment.

But the whole present system of penology is wrong, Judge Rosalsky holds. In a hearing before the Assembly Code Committee last February he said:

"It is time for well-meaning reformers who have wasted a good deal of sympathy and given too much consideration to hardened criminals to step aside and permit honest citizens to have the protection the courts want to give them."

FRENCH RULE IN THE CAMEROON

WHEN France took over German Cameroon (in Africa) she was unable to continue the land régime established by the Germans, owing to the impossibility of obtaining all the documents necessary to establish titles and transfers. Organization, or, rather, reorganization was begun only in 1920-21; the German legislation was then taken up and modified so as to give the district a new and individual land system. By a Government decree dated Sept. 15, 1921, the land was classified under four categories, and the conditions of transfer were laid down. Measures were devised to pro-

tect the natives against both speculation and expropriation, a proviso being made that no application for alienation of land belonging to native individual or collective owners shall be acted upon until a full investigation has been conducted by the local authorities. In case eviction from large domains should prove necessary, a fair indemnity is to be paid those evicted, and new lands are to be provided for them. The main object of the French Government in its dealings with the natives is to combine protection with the privilege of owning land, either individually or collectively.

THE ISLAND OF YAP AND ITS PEOPLE

BY WILLIAM HERBERT HOBBS

Professor of Geology in the University of Michigan

An interesting account of a visit to the much-discussed island in the South Seas, which Japan now rules—Stories of O'Keefe and his life among the natives—Curious community houses.

[ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR]

ONE might count upon the fingers the place names which now find more frequent mention in American news items than that of the thirty square miles of tropical jungle hidden away on one of the forgotten byways of the Pacific which goes by the name of Yap, Map or Wap. Five times each year the world reaches out to it a slim finger when the Chikuzen Maru touches at its port of Tomil on her way from Japan to the Pelew Islands. The importance of Yap in the world's affairs, and its dominant position in the news of the period, it owes almost exclusively to the fact that it is the junction point of the oceanic cable lines which run to Manila (by way of Guam), to Shanghai and to Menado on the Island of Celebes. As this nerve centre in the international cable system, it figured in the discussions of the Peace Conference at Paris and remained a subject of international difference until the United States and Japan finally reached an agreement on it during the early weeks of the arms conference.

The Island of Yap is on the extreme western margin of that broad band of widely scattered volcanic and coral islands which lies not far south of the route from Honolulu to Manila and is known as the Carolines; a belt which is extended to the eastward in the Marshalls, both groups being now in the possession of Japan as a conse-

quence of the allocations of the Peace Conference.

Like Ponape and Kusai in the Eastern Carolines, and the archipelago of Truk near the centre of the group, Yap is of volcanic origin—a double dome of lava partially dissected by stream erosion, and, like them, given its present form as a result of the progressive settlement of the sea floor on which it rests. As the island has subsided the coral reef, which once closely hugged the shore, has become separated from it by a lagoon which communicates with the open sea through several channels, only one of which is navigable for modern vessels. Within the lagoon the coral growth still goes on and is gradually filling it, here with a broad area of reef, there with the scattered coral heads which rise abruptly to near the surface from depths of a number of fathoms.

The northeastern half of the island has its shores deeply embayed where the lower reaches of the river valleys have been flooded during the process of subsidence. One of these embayments of the eastern side of the island penetrates far inland and is the harbor of Tomil, which, in spite of a rather narrow entrance, a cross-tide near its mouth, and an exposure to easterly winds, is one of the best in this part of the Pacific.

A striking object lesson upon one of the perils to which ships are ex-

posed in this part of the world—during the rainy season—is furnished by the wreck of the Kokura Maru of 3,000 tons burden, which occurred in December, 1920, in the harbor of Tomil. As the ship was leaving the harbor she was suddenly struck, when in the narrowest part of the channel, by one of those tropical rain squalls which, like a child's fickle temper, come without warning and are as quickly gone. All navigation marks were immediately blotted out in the heavy downpour, and the ship was set down upon the reef of the western wall by the strong cross-tide, and there its bones remain, a grim warning to all vessels which enter the port. The number of vessels calling at Yap is extremely small, and the United States gunboat Bittern, which came from Manila to take me aboard for a cruise of geological research, was the first American ship to enter the port in ten years, the last having been the Supply in 1911.

The rain squalls with their gusts of wind have, however, nothing in common with the fierce typhoon which is the grim despoiler of these fair islands. Last November a year ago Yap was visited by one of these hurricanes which wrecked most of the native houses, completely ruined the cocoanut crop, and left the islanders in an impoverished condition. In the southern third of the island, which is low and without protection from the hills, I passed through village after village in which everything had been carried away or overturned. The tall tree columns of the native clubhouses alone remained standing as reminders of the helplessness of the native in the face of these visitations of nature when in her implacable moods.

YAP'S MOST FAMOUS MAN

Two islands within the harbor of Yap, between the anchorage and the landing, are full of memories of that rough but kindly empire-builder, the Irish-American David D. O'Keefe,

the most successful man this part of the Pacific has ever developed. When he disappeared in 1901 his property was reported to be valued at some millions of German marks, mainly real estate in Hongkong and Yap, and cocoanut groves on many coral islands of the Western Pacific.

O'Keefe was the type of man who in Sarawak would have been Rajah, as was Brooke; but here there was already the established civil government of Spain. From the natives he bought the copra (dried cocoanut meat), transported it to Hongkong on his schooner, and returned laden with the goods of which they stood in need. The small army of natives which moved at his command, and on whom he used his fists freely whenever occasion demanded, had been recruited not alone from Yap, but from those isolated islands far to the southwestward—Sonsorol, Warren Hastings, Lord North and St. David's—lands which are still described in the pilot books of navigators as inhabited by natives that are fierce and wild and on no account to be trusted.

Many stories are told of O'Keefe's prowess, how single-handed he arrested a native chieftain noted as a desperate man and a murderer, for which exploit he was officially thanked by the Spanish Government; how when shipwrecked on the Pelew Islands and about to be murdered he was saved by his native wife and other native women throwing themselves about him. It is known that he knocked down his manager and nearly killed him by a blow on the temple and that after trial by the German authorities he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment. It was while out on bail that he disappeared, and though no proofs of his death have ever been supplied, it is known that he sailed out of Hongkong in his schooner, the Santa Cruz, with two of his sons and ran into a typhoon. This was in 1901, when he was 72 years of age. His widow, a native woman, still lives on the little Island

of Tarang, in the harbor of Yap, where O'Keefe had located his trading station; and one of his daughters, Mrs. Alfred Scott, has her home across the channel on the Island of Dunig, somewhat nearer the landing at Colony. Mrs. Scott inherits many of the strong traits of her father,* and speaks a fluent and, for this part of the world, a rather distinguished English. O'Keefe was a native of Savannah, Ga., and deserted a wife and daughter when he took up his residence in the Pacific.

HABITS OF THE NATIVES

The natives of Yap have advanced in civilization somewhat less

*According to a recent cable dispatch from Yap, this daughter of half-native parentage is now managing the large cocoanut groves and shipping interests left by her father, and they are flourishing under her direction; she has the only grand piano in the island. Mrs. Scott's husband, a trader, died in 1918, and since then she has run the business single handed. Though the Japanese flag flies over Yap, and a Japanese Governor makes its laws, Mrs. Scott is said to be "the real boss of the island."—Editor.

than their neighbors in the other Caroline islands lying to the eastward, and they are for that reason so much the more interesting to study. They are of muscular development, with a dark brown skin and curly black hair, the old men frequently wearing beards. The only clothing of the men is the narrow breech cloth, usually red, and the women and girls wear as their only garment a short skirt of grass or leaves, which may be replaced by a woven fabric of excellent workmanship. The love of ornamentation, which is highly developed in these natives, shows itself particularly in the use of combs by the men, these combs being of many forms and generally constructed out of the wood of the white mangrove. Perhaps the commonest form, and certainly the most artistic of them, resembles a fish's tail and projects forward from the forehead for a distance of ten inches or a foot. The favorite earring, worn in one ear only,



Home of Mrs. Alfred Scott on Dunig Island in Tomil Harbor. In the foreground are Mrs. Scott and her little boy, the chief petty officer of the Steamship Bittern, and four of Mrs. Scott's native servants



A group of native women standing in front of the Pa-bai at Tomil with the navigating officer of the Bittern. Note the enormous cylinder of stone money at the right

is made from the pink shell lining which is in use for money, but it is attached to the ear by a very small perforation, so that it does not produce such disfigurement as one sees in the ears of the Mortlock islanders to the eastward.

Both sexes chew the betel or areca nut almost constantly and without removing the bark. Lime obtained by burning the material of the coral reefs is sifted over the nut from a sifter made of a bamboo section, and the nut is wrapped in a leaf of pepper before it is put into the mouth. Natives are seldom seen without their bag of nuts and leaves and the bamboo sifter. Because of this practice of betel chewing their gums and lips are red and swollen and their teeth blackened. But for this disfigurement of their mouths many of the women would be pronounced distinctly good-looking.

The men of Yap are excellent canoemen and at home in the water,

though perhaps inferior in this respect to the natives of Ponape. About the ships in the harbor, if a line which is thrown falls short, it is never pulled in for a second throw. A native is immediately in the water and back again upon the ship before the line could be drawn in for recoiling. When navigating the lagoons in a canoe, it has more than once happened on a single trip that my canoemen have paddled, sailed, poled, waded on the reef, and lifted the canoe, as wind and depth of water have changed.

COMMUNITY HOUSES

Their canoes, their bamboo rafts, and the cleverly constructed homes and clubhouses the natives of Yap put together without the use of anything resembling a nail. Everything is made fast by cords, and it is in part because of this fact that the devastation wrought by the typhoons is so complete. The design, workmanship,



A bachelors' clubhouse, or Fa-lu, occupied only by young men of Yap. It is built without a nail anywhere in the structure

and artistic decoration of the clubhouses entitle these natives to a higher place in the scale of civilization than would be accorded them on the basis of their personal appearance. The community houses are of two types, the *fa-lu*, or bachelors' clubhouse, and the larger and more elaborately decorated *pa-bai*, which, though built especially for the men, is open to the women as well.

These community houses, in external appearance particularly, bear some resemblance to the native houses in Sumatra, having outwardly projecting peaks with gables which also project along the medial plane. They are decorated on the exterior, sometimes by painted logs which project horizontally like exaggerated gargoyles,

sometimes by great colored shells pendent from the peak of the roof. Within, these structures are dark, being lighted only from the low side and end openings, but the great peeled log pillars which support the roof are so placed as to yield a central nave with transepts. Above the high



Community house, or Pa-bai, at the village of Rull, Yap Island. Native houses of this type are occupied by both men and women



Bomb-proof structure built by the Germans near the old Spanish fort on Yap Island. The man in the foreground is a native guide

central nave one can make out in the dim light the squared braces where connections are made to the roof, and these are covered with cord, which is tied in most artistic, interlacing patterns.

All about the *pa-bais* and the *fa-lus*, and in lesser degree about the houses of kings and chieftains, are to be seen the great money wheels of aragonite

which these hardy voyagers or their ancestors have brought on their rafts two hundred miles across the open sea from the Pelew Islands to the southwest. As some of these wheels are fully seven feet in diameter and their weight is measured in tons, their use as money must be looked upon rather as a bank deposit not easily convertible during a panic, and far better to be

reckoned as prestige. In the Pelew Islands, where the wheels were quarried out of an elevated and profoundly altered reef-limestone, a considerable number of larger wheels are still to be seen lying in the shallow water of Malakal Harbor near the trading post. These wheels are exposed at low tide, and none of them is under twelve feet in diameter. An attempt which I made to raise one from its bed and transport it to America was without success because none of our boats



Cable station at Yap, the centre of an international dispute that has finally been adjusted after two years of diplomatic discussion

was large enough to bring it out to the Bittern.

In addition to their stone money the Yap islanders have a shell money which consists of fragments of the colored lining of the beautiful shells brought from Ponape, and a chief's son who served as my canoeman wore some fifteen dollars' worth about his neck. In point of fact, money is used very little, for the natives have not risen above the stage of barter. A pair of dirty overalls, a discarded undershirt, a box of matches, or a few cigarettes—these were the articles most frequently bartered by the sailors of the Bittern for the fruit, coconuts, canoe models or other articles which the natives brought out to the ship in their canoes.

The native villages are replete with interest, and if the visitor desires photographs it is not difficult to secure groups to pose for him. The best ordered of these villages, and the one showing the greatest degree of prosperity, is that of Tomil, on the eastern shore of the harbor. This village is governed by King Tamolin, a native of much ability, who enjoys the distinction of having been O'Keefe's first mate on the Santa Cruz. His breast is tattooed with the flags of the different nations, the Stars and Stripes in greatest prominence, and he speaks English fluently and with distinction, though he must have found little enough opportunity to practice it in recent years. Mrs. Scott, O'Keefe's daughter, paid a high tribute to the fidelity and efficiency of King Tamolin, and she related of him a story which brings out strikingly the weak qualities which were so strangely joined to the stronger traits in her father. On one of his voyages O'Keefe's schooner was caught in a terrific typhoon, and as he saw no possibility of coming out alive, he ordered up all the liquor on board and drank himself and his crew into insensibility. Awakening from this stupor the following day and finding the ship intact, he called Tamolin and asked him what had happened.

The mate replied, "The ship was saved because with my men I did not drink with you, and we worked the ship through the typhoon."

IMPROVEMENTS BY GERMANS

During their occupancy of the islands the Germans carried out extensive public works. An excellent road was built entirely around the island and a canal was dug across a narrow isthmus so as to extend Tomil Harbor and divide the eastern part of the island from the western. This canal permits the passage of canoes from Colony, the port village, to the northern Islands of Map and Rumong. A wireless station, which had been built by the Germans for communication with the other islands in the Caroline group and by relays with the outside world, is another important service which the Germans have to their credit. With the outbreak of the World War a British fleet appeared at Yap and by bombardment destroyed the wireless plant to sever the island's connection with the outside world. The concrete bases for the wireless masts are all that now remain of the German plant at Yap, but a new one has been erected at a different point by the Japanese Government.

The German warship Planet, noted as the surveying vessel which sounded the greatest depth of the ocean—the so-called "Planet Deep" east of the Philippine Islands—was anchored in the harbor when the British fleet appeared in the offing. She was sunk by her Captain to avoid capture, but was later salvaged by the Japanese when they came into possession of the islands.

Owing to O'Keefe's powerful influence, the natives of the island are extremely friendly to Americans. Members of our party were always warmly welcomed in the villages, and King Tamolin expressed to us his regret that so many of his people were away from the village at the time we called. If we would come

again he would see that every one was at home and would make holiday with dancing in our honor. We sailed away on the Bittern loaded with presents of fruit, with chickens and a fat pig for our larder. We have retained a most friendly feeling for the native islanders, as we have for the Japanese officials, who did

everything in their power to promote the geological investigation which was the purpose of my visit. The Japanese Civil Governor was seriously ill, but he got up from his bed in order to receive us and made every provision possible by guides, canoes and natives for rendering access to the places I desired to visit.

PACIFIC CABLES AND THE ARMS CONFERENCE

THE inadequacy of communication between the United States and the Far East was emphasized by the difficulties encountered by the Chinese and Japanese in relaying news of the arms conference to their home lands. Thirteen cables connect the United States with Europe; only one with the Orient, and that one cable is often out of order for long periods, and is wholly inadequate to handle any large volume of news such as that emanating from the conference.

The seriousness of the situation was pointed out recently by V. S. McClatchy, editor of The Sacramento Bee, in an article in The Editor and Publisher. Besides the one cable, the only other means of communication is by wireless, and there is only one private radio firm to serve all the Pacific nations. The wireless facilities of the United States Navy have been given a limited extension to relieve the situation, but the results have shown how inadequate are all the communications taken together. Though Honolulu received promptly full reports of the opening of the Washington conference through navy wireless, China and Japan received some of the first day's proceedings four days late; and afterward the pressure on the inadequate facilities became so great that only very short special messages were sent by cable and by privately-owned radio at "urgent rate" (over \$3 a word).

One consequence of these abridged messages was a grave misunderstanding as to what had actually been done by the conference powers. The danger of this was seen in China, where thousands rioted after a truncated message had announced that the Japanese and Chinese delegates would settle the Shantung controversy by direct negotiations. Had the message included the fact that these negotiations had been brought about by the good offices of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, this riot would probably not have occurred. Similarly the Japanese were left for days in the belief that only France had agreed to relinquish her Chinese leaseholds, the message having failed to state that the other chief nations had also made offers.

At present the navy radio remains the vital link in the news chain—all too weak—bridging the United States and the Orient. If that link breaks, the situation must inevitably become worse. Congress granted the navy authority to use its wireless facilities for news transmission over the Pacific at a low word rate, in June, 1900. That authority will expire June 5, 1922. Only the navy service has made possible the sending of regular daily reports under normal conditions. The sentiment in Congress regarding such a renewal has not yet been definitely gauged.

CURING LEPROSY IN HAWAII

BY WILLIAM R. COMINGS

of Honolulu

Triumph of science over one of the most ancient and terrible of diseases—Lepers at Kalihi recovering steadily under the new treatment—No more sent to Molokai in the last three years

TECHNICAL science is again justifying its claim as man's most valued servant and also his most effective physician. Leprosy, the loathsome terror of the Orient, antedating all history, found in all lands, is slowly giving way to the combined efforts of skilled chemists and physicians of the Hawaiian Islands. The essential facts in this great victory are brief, but not lacking in vital interest.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica is authority for the supposition that leprosy originated in the thickly populated regions of the lower Nile and was presumably caused by the eating of great quantities of raw fish, sometimes putrid. Be that as it may, the disease was certainly endemic among the Children of Israel when they left that pest-ridden land and began their wanderings in the wilderness. The Books of Moses give us our first familiar accounts of it and of the attempted system of cure and purification. No less than 4,000 words in Leviticus xiii. and xvi. are used to describe the details of procedure. The extremely sacerdotal rites had a few elements of sanity in them—pure running water was required for cleansing, while those not afflicted were enjoined to sleep not in a bed in which a leper had slept, to sit not in a chair in which a leper had sat, and to avoid those who wore the habiliments of the outcast. The whole ceremonial, however, manifests the

stamp of long-established Egyptian custom and priestly officiousness. No more pathetic cry has rung its way down the ages than that of the homeless Hebrew, "Unclean! unclean!"

ISOLATION CAMP AT MOLOKAI

No large country is now or ever has been free from the taint of leprosy. The Caucasian race is relatively free, but during the Crusades and for centuries afterward all Europe was afflicted and every city had its place of segregation. It was not till the seventeenth century that Britain, Scandinavia and the countries of Central Europe could boast a practical elimination of the disease. It is today not uncommon in South America; China and Japan have their villages for segregation of the afflicted; and one who is familiar with the facts states that there are more than a thousand cases of it in the United States, exclusive of Hawaii. Because of its comparative rarity it may often escape recognition. But in its early stages it is insidious and is easily overlooked by those who do not understand its peculiar manifestations. Even reputable physicians in Honolulu, with a leper hospital near them, have treated those having the disease for something entirely different.

The native Hawaiians are said to have been entirely free from leprosy until sailors and workers from the Orient appeared and lived among them. The old-time sex communism

of the race gave it free scope and it became a scourge. In 1866 the Government set off a peninsula on the Island of Molokai as an isolation camp, and it is still used for that purpose. The site was well chosen. It is a fertile and beautiful tract, separated from the rest of the island by an insurmountable wall of volcanic rock. Everything possible was done by the Hawaiian monarchy to make the hopeless victims comfortable. Since the islands became a territory of the United States in 1898 interest and care have not slackened.

The village, with a thousand inhabitants at times, is pleasant and homelike. There are schools, movies, churches, baseball, basketball, tennis, billiards, croquet, political meetings, a good string orchestra, dances, dramatics, and occasionally entertainments and lectures provided by people from Honolulu and other cities. In most ways life is normal; there are gardens, flowers, fruits, shrubs, ordinary occupations and something of family life. There is a Boys' Home under the personal care of Brother Joseph Dutton, who has been a faithful friend and nurse for forty years. During that time he has not left the camp, though at liberty to do so, as he is not a leper. He has never seen a railroad or an automobile. In his devotion he has fallen heir to the good work of Father Damien, who died of the disease. There is a Girls' Home in care of the Sisters, some of whom would never have gone there but for their devotion to suffering humanity.

The few visitors allowed are admonished not to shake hands, not to sit in a chair, nor rest on a couch, nor lean on a table. Often the precaution is taken of changing clothing on leaving the boat. Officials say that with proper care and sanitation there is little danger. Perfect health and an unbroken skin are elements of safety, but sterilization is the never-to-be neglected safeguard of the physician and nurse. The disease is communicable rather than contagious.

On all the islands there is constant

watchfulness on the part of Boards of Health, and every suspected case is tested for bacterial germs. The slightest evidence calls for immediate isolation. New cases, however, are so infrequent that there is little more public concern about danger from this disease than from tuberculosis. A few years ago a writer in a popular magazine asserted that the disease permeated all society, that school teachers habitually wore gloves in school for fear of contamination. A pure fabrication. It never was true when the disease was at its worst. Life goes on in Hawaii precisely as it does in New Orleans or New York.

The new treatment, however, is hailed with joy, especially on the part of the native Hawaiians. They do not now as formerly hide their cases, but bring them instead to the proper officers for examination, seclusion and treatment.

DISCOVERING THE NEW CURE

Credit for initiating a revolutionary method of treatment is generally ascribed to Dr. Victor Heiser of the United States Public Health Service in the Philippines. Instead of giving raw chaulmoogra oil in doses, as had been the custom for centuries, he gave it by injection into the muscles. Mixed with olive oil and drugs, it was efficacious and helped all patients treated. The old method of taking the oil through the mouth, even in capsules, produced such violent nausea that very few could retain it. If retained, it was healing; the best remedy then known. The success of the Heiser treatment led physicians generally to adopt injections as the best method of giving the oil, but it was thick and not easily absorbed. This led Dr. Harry T. Hollman, a member of the Government Medical Corps at Honolulu, to call for a more diluted form of the oil, one freed from extraneous matter, an ethyl ester, or the vital principle, if there was one. The decomposition of the

oil, he said, should be accomplished outside the body.

After securing the approval of his superiors, Drs. McCoy and Currie, he asked the Chemistry Department of the University of Hawaii to liberate this essence from the vegetable compound. President Dean, himself an expert chemist, became greatly interested. He assigned to the task Miss Alice Ball, a young negro woman and an expert chemist, who found the task exceedingly elusive. She gave it all her time and secured a light essence, which Dr. Hollman administered with improved results; but he still insisted it could be improved. Miss Ball's health failed, possibly from chemical poisoning, and she went to California to recuperate. On her return she again took up the task, aided by Dr. Dean, but was again forced to give up the work entirely and soon afterward died in California.

President Dean then entered upon the task with redoubled enthusiasm. He was encouraged from results obtained to give every possible aid to the indomitable and optimistic Dr. Hollman. There were months of persistent effort, the devising of expensive and complicated apparatus, including a special furnace for intense heat. At last the precise ethyl ester desired—with a number of others—was secured. Injections were made as before into the hips of patients—the large muscles were selected to avoid any possible introduction of the medicine into the large veins or arteries. The improvement following in every case was so marked as to cause surprise and decided gratification.

It was not long till several cases were pronounced cured and discharged. But some of those sent away had a recurrence of symptoms and were brought back for further treatment. Years of experimenting since then have convinced Dr. Hollman and his co-workers that a complete cure is a slow process. Germs lie hidden somewhere in the system that wait for some possibly abnormal condition—alcoholic intoxication, perhaps—to

become active again. The rule now followed is to parole, and then only when no bacilli can be found in the blood taken from any portion of the body, and to continue frequent examinations and occasional treatments for a period of two years.

THE PERFECTED TREATMENT.

The experimental work is carried on at Kalihi, an intermediate hospital established near Honolulu in 1865. There is not the air of hopelessness about this institution that is traditional at Molokai. With the success of the new treatment all are now waiting their time of parole, and they take the treatments with decided hope and faith. Injections are made weekly and to all patients. The event has assumed a holiday air; good cheer and raillery are encouraged by the doctors. This lessens the nervousness attending the physical pain of the operation and has a psychological effect also that is desired. So successful has the work been here that no new cases have been sent to Molokai for three years or more. The records show that 150 are now out on parole and going about the ordinary activities of life. Most of these are considered absolutely cured. In many cases not even the characteristic markings are visible.

Treatments upon the historical Molokai are also going on systematically. Few absolute cures there can be expected, but all treated are greatly improved, and many live in hope. Strange as it may seem, about half of the patients refuse to be treated. They are well cared for, are in congenial company and do not wish to face a cold and unsympathetic world. They could not hide their scars and deformities. The total now upon the island is 534, the number under treatment 350. It is hoped by people now living that they will see the complete elimination of this camp.

There is another interesting story, a sort of by-product. It was apparent some years ago that the supply of chaulmoogra seeds was all too small for future needs, and Professor J. F.

Rock, who was then in Southern Asia, was asked to secure seeds and learn something of the trees producing them. He found a small supply in the hands of curio dealers and exporters, but did not have time to find the trees, which, he learned, grew far inland. A year or so later, when in the employ of the United States Government, he made the very difficult personal search for the trees. No one in the towns could locate them, but from one village to another he made his way for hundreds of miles into and through the forests of Siam, Burmah and India. It was a soul-harrowing experience and called for no little fortitude and privation. He found the trees and several allied species. Had he not been a trained botanist and tree expert, he might have made the mistake that was made by some English searchers, who were satisfied with a similar tree and so have wasted years of time. For it was

his mission to get seeds for propagation as well as for direct use as medicine. It is impossible here to recount all his thrilling experiences, both with wild beasts and with natives. He sent enough seeds to Hawaii to meet present demands and to plant an allotment of a hundred acres, set apart for that purpose by the Hawaiian Legislature.

The Dean specific is in no sense proprietary. It is not obtainable for individual use. Hospital treatment and close observation are a necessity. It cannot be self-administered. The United States Treasury Department has issued a "Reprint from Health Reports, No. 607," prepared by Dr. J. T. MacDonald and President A. L. Dean, that gives detailed and technical information about the treatment as now administered in Hawaii. This and the oil are obtainable on application to the Public Health Service, Washington.

FRENCH OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR

THE French Minister of War announced on Nov. 16, 1921, that a monumental history of France's part in the great conflict was being prepared by the historical section of the French Army Staff. The purpose, he said, was "to give to the public as rapidly as possible, in accordance with a plan scientifically conceived and executed, a narrative describing, (1) in its wide interpretations, the conduct of the war by the French High Command; (2) the main lines of the development of operations."

Work on this official history was begun in 1919. Voluminous Government records of all kinds had first to be carefully sorted out and classified for the five war years from an aggregate of 60,000 separate files;

the documentation desired to meet the objects set forth above had then to be extracted from this mass by study and analysis. To expedite this formidable task the war epoch was divided into periods, and the study of each period was assigned to a special section of writers. The work of each section will be published when completed, and when the whole series is done it will contain volumes on every great campaign and battle of the war, besides tables on the size of the French Army units and their history from mobilization to armistice. The Minister of War hopes that the volumes dealing with the first operations of 1914 will appear before the end of 1922—if the appropriations are granted by Parliament.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING : THE NEW EDUCATION

BY HARRY L. FIDLER

Vice Chairman of the Federal Board for Vocational Education

How the national movement for Vocational Training arose, and how it developed—Agriculture, Trade, Industry and Home Economics taught practically—Vast extension of a new education

IT was in the United States Senate. The Sweet bill had come up from the House proposing the creation of a new Veterans' Bureau. The Finance Committee had steamed through a long night session, and it had tacked a score of amendments to the House measure. Among them appeared a clause abolishing an obscure department known as the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Without a thought of opposition, the amendments were announced to the press.

The announcement had hardly left the wires when a bombardment of protests fell on Washington. They came from Chambers of Commerce, colleges, women's clubs, churches, labor unions. They rained upon the Senators from every State in the union. Their tenor was unanimous. Pass the Sweet bill, by all means, but *strike out that clause abolishing the Federal Board for Vocational Education!* The Finance Committee had stirred up a hornets' nest. Of course, the Senate capitulated to the demand. The Sweet bill went gloriously through, but the Federal Board amendment was significantly missing.

This incident revealed the vast popular support which the Federal Board for Vocational Education had acquired. The board's work during the four years of its existence had been one of the silent and unheralded activities of the Government. Who could have suspected that so many minds were keenly following it, and

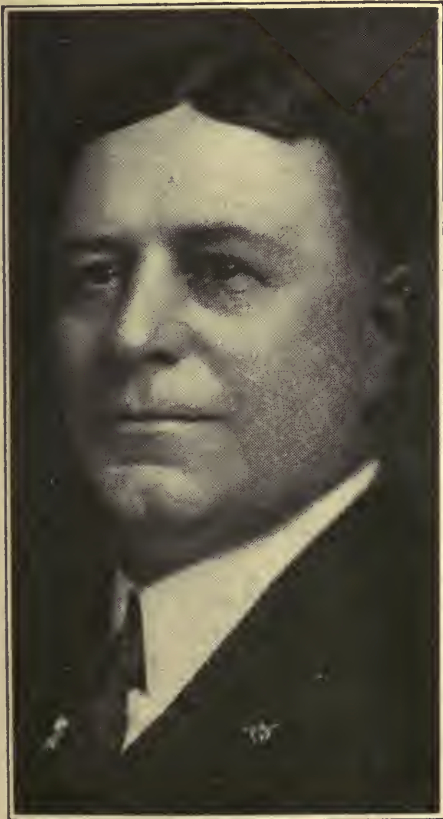
that such a nation-wide body of supporters was behind it? And yet there is a great school of men and women in America today who believe that the task which is being done by the Federal Board for Vocational Education is among the most momentous ever conceived by the nation; that it is pointing the way to the future of the race; that it is revolutionizing our educational concepts.

Even the meaning of vocational education is unknown to an incredibly large percentage of readers. Perhaps the simplest characterization of it would be education to earn a living. Vocational education sees the pupil as a prospective wage or salary worker, rather than as a prospective man of leisure. It would shape his studies around a practical employment objective, rather than, as now, around a general ideal of culture. It would reorganize our elementary educational system by adding full time and continuation vocational courses to the traditional curriculum of the "three R's." Thus it would teach the child to *do* things rather than merely to *know* things; and under such a system the pupil would find school a practical stepping-stone to the all-necessary job.

HOW THE MOVEMENT AROSE

The movement for such education first arose ten or fifteen years ago. It came out of the painful realization that our much-vaunted democratic

public school system was becoming neither democratic nor public. The original theory of the American public school was that equal opportunities should be accorded to every child. This worked in theory. Unfortunately, in practice, it developed that all children did not have equal opportunities to attend these schools. Statistics indicated that between 80 and 90 per cent. of public school pupils were forced by poverty to discontinue before or at the completion of the grammar grades. The costly apparatus of high schools and State universities which we had erected was available only to the 10 or 20 per cent. For the 80 or 90 per cent. not even an attempt at continuation education was provided; they were left adrift.



(© Harris & Ewing)

HARRY L. FIDLER

*Vice Chairman of the Federal Board for
Vocational Education*

But this was not all. Even the little education which the children of the poor could gain was inappropriate. Although the majority of grammar school pupils were destined for the factory, they were forced to spend their precious school years in courses preparing them for high school. Although the manifest need of such children was education which would make them successful wage earners, the industrial objective was completely overlooked by the public schools. Instead of individualizing instruction, according to the future needs of the pupils, our schools standardized instruction and took as the standard, not the majority but the minority. Here was a most patent wrong.

The realization of these unpleasant truths inspired the vocational movement. Already the schools had been toying with the industrial idea in the form of manual training. But manual training averaged only one and a half hours a week where employed; it was but a sop. The need was for schools with distinct vocational courses, followed by continuation courses after the child had gone to work.

These schools should aim to turn out pupils well-rounded mechanics. They should teach not mere mechanical dexterity. They should give their pupils what few mechanics possess today — craftsmanship. The boy should learn industry as a whole. He should study all the supplementary subjects technical to his chosen craft. He should learn the inter-relation of industrial processes. All of his textbooks and courses in general subjects as well should be prepared from the vocational slant and should contribute toward a psychology of craftsmanship in his mind.

The further argument for vocational education was supplied by the industrial situation itself. In previous periods young workers were trained into craftsmen by the apprentice system. They could get vocational education after they had "gone on the job." Unfortunately, the coming of the machine system virtually ended apprentice-



Typewriting class in one of the schools of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Several one-armed veterans of the World War belong to this class

ship. The working-class boy had now no place to which to look for industrial preparation but the public school. And what did the public school offer him?

There were years of agitation after the vocational movement arose. It was up-hill agitation. Educational traditionalism died hard. The defenders of classical education resented the intrusion of the employment objective into their pleasant world of theory, but the democratic logic of the vocation argument was too much for them. The labor unions, above all, contributed their strength to the fight. And so, at long last, cautiously and experimentally, school boards began to create continuation schools and amplify manual training courses. Results began to accumulate.

BACKED BY THE NATION

But it was necessary, above all, that the Federal Government itself be gotten behind the movement to give it official standing. This was accomplished by the Smith-Hughes act of Feb. 23, 1917. Congress not only endorsed the movement, but voted an

annual endowment to continue indefinitely. This endowment, graduated upward from \$1,655,586.72 for the first year to a maximum of \$7,367,000 to be attained in the year 1926 and continued thereafter, was to be expended by State Boards for Vocational Education which each State was called upon to appoint. It was to be given on condition that these State boards match it dollar for dollar. It was to be spent for instruction and teacher training in vocational education exclusively.

To allot these funds among the States a Federal Board for Vocational Education was created. A unique form of organization was instituted for this board. It was recognized that no scheme of vocational education would succeed without the co-operation of the three interested industrial elements — the manufacturers, labor and the farmers. And so the board was made tripartite, with each of these elements represented. The wisdom of the plan has been manifest from the first.

Dr. Prosser, the first Director of the board, described the method of administration as follows:

In the early stages of vocational education the Federal Government enters into a partnership with the State—the State being the resident partner on the ground and doing the actual work, and the Federal Government the non-resident partner, investing from time to time the necessary sums of money.

The funds which the non-resident partner invests, to continue the doctor's analogy, are safeguarded by the board's establishment of standards for schools receiving support, and a systematic inspection of the work of the State boards. In addition to this standardization, the Federal board supplies a national leadership to the whole national vocational movement by the holding of conferences and the continual routing of field agents through the States. In Washington, it also has established a system of research and investigation. It publishes vocational literature and it disseminates vocational data. Thus it

has integrated the whole vocational movement around itself. It has lifted vocational education from a theory and has made it an institution.

THE BOARD'S WAR WORK

But hardly was the Federal board in existence when it found itself swamped with extraneous war duties. On June 27, 1918, Congress enacted the Vocational Rehabilitation act and put upon the new board the task of rehabilitating the army of disabled veterans who were already pouring back from France. It provided that these veterans, when not completely disabled, should be given vocational education, under the direct administration of the board. The job was stupendous, and it is little wonder that the machinery of the board soon began to creak beneath the load.

Beginning with a virgin field,



(© Western Newspaper Union)

Convalescent soldiers learning to paint and draw in an improvised studio at a General Hospital

without precedent to guide them, and without schools or adequate teachers to turn to, the Federal board developed an organization of 2,200 schools, 4,000 trained teachers and 10,000 job placements. It prepared courses around 1,600 employment objectives. It registered 388,225 veterans and placed 108,036 in vocational training. It built up whole new universities. In this immense laboratory of trainees it accumulated vocational data and developed vocational technique which has advanced the whole science of industrial education by at least a generation. And, despite heart-breaking censure and misrepresentation, it did its job for three years; and did it so well that when finally the Veteran Division of the board was consolidated with the War Risk Bureau and the Public Health Division in a new Veterans' Bureau, Congress adopted the Federal board form to govern all three divisions.

This veteran work of the board has been the most discussed, although it was but a temporary duty. The most significant task, however, was yet to be added to the board. On June 20, 1920, Congress enacted the Industrial Rehabilitation act, and placed its administration in the hands of the board. Here was a task almost incalculable in its potentialities. The whole vast field of men and women disabled in industry now became potential beneficiaries of the board. The scope of the field can be imagined when we explain that every year more workers are injured in industry than the total number of the war wounded whom the board has registered up to date. While the original appropriation of Congress for industrial rehabilitation was small and experimental, this activity of the board is destined to grow cumulatively with the years until it eventually far overshadows the veteran rehabilitation task which has so filled the press. It is a bringing of educational therapeutics into the lives of multitudes who, otherwise, would be fatally marred. As such it is both an eco-

nomic and a highly humanitarian work.

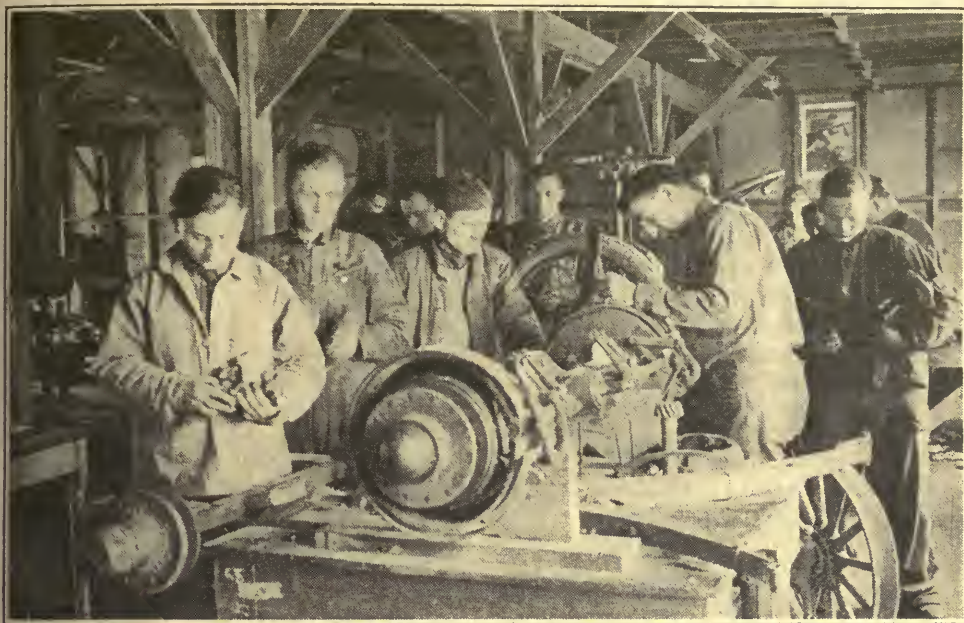
With the separation of the veteran work from the board under the Sweet act, there remains to it the two divisions of vocational education and industrial rehabilitation. The officials of the board welcome the change. Now their energies can be concentrated on an intensified campaign for vocational education proper.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Just what is the work done by the board in respect to vocational education? This work is divided into three fields—agricultural, trade and industrial, and home economics.

Agricultural instruction is always practical. It is given by three methods, destined to reach all groups of boys and men, in all-day schools for boys still in school; in short-course instruction for those already working on a farm, and in evening classes for older men who are practical farmers, but who wish to learn improved methods. The students operate actual farms under the supervision of their instructors, and are taught stock raising, soil culture, fruit cultivation, business and administration of farms, economics of the market, &c. The total net income from all these experimental farms for the year 1918-19—a total of \$832,487.60—demonstrates eloquently the success of this instruction.

The same division into three classes of schools also operates in trade and industrial instruction. In each community different trades are selected, according to the employment needs of the district. Continuation-school pupils, preparing for the machinist's trade, study in a miniature machine shop, handle tools and do actual machine tasks. In Ohio, for example, where the chief industries include iron and steel, machine and foundry establishments, automobile works, rubber factories, shipbuilding plants, garment-making and jewelry manufacturing, the classes in the public schools are organized around these



The automobile course is one of the most popular with the ex-soldiers and injured workmen in the rehabilitation schools of the Federal Board

objectives. Figures for the fiscal year 1919-20 were as follows: Twenty part-time trade extension centres, with thirty-five schools; four general continuation centres, with six schools; two all-day centres, with five schools; thirty evening class centres, with approximately 250 classes. The part-time trade extension classes enrolled 1,200 students; the general continuation schools 1,000; the all-day schools 150; the evening classes approximately 6,700. These figures are typical, and are borne out proportionately throughout the country. It may be added that the trade vocational instruction teaches the students to understand the whole industrial process, as well as their part of it, and has a broad cultural scope. It teaches elementary economics, civics, and does not neglect the principles of good citizenship.

Home economics is framed for girls to qualify them as homemakers. Cooking, homework and baby care are included. The instruction is all practical. That it is vitally necessary is proved by the census, which reveals

that 60 per cent. of girls eventually marry.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BOARD

Already the field which the board reaches is immense. During the year 1920 as many as 3,155 vocational schools received aid from the board. The enrollment of these schools was 265,143. This is the number which the board now benefits. With increased appropriations and increasingly efficient administrative machinery, this number should be multiplied again and again. Of course the full strength of the vocational work cannot be gauged from this figure, since much of the impetus of the movement has gone into private schools. The Federal funds are available only for the public schools. Though private schools have done magnificent pioneering in this task, it is felt that vocational education can realize its true magnitude only when it is a part of the public school system of the land. Not the least of the weaknesses of

private vocational schools is the fact that the labor unions, which staunchly support public school vocational training, look with suspicion upon private vocational undertakings. Without the support of the labor unions the employment future of the pupil might be doomed, even though he were trained in the most efficient of private trade schools.

The board has been specially fortunate in the able men whom it has enlisted to captain it. Dr. C. A. Prosser, the original director, can be called the father of the organization. It was he who drafted the administrative form of the board. His personality, during the early days, saved the board from the fate of mediocrity. He prepared the organization for the immense task of veteran rehabilitation which followed him. Upon Uel W. Lamkin fell the lion's share of that task. Assuming the directorship at a time of discouragement and criticism, he banished despair and disarmed criticism. When he resigned, he left behind him a splen-

didly ordered rehabilitation machinery which was transferred intact to the Veteran Bureau. The present administrative chief, Lewis H. Carris, has played a leading role in the organization since its inception, and enters his position exceptionally endowed for his work.

From this brief survey, the scope of the work of the Federal board can be glimpsed. Today we are merely laying the foundation for a vocational educational system which within a generation will reach immense proportions. Educational traditionalists only too often attempt to block our progress, but their attempts are futile. Vocational education has arisen out of the crying industrial needs of an essentially industrial nation. Behind it lies the momentum of the inevitable. The future of the Federal board, at this moment, is bright with promise. It has passed the ridge of experiment. Perhaps those enthusiasts are not wrong who acclaim it as one of the Government's most significant departments.

THE SENNAR DAM ON THE BLUE NILE

ON the banks of the Blue Nile, about 200 miles south of historic Khartoum, on the waters that come down from Abyssinia to Soudan, the British are building the largest dam in the world. Twenty thousand natives of the country are employed—men of every shade from deepest black to palest yellow, some garbed elaborately and picturesquely, the majority naked, or nearly so. Hundreds of them have crossed the Red Sea from Arabia, others have walked from Nigeria and the French Congo. All wear a knife strapped to the left arm, a charm containing a few lines from the Koran on their right. The scene, as described by a writer in *The London Telegraph*, has its grandeur: Vast machinery dumped down on the desert sands; cranes and railway trucks, giant canal cutters; a complete factory capable of producing 50,000 tons of cement a year.

The vastness of the undertaking is seen in the fact that over a million tons of granite will be used. All this granite is being

sliced off of Segadi Mountain, near at hand. Assouan has granite in superabundance, but it is too far away for transportation. In ancient days the point of view was different; the Egyptians and Greeks and other peoples of those days went to Assouan for their granite, and brought it hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles to build temples in Soudan, Egypt, Palestine and even far away Syria. Speed was not necessary. Like a hive of bees the army of modern workers run back and forth to satisfy the British desire for accomplishment.

When the mighty dam—3,330 meters long—is finished, some 300,000 acres of land—eventually 3,000,000 acres—now lying useless, will be brought under cotton cultivation in the Soudan, giving work to thousands, and producing within the British Empire much needed raw material for the mills of Lancashire. The cost is borne by the Soudan Government. A great undertaking, calculated to bring in a great return.

HOPE VERSUS DESPAIR IN CENTRAL EUROPE

BY CHARLES UPSON CLARK

An American educator's personal observations in Rumania, Transylvania and Austria—How the spirit of unity is slowly growing in Transylvania under Rumanian rule—Desperate straits of Viennese intellectuals

[WRITTEN IN THE LAST DAYS OF 1921]

I HAVE recently had an opportunity to study conditions in Central Europe—notably in Rumania and her newly acquired province, Transylvania, and in Austria. The situation in Rumania I found to be increasingly favorable. There is great satisfaction among the Rumanians over the final opening of the great bridge over the Danube at Cernavoda, which may be taken as evidence that the world's transportation is gradually returning to normal. Through trains are now running from Bucharest to Constantza, on the Black Sea, as before the war. An American firm had made a bid for the reconstruction of the bridge, which was destroyed by the Rumanians during the war to prevent its utilization by the Germans; they guaranteed to have it ready a year ago, and their price was reasonable; but for various reasons the contracts were awarded to a big steel firm in the Banat, which utilized two spans from another bridge similarly destroyed. At any rate, it is now possible to go by steamer from New York to Constantza, passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and at Constantza to take a through sleeper for Bucharest, where one has immediate connection by through sleeper with Budapest, Prague and Vienna.

Order seems to be returning also

in the Rumanian financial situation. The lei, which had fallen to about 6 centimes, has rebounded to 10. Minister Titulesco, in his recent trip to Paris, states that he has arranged to fund the Treasury notes, and that the French financial authorities are co-operating with him to prevent the reckless speculation in lei on the Paris Bourse which has so greatly contributed to make the situation worse. The Government seems also to be making an earnest effort to cut down the heavy expenses of its diplomatic and consular services abroad, which have to be paid for in francs or other expensive currency. One painful consequence is that many of the Rumanian students in Paris will have to come home. A curious result of the present financial situation is that the education of Central and Eastern European youth is inevitably thrown into German and Austrian hands. At Berlin, Leipsic or Vienna, boys whose parents are paid in lei or crowns or marks—and still more, liras—can live in comparative comfort. Thus, from purely material causes, if for no other, the German universities are forming the minds of the new generation. It is a great pity that we Americans do not take the step, which would be welcomed by all Rumanians, of inaugurating an exchange of professors and students with Rumanian universities. Rumania is the land of

the future in Southeastern Europe—a land of unbelievable wealth and boundless possibilities. They want us to know them; their universities are as veritably homes of learning as our own; and any American professor or student who goes there will have an illuminating experience.

TRANSYLVANIA OF TODAY

We have heard in the United States and England many stories of the hard fate of the Transylvanian Hungarians, whom the Treaty of Trianon has placed under Rumanian rule. There has now been time for both Rumanians and Hungarians to lay aside the bitter feelings of the first few months; and in talking with eminent representatives of both sides, I am glad to note a great advance over the strained relations which I found in 1919. All Transylvanians, whether Rumanian, Hungarian, German or Szekler, are out of patience with the Central Government at Bucharest, which they feel pays too little attention to Transylvania's needs, and their grievances, in many cases identical, are bringing them together. It will not be long before these Hungarians will be primarily Transylvanians rather than Magyars, at least so far as the younger generation is concerned; their elders, I fear, will never be reconciled to separation from Budapest.

It is hard for us, so tolerant in matters of language and religion, to appreciate the situation which prevails in all the sundered members of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Here was Transylvania, a compact little country of over two and a half million inhabitants, with half a dozen different religious confessions (and that counts far more there than with us) and three important languages—German, Hungarian and Rumanian, the latter being spoken by over half the population as their mother-tongue. Since 1867, this territory had been Hungarian. Most of the land belonged to great Hungarian nobles—the Bethlens, Banffys, Telekis, &c., or to

the various churches; nine-tenths of the Rumanian population were peasantry, and few of them owned any land. The Hungarian Government made every effort to impose its language on everybody. I remember how perplexed I was, as a student in Europe twenty-five years ago, to discover labels only in Hungarian in the museums of Budapest, and to find that I was expected to know what was meant by "konyvtar," "egyetem," "urak" and similar linguistic puzzles. If the language were only like some other culture-tongue, one would not object; but it comes from the Asiatic steppes, and one who knows French, German and Italian stands helpless before a door labeled "iroda."

And the Hungarian officials went too far in their efforts to make everybody talk Hungarian. I have a Rumanian-Transylvanian friend who speaks perfect Hungarian, a native of a town where there are about 5,000 Rumanians and less than a hundred Hungarians. The ticket agent at the station, a Hungarian official, spoke good Rumanian—indeed, had to, since most of the townspeople had no knowledge of Hungarian, German being the other colloquial language of that section. One day this friend of mine asked for a railroad ticket in Rumanian; the station agent, knowing that he spoke Hungarian, told him to ask for the ticket in Hungarian; he refused; they would not sell him a ticket and reported him to the police, who arrested him and fined him 200 crowns for an act dangerous to the supremacy of the State! There were many Rumanian students in the university of Kolozvar; but they might not speak even to each other in their native tongue on the university grounds, since there was a by-law expressly forbidding the use of Rumanian, except in the classroom of Rumanian language and literature (taught, by the way, by a Magyarized Rumanian who fled to Budapest when Transylvania became Rumanian). These examples may serve to give an idea of the general Magyar attitude

emphasized by their ownership of the land and consciousness of superiority—a superiority especially irksome to the Germans, who had been in Transylvania since the twelve hundreds, and who considered themselves quite equal to the Magyars. It must also be stated that the Magyars had a bone to pick with the Germans, since under the Austrians—1848-1867—German had been the official language, and the Hungarians felt they had been persecuted by the Austrians and Germans.

It was, therefore, quite a mess which the war found in Transylvania; and, as usual, the war did not improve matters. The Rumanian advance into Transylvania uncovered a great deal of sympathy with the invaders; and when they were driven out the Hungarian Government made it practically impossible for any Rumanian to buy land, and began a great colonizing scheme, like the Prussians in Silesia. The Russian revolution forced them to give more Rumanians the vote; but they arranged a literacy test which would disfranchise most of them.

RUMANIA'S TOLERANCE

Then came the collapse of October, 1918, and the first great mistake of the Transylvanian Hungarians, the evil consequences of which they have only lately realized. Instead of remaining at their posts—I speak particularly of the civil, administrative and school officials—and taking the oath to support the new Government, a large proportion of them refused and left for Budapest in the expectation that the Peace Conference could not possibly leave Kolozsvár, Arad, Grosswardein and Temeshvár to Rumania, and that they would return in triumph after only a few months. Had they all stayed, as some did, and found that the Rumanian Government, with its dearth of a trained official class and of teachers, must necessarily keep them on (as it has done with almost all those who did remain), they would have formed a compact political mass, and would

probably long since have forced the Bucharest politicians to give Transylvania the special attention she needs. They expected that the Rumanian Government would be as intolerant of them as they had been of the Rumanians.

But the Rumanian is singularly tolerant by nature. I have been in all the Succession States since the war; and, with the possible exception of Italy, I think the minorities are nowhere so well treated—and surprisingly well treated—as in Rumania. I have had experiences which I think could happen only in Rumania. In a Hungarian book store in a city not far from Cluj I found exposed for sale, and mailed to friends in America, picture post cards with Hungarian captions of the Emperor Karl and of Kaiser Wilhelm—and this in November, 1921! When I told this to a Hungarian Protestant Bishop, he remarked politely that he would not have believed it possible. It was clear he did not believe it at all. This same Bishop told me that every Government statement or proclamation was made solely in Rumanian, while I had been especially struck by the bilingual character (both Rumanian and Hungarian) of all the posters and door designations in the Post Office, the Prefecture and other Government buildings in Cluj. The truth was that the good Bishop, who goes around very little, had generalized from the fact that the Government proclamations and publications sent directly from Bucharest are exclusively in the State language, Rumanian, as those from Budapest in the old days were purely in Hungarian.

A still more striking experience was one I had in a Hungarian Roman Catholic parochial school in one of the "Saxon" (German) cities of Transylvania. There I found the children reading aloud from readers of 1908 which sang the glories of the Hungarian State, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of the Kaiser Francis Joseph, and of the Magyar race. I did not need to have the selections

translated: the illustrations were enough. We are a tolerant people; if we had been struggling with the Germans for a thousand years and finally beaten them, should we allow Milwaukee German schools to continue using readers glorifying the Hohenzollerns? I wonder!

UNIVERSITY OF KOLOZSVAR

With the University of Kolozsvár, the Rumanians were in a puzzling position. They were willing to let the Hungarian Faculty stay on, if they would take the oath of allegiance; but not only did the Hungarian rector and professors refuse to do this, but even in the Spring of 1919 they insisted that all graduates should take the oath of allegiance to the Hungarian Republic! The Rumanian authorities spent two months arguing and corresponding with them on the matter; but as the rector refused to yield, they finally had to close the university, which they reopened as a Rumanian institution. It has now 2,500 students; among them are some Hungarians who speak Rumanian only very brokenly, and they are allowed to use Hungarian in their answers, if the professor understands that language. I met fifteen or twenty of the Faculty, all men who had studied in France or Germany, and who in most cases spoke at least three languages fluently.

Transylvania had an extensive system of schools run by one or another religious denomination. These have little difficulty if their Principals and Faculty have taken the oath of allegiance; but the Hungarian Calvinist, Roman Catholic, and particularly the Unitarian teachers, were very slow to do this, while the German Lutherans (who had their own troubles with the Hungarians) came over at once, and have constantly been on good terms with the Government; the Principal of the German gymnasium (high school), at Bistritz, told me he was not interfered with in any way by the Rumanians. On the other hand, what the Rumanians considered the ob-

duracy of the Calvinists and the Unitarians led to severe and even unjust measures against them; some forty-five of the Calvinist pastors were imprisoned for terms aggregating forty years, and in several cases were released without ever learning what the charges against them were, while one Unitarian professor of theology was put through the third degree by the secret police, to learn details of a plot of which he claims to know nothing, and bears the scars of this experience on his person today. Undoubtedly there were plots against the Rumanian authorities, and one at least of these pastors has been found guilty; but every good Rumanian I know hangs his head when I refer to those arbitrary acts of the Sigurantz—the secret police—and execrates his country's politicians, who have allowed such things to be.

It is a pleasure to turn from this blot on the Rumanian 'scutcheon and look at the record of the University Librarian. Kolozsvár had one of the finest libraries and most beautifully and thoughtfully appointed library buildings in the world, the creation of its librarian, Dr. Farkas Gyalui, a Hungarian of Jewish parentage. He had been twenty-five years in the library's service when the war broke out; and when the crash came, and orders came for Kolozsvár to be evacuated, the commanding general put fifty freight cars at his disposal to carry his treasures to Budapest. "I simply could not divide or leave my library," he said, "whereupon the General told me: 'You will answer with your head for this if anything happens to the library.'" He stayed; the Rumanians took over the library, with Dr. Gyalui as librarian; and it is today the best arranged and most usable library in Rumania.

Rumanian rule has brought thousands of officeholders, army officers, bank clerks and other Rumanians to Cluj, so that, of the city's 105,000 inhabitants, 40 per cent. are now said to be Rumanian. The Rumanian Government has installed an excellent opera company in the Hungarian

National Theatre. I saw admirable renderings of "Faust" and "Samson and Delilah," and heard wonderful piano playing by Achron, the young Bessarabian Jew who has taken Rumania by storm. The city is frightfully crowded; rooms have had to be commandeered on a large scale, as in Budapest, Vienna and Frankfort, to take only a few examples; but, except for the sudden blossoming forth of Rumanian store signs beside the Hungarian, the city has not changed much in appearance. King Mathias Corvinus still stands triumphant in bronze on the public square; his name is now written in Rumanian, not Hungarian, and the Hungarian crown and coat of arms have been removed, to be replaced by his family's shield; but one of the conquered Princes who does obeisance before him still lowers the Moldavian flag! Not far away stands a new statue, the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, a gift of the City of Rome to express Italian congratulations on the reincorporation of Transylvania into Rumania, a Latin State like Italy.

VIENNA AFTER THE RIOTS

"You don't mean to say you are going to Vienna in times like these?" was the question I heard on every side in Bucharest; and even in Budapest, a few hours' run away, I was advised not to think of staying in the city over night; indeed, several people had heard that all hotels and restaurants were closed. Only the day before there had been no telephone or telegraphic communication with Vienna. But when I took a carriage (1,000 crowns, about 15 cents) uptown from the station, and saw the people going to their work as usual, and the stores, hotels and restaurants bravely carrying on business behind the barricades of planks which replaced the smashed plate glass, the city made on me the impression of a repentant child who has been breaking up his toys in a fit of passion and is now trying to be good again.

Many of the episodes of the rioting

of Dec. 1, 1921, were really childish and amusing. The mob of fifty or sixty persons, for instance, who broke into Sir William Goode's apartments in the Bristol lost no time in appropriating his personal effects; one man promptly disrobed in the bedroom, put on a suit of Sir William's, and did not bother to carry off his own. To be sure, one rioter did throw a telephone at Sir William's head, and another a pair of boots; nevertheless, he had the general impression, he said, that they were good-natured people, who were simply carried off their feet by excitement and poverty. And his diagnosis seems to be correct.

A parade of several thousand workmen, demonstrating against the recent enormous rise in prices—during November most prices more than doubled, and some rose to four or five times those of last Summer, while wages and salaries lagged behind—was joined by agitators and Communists; and the patent, not to say blatant, luxury of the great cafes and shops gave them their text. It was a wild and terrific outburst, while it lasted; but the Government got the situation in hand after a few hours, and hundreds of the rioters were sent to jail. Meanwhile, the glass factories of Czechoslovakia were doing a thriving business, and the plate-glass insurance companies were in despair.

The casual visitor to Vienna and the thousands of buyers from more fortunate countries who spend weeks or months there do not come to know the real Vienna. I took a Viennese newspaper friend out to lunch in a leading restaurant. He looked carefully around the crowded room, and then said: "In the old days, there would have been only a few foreigners here; today, I do not see a single Viennese. In fact, in our largest and most fashionable cafes and restaurants, the only Viennese you will see are the waiters. These are all people like yourself, who have dollars or pounds or francs or lire—we are overrun with Italians, who

are buying everything we possess—or even Czechoslovak or Hungarian crowns, which are worth so much more than ours. We can no longer afford to go into a good restaurant. My salary—and I am well paid—is about the equivalent of \$12 a month; and most of the newspaper men of Vienna are getting about \$5.” He said this without bitterness; and a university professor who received me later in the day in an unheated room—and the Summer suit he wore was patently his only suit—had the same grave calm in discussing the desperate condition of the brain-workers of Vienna.

PLIGHT OF INTELLECTUALS

Vienna’s intellectuals see no hope, no way of escape; they have given up any expectation of aid. Something is being done by a local organization—the Verein der Wirtschaftsverbaende geistiger Arbeiter (Union of Economic Associations of Brain-Workers); but they stand aghast at present before the approaching withdrawal of the Government subsidies which have kept down the price of bread. A loaf of bread now costs 74 crowns in Vienna, thanks to this subsidy (which, by the way, is the chief cause of the tremendous Austrian deficit); it is true that 74 crowns is only about one cent in American currency; but to a Viennese brain-worker, getting, say, 1,000 crowns a day, it is one-thirteenth of his income for a loaf of bread a day. What proportion of our daily income does a loaf of bread make? How much do we think about it? Some of us have to look out for carfares; in Vienna, a city of magnificent distances, the trolley-fare is 30 crowns; 3 per cent. of such an income. My cabman charged me a thousand crowns for the trip to the station; a whole day’s income gone for one carriage ride! A pair of indifferent shoes—twelve or fifteen thousand crowns; a suit of clothes—seventy-five or a hundred thousand crowns. How does a professor or an editor or

a doctor or a lawyer feed and clothe his family?

Thanks to the Hoover organization and similar agencies, we are helping somewhat; but a recent school examination in a Vienna suburb showed that about 70 per cent. of the children are undernourished. And the people who are suffering are just those who made the charm of Vienna in the past—the artists, writers, musicians, teachers. Not long ago, they presented a dignified memorial in which they asked, not for money or for aid, but that they might somehow be given means to purchase clothes and food at cost price—and this memorial was signed by twenty-two members of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, the names of three or four of whom are well known to most of us!

Nor are the working people, who have been comparatively well off till the recent rise in prices, any less anxious about the outlook. Vienna is truly in a dreadful dilemma. Austria’s Finance Minister has announced that the bread subsidies will be abolished the first of the year, and the price of bread will rise to its natural level. The manufacturers, bankers, &c., have promised to carry the burden of the increased bread cost for their employes by a corresponding rise in wages; but this aid will be only for a few months, and will not affect the brain-workers who are dependent on their own efforts.

And what do these brain-workers ask of Americans? Everywhere I meet the same request: “If only your people would send us books, magazines, serious reviews—for your prices are such that we cannot afford to get even newspapers.” All over Central Europe college professors, newspaper men, cultivated people in general, would like to get our discarded weeklies and monthlies, our spare books. The Rockefeller Foundation is doing a splendid work in helping the medical schools of these countries to get books at the old rate of exchange. Much more could be

done if friends of learning could combine to help keep up culture over here—for it will perish without aid. The Vienna Academy of Sciences, for instance, has a number of valuable scientific and technical monographs on hand in manuscript, accepted for publication, which cannot be brought out, for the printers want 30,000 crowns for a sixteen-page brochure, in 700 copies, and are shortly going to raise prices 60 per cent.!

Every way you turn in Vienna, you meet a new problem. There is an excess of government employes; how could it be otherwise? Vienna was the headquarters for the Government of an empire of 50,000,000 people; when this empire was cut up, a large share of these employes left to join the administrations of the new States; but a larger number remained or came back from the new States, and were without employment. They could not be left to starve, so places

were found for them. As a result, the Ministry of Railways, which before the war had 728 officials in its building at Vienna for a railroad mileage of 23,000 kilometers (14,000 miles), now has over a thousand for a system of only 5,900 kilometers.

Every one now realizes that the day for such charity is over; that only strict economy and immense sacrifices can convince foreign bankers that the Austrian torso is a safe risk. The first step is being taken with the cancellation of the bread subsidy. Will the cheerful, kindly Viennese have not merely the strength of mind but the physical force necessary for the privations that must ensue? Or will the despair, of which we have already had one example, seize the whole population, and Vienna's stately temples come crashing down upon her children? Time presses. If aid does not arrive soon, a cataclysm must ensue like that of Russia—and it will strike us all.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

THE third session of the International Labor Conference, which opened on Oct. 25 and closed on Nov. 19, 1921, was declared by Lord Burnham, the President, to have been a triumphant success. The conference—created by the Treaty of Versailles—adopted seven international conventions and eight recommendations, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1. *Weekly Rest Day in Industry*—A general rule is prescribed of one day's rest in seven.
2. *White Lead in Painting*—The prohibition of the use of white lead in interior painting (with some few exceptions) and the regulation of its use in exterior painting, is laid down.
3. *Agricultural Workers*—The right of industrial combination is authorized.
4. *Agriculture and Children*—No child under 14 to be employed during compulsory school hours.
5. *Agricultural Workers' Compensation*—Compensation laws at present applying to industrial workers to be extended to agricultural workers.
6. *Juvenile Employment at Sea*—Persons under 18 years of age are not to be employed as trimmers and stokers in ships.
7. *Medical Examination of Young Persons*—Compulsory regular medical examination of

persons under 18 years of age employed in ships is to be instituted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women employed in agriculture shall be entitled to nine hours' rest, if possible consecutive.
2. Children under 14 to have ten hours' consecutive rest; persons between 14 and 18 to have nine hours' consecutive rest.
3. Maternity protection, in the form of a guarantee of a period of absence from work, before and after child-birth, to be extended to women agricultural workers.
4. Measures are recommended for the improvement of living in conditions of agricultural workers.
5. A series of measures for dealing with agricultural unemployment is suggested.
6. That social insurance laws applying to industrial workers should be extended to agricultural workers.
7. Governments are recommended to develop technical education as much for agricultural workers as for others.
8. For commercial establishments, a weekly rest day is recommended as a general rule.

A resolution was adopted asking the International Labor Office to "institute a special inquiry into the international aspect of the unemployment crisis, and the means of combating it."

SAVING FORTY THOUSAND ARMENIANS

BY DUDLEY S. NORTHCOTE

Late Administrator of Armenian Area, Refugee Camp, Nahr-Umar, Mesopotamia

One bright chapter in the tragic history of the passing of Armenia—How the British housed and fed thousands of refugees in Mesopotamia for three years—Sending them to the Caucasus

BEFORE the war the Armenian subjects of Turkey were for the most part domiciled in different parts of Asia Minor, some being in or near Constantinople, some in Cilicia, others around Erzerum, Bitlis, Diarbekr, &c. They were thus spread over the whole of Asia Minor, but at the same time they clustered more thickly in the eastern districts. One of their chief centres used to be the region of Lake Van, in the north-eastern corner of Turkey, not far from Persia, which lies due east of it, or from Russian Transcaucasia, which is due north. The City of Van is situated on the southern shores of the lake. The country all around is very high and mountainous.

Before the war the population of Van City was partly Turkish and partly Armenian. The villages south and east of the lake were either Kurdish or Armenian. In many cases half the inhabitants of a village would belong to the one, and the remainder to the other race. In the early part of 1915 the Russians invaded Northeastern Turkey, and soon succeeded in occupying Van. The Armenians promptly threw in their lot with the Russians, and were recognized by them as allies and co-belligerents. Battalions of Armenians were formed and placed in the Russian Army.

In 1917, after the revolution, the Russian armies in the Caucasus, as elsewhere, began to disintegrate and

melt away. Soon the Van Armenians found themselves facing the Turks alone. It must be remembered that in those days they were completely cut off from the Allies, as the British Army had not as yet captured Mosul, or even moved very far beyond Bagdad. The Armenians, however, did not surrender, but still attempted to hold their own against the Turks. In this they were greatly encouraged by the attitude of the Allies, and especially of the British Government. They were invited by the latter to hold out, and a picked force of officers and non-commissioned officers, known as the Dunster Force, was formed at Bagdad with a view to getting through to the Caucasus via Persia, and organizing there an army to be recruited from the Armenians and other pro-Ally elements that still existed in those regions. Unfortunately, however, the difficulties in the way were too great. A great part of the Dunster Force did not succeed in getting through to any part of the Caucasus, and none ever went to Van.

The Van Armenians were, however, joined by the Assyrians. These latter are a Semitic race. They possess a language and alphabet somewhat akin to Arabic. They are Christians, and inhabit some very difficult and mountainous country between Mosul and Van. They are divided into tribes, each with its local chief or *malik*, but all acknowledge the Patriarch, or *Mar Shimun*, as

their supreme national leader.* The Assyrians had also thrown in their lot with the Allies, and, after having made a gallant fight, had been driven northward into Van. There they joined hands with the Armenians.

Early in 1918 the Turkish regular army attacked these Armenian and Assyrian peasants. The Turks had artillery and highly trained and educated officers to lead them. The Armenians and Assyrians had none of these advantages. They were driven out of Van, and retreated due eastward, taking with them their wives and families, and such of their belongings as they could carry. They were soon driven over the frontier into Persia, whither the Turks followed them. They made a stand near a town called Dilman, and claim to have repulsed the Turks once there, but, on being attacked again, were compelled to retire southward.

During their retreat southward, they passed through the district around Lake Urmiah, a large lake lying in the northern corner of Persia, nearly due east of Lake Van. A large number of Christians used to live in this district, some of whom were Armenians, but most of whom were Assyrians, the descendants of some of the *Mar Shimun's* followers who had migrated from their native mountains to the fertile plain of Urmiah. The Turkish Army, in pursuit of the Van Armenians and mountain-er Assyrians, began to harass these Urmian Assyrians and to lay waste their villages, thus giving these unhappy people no other alternative than to join the other refugees in their retreat southward toward Mesopotamia.

BRITISH TO THE RESCUE

By this time the British Army had occupied the greater portion of Mesopotamia, as well as a large part of Persia. There were British officers and non-commissioned officers belonging to the Dunster Force at Ham-

adan. It was recognized that, as most of these refugees had been reduced to their sad plight by their faithfulness to the allied cause, something should be done to help them.

The refugees were met, therefore, near Hamadan by British officers and men. Preparations were made for the establishment of a large camp near Bakubah, a small town on the Dialah River, about thirty miles from Bagdad, with which it is connected by a railway constructed during the war. A series of marching posts was formed between Hamadan and Bakubah; at each was stationed a British officer, whose duty it was to purchase as much food as possible from the local Persians, ration successive parties of refugees and pass them on to the next post.

The first batches of refugees began to arrive at Bakubah in the first week of September, 1918. They came in parties of 1,000 or 2,000, partly by road and partly by train, from Kuraitu, all through September and the first half of October, until about 40,000 had been received in all. They were in a deplorable condition and had had to abandon many of their number along the road because of weakness and starvation. Many of them were suffering from dysentery, typhus and relapsing fever, and there was a certain amount of smallpox among the children. As each batch of refugees arrived, it was first of all placed in a segregation camp with barbed wire around it. Those who had infectious diseases were immediately sorted out and sent to hospitals. The remainder were disinfected thoroughly, their clothes being passed through a steam thrasher in order to kill all disease germs. They were then passed out of the segregation camp.

While a portion of the British personnel in the camp were seeing to the disinfection of the newly arrived refugees, the remainder were occupied in organizing them after their disinfection. The camp was placed in charge of a Brigadier General, assisted by a headquarters staff of six oth-

* "Mar" is the word for Lord or Saint, and "Shimun" means Simon or Peter. The Patriarch is thus called because in the eyes of the Assyrians he is St. Peter's successor on earth.

er officers. It was subdivided into three "areas," each area containing about 12,000 persons. The Armenians were placed in "A" area, the Urmian Assyrians in "B" area and the mountaineer Assyrians in "C" area. The areas were further subdivided into thirty-six sections, each containing, roughly, 1,250 persons.

Each area was, to begin with, placed under the command of a Major or Captain, and each section under a subaltern assisted by five British soldiers. Each section had fifty-one tents allotted to it. Of these one was used as a store tent for rations, &c., the remaining fifty as dwelling places for the refugees, who were thus accommodated at the rate of twenty-five per tent. In addition two long cookhouses, open on one side, were erected in each section, the walls being built of mud bricks, which are easily made in Mesopotamia, while the roof was constructed of poles and straw mats covered with an outer layer of mud.

CARING FOR THE REFUGEES

Deaths at first were enormously in excess of births; indeed, during the first six or eight months there were scarcely any births at all. Until about the middle of November there were forty or fifty deaths a day. A huge caldron of hot soup was prepared for each batch of refugees as it entered the camp, and on one occasion I remember an officer standing near the caldron was knocked right into it by the press of hungry people. In order to deal with the enormous percentage of sick cases it was found necessary to establish as many as three hospitals in the camp.

For a long time the refugees received their rations from the army, and a big ration dump, under the charge of an officer of the Supply and Transport Corps, was formed. During the existence of the camp both the amount of the ration and the cost varied slightly. Just before I left in July, 1921, the ration per head was as follows:

Daily: 1 pound flour, 2 ounces rice, 4 ounces fresh vegetables, 2 ounces dates, 2 pounds firewood.

Four times weekly: 4 ounces meat, 4 ounces dhal (a kind of grain). Small quantities of salt, tamarind, tea and sugar (1 ounce a week) were also issued. Children under 12 were given half rations. Milk was issued in small quantities to children between 18 months and 3 years.

When the camp was first formed the war had not ended. Four battalions (two and one-half Assyrian and one and one-half Armenian) were therefore raised from among the refugees, which were to have been used against the Turks. This brigade was quartered close to the camp. Very shortly after the armistice, however, all except one battalion of mountaineer Assyrians were disbanded. Discipline in the camp was maintained by a police force under a British officer.

Upon arrival the refugees were mostly in rags; thirteen yards of cheap cotton cloth per head, with a few needles and buttons and a little thread, were therefore issued. From time to time old army blankets and cast-off tunics were also distributed among them. Old army mess tins were given to those who had no cooking pots of their own.

For the first nine months the camp at Bakubah was entirely under the military, being under the direct command of the army headquarters at Bagdad. In May, 1919, however, it was transferred to the civil administration of Mesopotamia. The British personnel was greatly reduced, each of the three areas retaining but one, or at most two, British officers, with one or two soldiers. The places of the remainder were taken by refugees and each of the three different nationalities was permitted to elect a committee of its own, which settled small disputes among its own nationals.

DIFFICULTIES OF REPATRIATION

On the conclusion of the armistice it was hoped that it would be possible to send the refugees back to their own

country under reasonably safe conditions. For this reason no attempt was made to settle them down in Mesopotamia on any really permanent work. Month after month passed and still peace was not made with the Turks, who remained in unchallenged occupation of the lands from which the refugees came. At length, in the Summer of 1920, it was decided to concentrate the Assyrians around Mosul, with a view to their repatriation by land to Urmiah. Before each party left the camp it was supplied with arms and ammunition. During June and July considerable numbers of Assyrians left for Mosul.

On Aug. 11, 1920, the Arab rebellion suddenly spread to the Dialah Division, and by the night of Aug. 12 Bakubah had been occupied by the rebels, and the refugee camp, distant about three miles from the town, was surrounded on three sides by Arab snipers. At that time the situation in Mesopotamia was critical, and most of the troops were engaged with the main body of the rebels on the Euphrates. No troops could be spared for the Dialah until about Aug. 22, and for ten days the camp remained partially surrounded. All were placed on half rations. On five or six different occasions the refugees took the offensive against various parties of rebels, on each occasion driving them away with complete success. Both Assyrians and Armenians did some very good work on these occasions.

Troops were sent from Bagdad about Aug. 22 to deal with the Dialah Arabs, and the danger to the camp passed away. At the same time, however, orders were received that the camp at Bakubah was to be closed immediately. The remainder of the Assyrians were sent to Mosul, the Armenians to Nahr-Umar, about twenty-four miles upstream from Basrah, the port of Mesopotamia. It was then hoped that it would be at last possible to repatriate them, by sea, to their own republic in the Caucasus.

The transfer of the 12,000 or more

Armenians from Bakubah to Nahr-Umar was done as quickly as possible by rail and boat down the Tigris. By Sept. 7 the last party had arrived at Nahr-Umar and a new camp was constructed on lines similar to the one at Bakubah. In October, 1920, it was decided that it would be possible to repatriate the Armenians, but just as ships were on the verge of being chartered for this purpose news arrived of the collapse of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus in front of the combined Turkish and Bolshevik assault. Repatriation, therefore, had again to be postponed.

It has now been finally decided to repatriate them to the new Soviet Armenian Republic, which has expressed its willingness to receive them. At the moment of writing (December, 1921) the refugees are once more leaving Mesopotamia, the first boatload of 3,000 being already en route to Batum.

During this long period of three years the bulk of the refugees remained unemployed, owing at first to the desire of the Government to send them home and not to settle them permanently in Mesopotamia, and later on on account of the difficulty of finding work for them. Nearly all the skilled men, however, such as carpenters, masons, &c., have been provided with work under different Government departments. Work of a temporary nature was found at different periods for some of the unskilled, who were employed at various times on the construction of a railway embankment, a wireless station and railway bridge near Bakubah camp, roads near Mosul and Bagdad and, finally, as platelayers and casual laborers under the Railway Directorate.

The cost of maintenance of the refugees in Mesopotamia has been borne directly by the British taxpayer. Nearly all the money has come through the War Office, though lately the Colonial Office has taken charge of the refugees. The total amount of money expended on the Armenian refugees up to the end of

October last was approximately £1,500,000. This figure does not include the amount spent on the Assyrians, who have cost a much larger sum.

The Armenian refugees are now being sent to the Soviet Republic in the Caucasus. The outlook for them, however, is not rosy, owing to the famine conditions that prevail throughout the Caucasus. It is to be hoped that these victims of the great war, who clung to the allied cause in face of the heavy odds so obstinately,

and who, in spite of our victory, have lost so much by their action, somehow or other will be able to ride over their present difficulties and eventually obtain peace and security.

[Since this article was written, the Soviet Government at Moscow has announced the absorption of all the Caucasus republics into Russia. This apparently means that Armenia—even the fragment of it that survived in the Caucasus—is entirely wiped out. These Armenian refugees, therefore, after having been saved by the British from the Turks, seem destined to become Russian subjects.—Editor.]

THE FATE OF MEMEL

MEMEL, the little strip of territory lying between Lithuania and East Prussia, and claimed both by Lithuania and Poland, was placed provisionally under the administration of the allied and associated powers by the Treaty of Versailles. A decision favorable to Lithuania was provided for in the plan proposed by M. Paul Hymans to settle the Polish-Lithuanian controversy over Vilna. According to this plan, Lithuania would have taken over Memel, but would have guaranteed to Poland the right of transit over the Memel territory. This plan, however, was rejected, and though the Vilna problem has now been provisionally settled by the plebiscite solution adopted by the Warsaw Diet, Memel still remains under the provisional régime.

What will become of Memel? Its population is naturally made up of German and Lithuanian elements, the Germans predominating. That the economic and business elements are definitely opposed to Memel's being assigned either to Poland or to Lithuania, and favor the setting up of the district as a Free State under the protection of an Entente power, is demonstrated by a memorandum recently issued by "the Economic Bodies and Associations in favor of the Independence of the Memelland," in which the following considerations are urged:

The overwhelming majority of the population of the Memelland takes the clear decision of Article 99 of the Versailles Treaty into account, by which Germany cedes the Memelland, and desires to preserve the popular character of the Memelland in an independent State. The development of the Memelland hitherto under the protection of the French occupying authorities has shown that the Memelland is financially and

economically perfectly well able to exist, and gives rich promise of development in future, if it retains the further protection of the Entente. We demand unanimously and resolutely:

1. To be consulted in negotiations concerning the Memelland.

2. The complete independence of the Memelland, after we have proved conclusively that it is fully capable of existing, financially and economically.

3. We therefore beg that the Memelland may immediately be declared a free State under the protection of an Entente State.

4. We do not wish to be annexed politically either to Lithuania or Poland. On the other hand, we emphasize our willingness to conclude economic treaties with all neighboring States. We are prepared to admit Germany, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland to the free and unhampered use of our railways, waterways, and the port of Memel, and to promote transit communication in every way.

5. For this purpose preparations are being made to establish a free port and a free zone with the necessary buildings and plant.

The industry, shipping, trade, agriculture, crafts, fishermen and workers of the Memelland definitely expect their wishes to be considered.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Agriculture, Chamber of Craftsmanship, Union of Fishermen's Associations of the Memelland, Employers' Association for Trade, Industry and Crafts, Agricultural Employers' Association, Federation of Free Trade Unions of the Memelland.

Among other arguments used are the following: (1) The allocation of Memel to Lithuania would mean the withdrawal of German trade and high import duties under Lithuanian tariff legislation. Both these eventualities would be a heavy blow to trade; (2) the danger of religious dissensions which would arise from assigning a Protestant community to a Catholic power; (3) the poor educational facilities of Poland and Lithuania and the lower living standard.

CIVIL STRIFE IN ITALY

BY CARLETON BEALS

Origin of Fascisti, and their bitter war on Communism—Real causes of failure of revolution a year ago—Peasant opposition and lack of raw materials—Bonomi Government built on factional discords—Elements of danger in the situation

MILAN may well boast of having more hurdy-gurdies than any other city in the world. Civil strife has not silenced them. A young cavalry officer from my pension was guiding me down a slot of a street near the Porta Venezia in that city when the rollicking, Old World tune of "Funiculi, Funicula," floated around a corner, and we came upon a smeary bambino dancing hilariously in the gutter. The officer pointed with his *bastone* at a small yellowed poster above the frowsy gray head of the woman turning the crank. I read:

"Proletariat: 300 of your comrades were killed in this street during the last fourteen months by Fascisti and Royal Guards."

While I was still marveling, my companion grasped my arm and shoved me unceremoniously through the doorway of an inky charcoal shop. A file of Fascisti with heavy loaded canes swung around the corner singing their quick-step, "Giovanezza, Giovanezza." We stood in a factory workers' section. As though a button had been pressed, the doors of the dark little wineshops and dingy clattering lunchrooms literally exploded Communists, who fell upon the Fascisti with fists, knives and revolvers. The conflict ebbed and flowed and swirled around the barrel organ.

Presently some one raised the cry of "Guardia Regia"! ("Royal Guards!") We heard a few sporadic last shots, the scurrying of many feet, and—like a tropic thunder-shower—the disturbance ended as unexpectedly as it had begun.

Poking my head cautiously out of the charcoal shop, I caught a glimpse of a laughing bambino crawling from under the organ, and a group of battered and disheveled Fascisti beating a retreat around the corner. The only casualty was a donkey that had been hitched to a wine-cart, over whose twitching carcass a runty, raccoon-faced Neapolitan wept copiously. As we passed on I heard the rollicking strains of "Funiculi, Funicula," and glancing back saw the bambino dancing hilariously in the gutter.

THE CIVIL WAR

During the ensuing week the Communists and Fascisti fought a series of pitched battles with casualties in this same Porta Venezia. A few days later occurred the fiendish bomb explosion in the Diana Theatre. The windows of our room overlooking the Porta puffed inward with a mighty roar that brought my wife out of a sound sleep and her feet to the floor. For two hours of indescribable confusion they were carrying out the dead and wounded. The same night the new million-lire Socialist headquarters were burned to the ground, the meeting place of the *sindicati* was invaded, and an attack made upon the Anarchist paper, *La Umanita Nuova*. From Florence, Bologna, Trieste, Pisa and other centres came accounts of equally terrible occurrences. This was in March.

When I went to Bologna several months later to make a first-hand investigation of the agrarian situation, I found myself in the midst of an

open Peasant-Fascisti land war, which has been more intense and sustained than the struggles in any other part of the country. The scenario writer who piloted me around that medieval university town, and through its endless miles of shadowy polychromic arcades, warned me: "If you see a fight start, or hear a revolver shot, dive for the nearest doorway or drop on your face. The blood of Romagna is hot." Twice I had occasion to follow his advice.

Most of this violence, during the last six months, has been unnecessarily provoked by the Fascisti, who are as doctrinaire in their way as the Communists. Many times since I have witnessed smaller frays, and in many a town have heard on clear nights the echo of marching feet across deserted piazzas and beneath medieval arches, and that blood-quickenning song, "Giovanezza," or the old Roman battle-cry, "Eja, eja, alala!" Most of the Fascisti are young men—I have seen the average age given as 24 and again as 23—and this propensity for night prowling and night violence is, in part, an unavoidable legacy of the war, of marches beneath the black windy sky and long wakeful hours in the star-lit trenches; in part, a primeval passion for the dark, the restless wakefulness of overwrought nerves, and the call that the mystery of warm south nights makes to every living creature.

HOW FASCISMO AROSE

The popular mind believes that the Fascisti smothered the general revolutionary movement of last year. In reality the idea of immediate revolution had been abandoned before the Fascisti intervention in internal affairs had passed beyond the stage of sporadic, unco-ordinated violence. The *Fasci di Combattimento* grew logically out of d'Annunzio's whirlwind campaign, which put Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. The program of these bodies was at first concerned with the recovery of Italia

Irredenta: Trieste, Istria, Fiume, Dalmatia and certain ports in Albania, and hence their members were and still are extreme nationalists. They formed the backbone of d'Annunzio's following in Fiume and have since undertaken that violent Italianization of the Slav population in Trieste and Istria which has aroused so much ill-feeling in Zagreb and Belgrade.

The active interest of the Fascisti in the domestic life of Italy was not aroused to any appreciable extent until the menace of revolutionary propaganda and the factory "occupations" threatened to weaken the Government's diplomatic attempts to gain possession of the Adriatic outposts. Fascisti violence, therefore, did not gain general headway until 1921; in fact, the apogee of fury was not reached until the elections in May.

The reality of the crisis the Fascisti encountered is unquestionable. A year ago Italy was in the grip of a revolutionary movement absolutely unique in tactic, but the results of which would doubtless have been, in time, as disastrous as the Bolshevik experiment. To all practical purposes the Government under the leadership of Signor Giolitti had abdicated all control over the industrial life of the nation. A new sovereignty—a Soviet sovereignty—was in process of being erected by the workers, who had occupied and barricaded the factories. The famous European correspondents were hastening south to witness the third experiment in proletarian dictatorship. Italy was already being ostracised by the world; the dollar was quoted at more than thirty lire; trade was collapsing; shipments were being frantically held up; tourists were fleeing to the frontiers.

The reasons for the failure of this revolutionary movement are now becoming more obvious. The arch-priests of the Third International heap the coals of blame upon the head of G. M. Serrati, one of the extreme leaders of the Socialist Party—a bearded, spectacled man who always reminds me of an emaciated Karl Marx. In so doing they reveal an

adolescent conception of Italian conditions quite at variance with their own emphasis upon immutable and impersonal economic determinism. The liberals thank Premier Giolitti for his statesmanlike restraint, and his refusal to aggravate the situation by the use of armed force; and certainly his pacific resistance now appears to have been fully justified, and his insight into the psychology of his people singularly acute. But the Socialist leaders know bitterly that other reasons explain the collapse of the proletarian experiment.

WHY REVOLUTION FAILED

Certain more deeply-rooted and enduring factors operated to make most of these human agents but mere bobbing corks on the stream of events. First of all, Italy is not a geographical, racial, political or industrial unit. Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria and the Po Valley—Italia Settentrionale—is sharply divided from the rest of the country. Its characteristics, climate and products are those of Central Europe. Its people are born of the melting pot. Mariotti, half a century ago, termed its tall, blond, serene-eyed inhabitants "the Lombard wolves, or the Boeotians of Italy." Physically and temperamentally they constitute a distinct type.

In Northern Italy and Tuscany are to be found the manufactories. Milan is the industrial capital of the country—a *Handelstadt*—and in more ways than one, for the Germans and Swiss once played a large part in its development. The rest of Italy, from Rome south, including the island possessions, is pre-eminently agrarian and pastoral.

These conditions produce corresponding political phenomena. If Italy were chartered—red for the Socialists and Communists, yellow for the Catholic Party (*Partito Popolare*), and blue for the Constitutionals, Liberals and Conservatives—from Rome south the country would be quite bluish, with dots of yellow; to the north—except in the annexed areas—largely red and yellow, deep-

ening to almost sanguinary intensity in Milan.

Thus revolution in Italy would mean, not merely a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the factory workers of Lombardy. The peasantry, even of Northern Italy, is more Catholic than Socialist. The one noteworthy exception is in the province of Emilia. But though the mass of the peasants there claim to be Socialist, their unique, co-operative "colonies" afford one of the most constructive and commendable examples of voluntary labor association in the world. Revolution would press heavily upon the Italian peasants, who comprise the largest industrial group and produce the bulk of the national wealth. The mass of the peasantry were and are against confiscation of property, and, in case revolution had been carried through, would sooner or later have opposed a solid front against the Milan dictatorship.

The next largest element in the Italian population is the small mercantile class. The ideal of the average poor man of Italy—if he cannot emigrate—is to rake together enough money to open a tiny shop which will gradually expand, while not heavily taxing mentality or energy, and which will permit of many hours of idle guitar-thrumming or easy garrulity. The small merchants and traders were not eager for revolution. They would have been the first to suffer, and would have been more harshly dislocated than any other social group. As one passes down the constricted streets of any city or town and glances into these kerosene-lighted, dusty cubbyholes, with their meagre stocks of fruit or stationery, where the whole family congregates, perhaps even sleeps, and the crawling babies clutch at the dresses and trousers of the customers as though to detain them for another five minutes of vivacious gossip—one vividly realizes the impenetrable silent opposition these individualistic units offered to the on-rolling phalanxes of revolution.

INDUSTRIAL NEEDS DECISIVE

The immediate factor, however, in averting revolution was the actual industrial situation, and the inevitable realization by the workers themselves that they could not run the factories. Oddly enough, the most active opposition to the new movement did not come from the wealthy industrial groups. Their attitude was: "Go ahead and run the factories." They knew that the acute shortage of coal and iron made this an impossibility. At the time of the "occupations," industrial conditions were fast approaching an impasse; the first wave of the industrial depression that has since smothered the world was making itself felt.

The workers—in actual possession of the factories—faced the fact that they could not continue operations without raw supplies, which, once the revolution had taken place—even had the great powers imposed no blockade—would have been even less obtainable. The workers' Government would have been without credit or purchasing power; industry, which has survived in Italy through the treaty stipulations regarding coal, would have collapsed. The ravenous city dwellers would have been forced into a military raping of agricultural products in order to survive.

Zinoviev and other Russian leaders have since argued in connection with their accusations of Serrati that the contagion of revolution would have quickly spread to France and England. But the Italian workers, scanning the horizon, saw no alacrity on the part of labor in those countries to follow their example. All this led to a prompt willingness to compromise on the *Controllo* act—a law that would have created advisory workers' committees in each factory, but was never put in force—hastened the secession of the Socialist Party from the Third International, and has since completely altered the party's tactics.

Perhaps, in any event, the Socialist Party lacked the coherence to carry through a revolutionary program.

The Socialist Party of Italy is not as powerful as its numbers indicate. Since the signing of the armistice the membership of the party has trebled. It became—and it still is—the numerically largest party in the Chamber. Much of this following is sentimental, not class-conscious—a jumbling together of the pacifist sentiment which caused the disastrous military strike of Caporetto, the vague discontent resulting from post-war adjustment, and above all from the precipitate demobilization which flung millions back into civil life almost simultaneously, with no attempt to insure their industrial assimilation. At the very beginning of the "occupations" revolutionary enthusiasm was dissipated in factional bickering.

DISINTEGRATION OF FASCISTI

This led to the first open split since 1911. At the Congress of Leghorn last March, when the twenty-one conditions of Moscow were rejected, the Communists, controlling about a third of the delegated vote, seceded to form a separate party. The Socialist Party has since been receding from its more rabid tactics. Meanwhile the advocates of social reform have consolidated their position. The social-reform wing is led by Filippo Turati, who advocates collaboration in the Cabinet with other parties. His speeches this last session have shown a consistent willingness to enter—perhaps head—a coalition Cabinet. He has argued that voting is collaboration with a bourgeoisie Government, that holding a seat in Parliament is collaboration, that the present tacit support of Premier Bonomi is collaboration; that, therefore, the logical course is "to enter the camp of realization—thus securing a little socialism—without sacrificing the party's independence of thought and action." In the recent Congress of Milan, which threatened to disrupt the party a second time, the collaborationists—*Frazione di Concentrazione*—controlled a third of the vote.

This faction largely dictated the

signing of a peace pact with the Fascisti. That pact has had disastrous effects upon the Fascisti organization. Many local members—especially in the agricultural districts, where the Socialists still exercise practically autonomous colony-control of the land—have refused to abide by the pact. This insubordination caused the resignation of Signor Mussolini, the head of the Fascisti movement. Mussolini is an interesting and volatile character, constantly running before his horse to market. For many years he was editor of *The Avanti*. At the time of the Crispi Government, which vigorously suppressed radical organizations, he fled with Serrati, Matteotti and other extremists to Switzerland. In 1914 he separated from the Socialists and founded *The Popolo d'Italia*, in the columns of which he supported d'Annunzio's efforts to force a declaration of war against Austria. He has resigned on several occasions from the head of the Fascisti, and his latest exploit is the fighting of a duel with one of the leading newspaper editors of Rome.

THE CHANGING SITUATION

The fate of the *Fasci* is still doubtful. Many organizations are desisting from active violence in accordance with the pact; others are disbanding entirely. Mussolini is endeavoring to transform them into a national political organization. But unless some new twist in national affairs occurs, the organization seems fated to disappear. It has no positive program, and its members lack the requisite experience and judgment for consistent political activity.

Far more significant in many respects is the disintegration threatening the *Partito Popolare*. This organization was originally founded as a result of the evangelical enunciation of the "*Rerum Novarum*," and is an offshoot of the vast Christian-Social movement of Ketteler, Manning, De Mun and Toniolo. Not until 1905 did it enter politics, since which time it has shown steady growth. At

present the Catholics occupy 110 seats in the Chamber, and form the second largest group.

The policy of the Popular Party has been tinged with mild nationalism, milder internationalism and vague social reform. It has concerned itself with the mitigation of class-antagonisms through a consistent emphasis upon the rights of the small proprietor—*il piccolo borghese*. The party has thus made its strongest appeal to the shopkeepers and small landowners of the Adriatic delta district. Of recent years much of its phenomenal growth has been due to an increasing emphasis upon material reforms. This has opened the doors to the more radical elements, and injected class virulence into the councils of the party. At the last two National Congresses the strength of the radical elements under the leadership of Miglioli has been growing. These Christian Socialist elements are largely responsible for the disowning of the leaders who have collaborated with Premier Bonomi, and have undoubtedly influenced the position of Turati. In addition, the Catholic *Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori* has shown an increasing readiness in times of crisis to follow the lead of the Socialist *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*.

This general party disintegration is nothing new in Italian political life. For decades Signor Giolitti has manoeuvred to prevent the formation of clearly defined parties, finding the bickering factions of Parliament, all of which were invariably permeated with his adherents, far easier to manipulate. Though this is characteristic of Latin politics, it has led to a peculiarly vicious state of affairs, for in times of crisis any small but active group is enabled to exercise a power quite disproportionate to its actual numerical strength. The lack of consistent party control accounts for much of the governmental impotence in the fact of Socialist, Communist and Fascisti violence.

But the simplest things in Italian national life have always been at-

tained only by the most frenzied waste of emotional energy. Progress has always been measured by the reactions to such emotional debauches. Out of the general turbulence of Italian life emerge certain deeper tendencies. The reaction to war was revolution; the reaction to revolution, Fascisti violence; the reaction to Fascisti violence, a widespread desire for an ordered State. The present majority sentiment of the country clamors for internal peace, bureaucratic reform, rigid economy, and sound, heroic reconstruction.

The political elements for the attainment of these desiderata do not appear to be in existence. The present Bonomi Ministry is built upon the shifting sands of factional discord. Signor Bonomi is himself a clever political manipulator. He began his career as an extreme Socialist. He has been elected to various local offices by Socialist constituencies, and served on the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. From 1908 to 1910 he was the editor of *The Avanti!* Though expelled from the party in 1911 along with the faction that collaborated with the Government at that time, his sympathies have never been completely alienated from the Socialists, by whom he is addressed familiarly by his first name, "Ivanoe," or "tu."

With the publication of the Dugoni letters and other documents, it has come to light that Premier Bonomi arrived at a secret understanding with certain Socialist leaders before accepting his post, especially with regard to the appointment of a general head of the Prefects who could be depended upon to suppress Fascisti violence. Practically every local Prefect has since been transferred or removed, and the shooting down of Fascisti by Royal Guards in Modena and elsewhere attests to the thorough carrying out of this agreement.

THE ARDITI DEL POPOLO

But the slenderness of the thread by which Signor Bonomi dangles in

the Premiership robs stringency of its dignity. These attacks upon the Fascisti seem ill-advised—a tickling of catastrophe. Fascisti violence was already sputtering to the socket, and the Fascisti organizations which were not already disintegrating were in process of transformation into local political bodies. The last months of 1921 have witnessed a vicious recrudescence of violence—sullenness on the part of the Fascisti and marked boldness on the part of the Communists. The *Arditi del Popolo*, composed of extreme Socialists, Communists and Catholics, and pledged to violent reprisals against the Fascisti, has grown rapidly in numbers and fervor. The rebellion of a company of Royal Guards when ordered to fire on Fascisti has not increased the Government's prestige; nor is the new amnesty to instigators of civil strife likely to appease either faction.

It is true, on the other hand, that the present Cabinet has seriously attempted to curtail expenditure. The budget estimates for 1921-22 have been cut 10,000,000,000 lire. Some tentative reforms have been effected in the bureaucracy, and some slight efforts made toward handling the unemployment crisis.

Until the international industrial and financial situation is clarified an ordered Italian State is impossible. The internal pacification of Italy has been of doubtful, slow growth—a part of the general pacification of Europe. The will to peace and order is in the hearts of the Italian people, but the material sinews are lacking.

"There is only one certainty in politics," said Machiavelli, with his eyes on the tumultuous city-States. "the uncertainty." On this, the six hundredth anniversary of the death of the "enduring" Dante and the sixtieth year of Italian unity, the uncertainty is still certain. As apt as when Horace walked down the *Via Sacra* are those words addressed to the Roman State:

O Ship, new waves will drive you back to sea. Bravely gain the port. O, what are

you doing? Do you not perceive that your sides are destitute of oars, and your mast wounded by the violent south wind, that your main-yards groan and your keel can scarcely withstand the impetus of the waves * * * ? Look to yourself if you do not wish to be the sport of winds.

Yet I shall always see that bambino dancing in the gutter, and the runty, raccoon-faced Neapolitan shedding tears over his donkey; there, at least, was the bed-rock of human nature; and as long as the hurdy-gurdies can

play, as long as in the midst of strife there shall be laughter without fear and tears without hate, one may be sure that the old, casual, cruel, keen-witted Italy that has survived 3,000 years of vicissitude is not dead, the port not lost, and that there must still be brave promise for a nation with sufficient resilience of spirit to give the modern world a Mazzini, a d'Annunzio, a Montessori and a Marconi.

GERMANY'S UNOFFICIAL KAISER: HUGO STINNES

BY BURNET HERSHEY

How the German Rockefeller rose to power during the European war, and the vast extent of his enterprises—Mines, factories, railways, shipping, the press, all falling beneath his sway—His political influence

IN Germany, one sees a one-man power—Hugo Stinnes. He has seized the chief German industries, he has spread the tentacles of his promoting genius to Austria; he is the new Kaiser of industry. The solution of the problem of the billions Germany will pay as war indemnity is believed to be in his hands. Small wonder then that to Stinnes is accorded that deference reserved formerly for the Kaiser. Even in the Reichstag, of which he is a member, he is pointed out in awe. "That is Stinnes," they whisper.

For three months I had the opportunity of studying Stinnes at first hand. During that time he was my next-door neighbor at the Hotel Adlon. The hotel is on the famous Unter den Linden, and the large Stinnes suite faces both this beautiful thoroughfare and the Pariser Platz, where, with its tri-color flying,

stands the French Embassy, of which Stinnes has an unobstructed view. Opening into a corridor are five or six doors leading from one cabinet room to another. This corridor is continually crowded. There is ever a restless surge about the place. Always, patiently and meekly, there waits to see Stinnes a host of business executives. Every time I walked through the corridor I passed them, silent and sitting apart. One thing they had in common. All guarded preciously a portfolio. These men are the Directors of the numerous and far-reaching companies owned and controlled by the mighty Stinnes. From near and far they travel to bring reports for the personal supervision of the financial genius who organized and combined these companies. Bank Presidents, shipping officials, Directors of coal and mining corporations, newspaper editors,

statesmen, politicians—all wait sometimes hours until summoned by the industrial imperator. They form the connecting links in the business chain forged by the master craftsman of commerce.

The Hotel Adlon practically constitutes the new imperial palace in Berlin. On the third floor Stinnes sits on the throne from which he rules Germany. His finger is on the pulse of Germany. At his word the mighty industrial machinery of the nation hums into motion. His office is a seismograph of the fluctuations of the country's commerce. The fall of the House of Hohenzollern brought the rise of the House of Stinnes. Under the cloak of the new republic Stinnes hides his sovereignty.

Stinnes is a veritable Sphinx. Journalists by the score have tried to interview him, and all have failed. Only through his monumental undertakings is he known. Living in such proximity to him as to be able to observe his daily movements, I felt I might tear down this wall of reticence. One morning I sought an interview. The rebuff I met was curt and decisive. I approached Stinnes on one of his hurried walks in the passage way.

"I am your neighbor," I explained, "and an American journalist. I would like your opinion, say, on repatriation."

His eyes snapped menacingly, and he retorted sharply: "I haven't given any interviews as yet, and I don't think I will begin now. Remember that!"

Often he occupied the next table to me in the dining salon. Sitting close by, I watched him eat. He eats gluttonously. As a host he is lavish. At mealtime he is continually surrounded by old friends, whom he entertains sumptuously. The finest of foods and the rarest wines are served. His guests are solely close business associates, and are not chosen for social position. Stinnes doesn't care a snap for society.

In all the time I saw Stinnes I never caught a smile on his stern

face. He is reticent and dour. Music, nevertheless, appeals to him, particularly Viennese melodies. Rudolph Stern, the Austrian virtuoso who plays nightly at the hotel, received many liberal tips from Stinnes. Because of his admirable playing this violinist was quite a favorite with the industrial giant. Hungarian rhapsodies and czardas are very popular with Stinnes, and he shows openly his appreciation.

Stinnes is of the American business type, alert and dynamic. Like the typical New Yorker, he is interminably on the go, always in a hurry. Often he rushes by so suddenly that one barely can identify him. Those with him invariably are hurrying to catch up with him. Whenever Stinnes shoots through the lobby, his passage evokes a hush of awe. Those who bow receive no acknowledgment. The only person whose greeting I ever saw Stinnes return was that of the aged proprietor of the hotel, Lorenz Adlon, a friend of the former Kaiser. Others he passes by. In vain photographers wait for him. He brushes them aside, and sweeps past so rapidly that he is gone before they realize it.

A GERMAN ROCKEFELLER

Stinnes is the champion war profiteer. He has made more money than any other German out of the war. Today he is the wealthiest man in Germany. His holdings exceed in value those even of Bertha Krupp or August Thyssen. As a commercial architect, his monetary companies are unrivaled. He is a trust engineer on a huge scale. The total capitalization of the corporations he has created runs into fabulous figures. The full range of his divers interests defies listing. His commercial appetite seems insatiable.

Revenue reports show that in 1904 Stinnes had to struggle along with an income of from 400,000 to 500,000 marks. In ten years, by 1914, he had accumulated a fortune of from twenty-five to thirty million marks.

Berlin bankers roughly estimate that his obvious fortune today totals more than a billion gold marks.

Stinnes is not wholly self-made. He started with a fortune, which by his financial and industrial genius he has multiplied into a staggering total. Born at Mulheim, in the Rhineland, on Feb. 12, 1870, he inherited an estate which bore upon its soil a forest, and beneath it coal deposits. The report has gone abroad that Stinnes is of Jewish parentage. This is not the case. His father was of pure Teutonic stock, and his mother (nee Coupennne) was a descendant of the French Huguenots. Hugo Stinnes received his early training in a commercial school. He then became an employe in the copper and iron plant of a wealthy family friend. At 19 he entered the Berlin School of Mines, which he left in a short time to enter the employ of his paternal grandfather. When his father died Hugo was not yet 20. He inherited huge coal interests. To learn the business thoroughly, he mined coal himself. He soon became what is known as a "coal baron." Today he controls at least sixty mines. In 1913 the capacity of his mines was 10 per cent. of the entire German production, and Germany at that time ranked third in coal production. Stinnes demonstrated that coal could be profitably exported to England, a remarkable feat. In entering into the field of inland shipping he was following family tradition, for his grandfather, Matthias Stinnes, was one of the first to correct the bed of the Rhine to make it navigable for vessels of greater draught.

Although at the outbreak of the great war he was a figure of growing industrial prominence, he had not achieved a position of national power. Not tall, but bulky, intensely dark, with black beard and mustache, bushy eyebrows, a twisted nose, piercing eyes and a manner harsh and despotic, his looks were never prepossessing. He cared little for dress. In and out of season he wore and still wears a black derby having a

high crown and a peculiarly narrow brim. The Stinnes derby is famous.

STINNES'S RISE TO POWER

It was during the war that Stinnes first showed signs of mastery. He was one of the chief figures in Supreme War Councils. Ludendorff and Hindenburg asked his opinions. The Kaiser took his advice. Stinnes issued orders. As the principal contributor of war materials his aid was sorely needed. He practically controlled the sinews of the war. The Krupps were only a popular legend. It was Stinnes who produced the war munitions and supplies that flowed steadily to the front.

Stinnes played a large part in the spoliation of Belgium and France. It was his plan to wreck these countries industrially during German occupancy. French steel mills and coal mines were the targets for his attack. Competing with his, they had always been a thorn in his side. When he found them at his mercy, he carried on wholesale destruction in the name of war. He set out to damage them irreparably, so that he could snatch up markets while the French were struggling to re-establish their disorganized industries. The hand of Stinnes demolished the industries of Northern France. At that time Germany was still courting victory, and the probability of defeat had not been considered; so Stinnes carried out his deliberate scheme for the annihilation of French industrial life. In 1918, the French Minister of Finance, Klotz, showed that the wanton ruin in the wake of German hordes was not purely a war measure, but the insidious work of an industrial schemer.

With the war lost, Stinnes has recourse to a new stratagem. France having displayed remarkable recuperative powers, the German business lord, for whom business considerations dominate sentiment, desired to strike an industrial alliance. He has succeeded in stimulating the foreign trade of Germany. His advocacy of rapprochement of an economic basis has gained support in French financial

and commercial circles. Stinnes succeeded in convincing Frenchmen that the future of France and Germany as well as that of Continental Europe rests upon an economic understanding between the two great powers. He seeks an economic alliance with France because it ranks second in iron and steel manufacture. The economic agreement on reparations recently concluded between France and Germany at Wiesbaden was the opening wedge of the Stinnes plan.

Insight into the methods of Stinnes employed in the construction of his elaborate commercial edifice reveals him as an industrial buccaneer. In the creation of his vast enterprises he has used every device for coercing rivals and transforming opposing firms into subsidiaries. The history of his rise is a story of commercial expediency. Every move he made was to insure and safeguard his interests and to give him a tighter grip in some particular field. His growth was methodical and systematic. Not by accident, but by steady achievement, he rose to the powerful commanding position he holds in the world.

The tale of what Stinnes did in Belgium is illuminating. It gives an idea of how he accomplishes his ends. Without accepting any risk, Stinnes made enormous profits out of Belgium during the war. He obtained a concession on the industries of Belgium with the understanding that he would pay for them upon annexation. For four years he exploited Belgian industry. Since the country was not acquired by Germany he has paid nothing for the rich privilege of collecting profits from the sale of the products of Belgian factories.

When informed of the inevitable loss of the war, Stinnes took precaution to safeguard his fortune. Ludendorff warned him of the ultimate outcome, and Stinnes immediately made huge investments in Dutch companies. He carried off a good part of his wealth and placed it for safekeeping in solid institutions in Holland. Just as the ex-Kaiser has sought refuge in Holland, so Stinnes

has stored a sufficient fortune there, where it is out of the hands of both the German Revenue Office and the Allies.

STEP BY STEP

There is nothing haphazard about the rise of this captain of industry. One enterprise was used as a stepping stone to another, and it was pressure of circumstances that caused him to reach out into other fields. Today his holdings present such a conglomeration that it seems strange to find one man having interests which seem so unrelated. But the Stinnes system of procedure made them all necessary, and so, today, we find that coke, coal, gas, electricity, steel, forests, factories, ships, harbors, shipbuilding plants, hotels, newspapers, &c., are all integral parts of the Stinnes machine.

The first great combination that Stinnes effected was the merger of the Rhenish-Westphalian Electric Works, the Gelsenkirchen Mining Company, the Rodder Coal Mines and the Deutsch-Luxemburg Mining Company. In forming this industrial union Stinnes worked on the basis of consolidating the producers and consumers. He dovetailed natural resources like coal and iron with gas and electrical utilities in the district surrounding Essen. This was his initial achievement, and he planned it long before the war. But it was the pressure of war that brought about the amalgamation.

Through the Rhenish-Westphalian Electric Company Stinnes got control of the subsidiary street railway systems. This corporation also is a holding company for the metallurgic factories. During the war Stinnes was able to monopolize the manufacture of chemical and war material. It was no easy task, but he reconciled the antagonistic factors. After the war he maintained the commanding position he had won in this field.

Recognizing the importance of raw materials and intermediate products,

Stinnes acquired interest in plants for the distillation of lignite or brown coal, taking over the Riebeck-Halle Corporation. Next he realized that the development of the by-products of coke and fuel was as necessary as the development of power machinery, and that it was imperative to control both to insure a powerful monopoly. In this way he stretched his holdings into the field of dynamo and water manufacture. He purchased the bankrupt Wittenauer Imperial Works and then gradually acquired other companies in order to strengthen his hold on this industry, his final acquisition being the great Loeb Works.

Stinnes then got interested in rail and water transportation. Many large railway systems now operate under his orders, and inland waterways shipping is under his control. John D. Rockefeller used rebates to defeat competition. Stinnes found rebates not enough. He must own the conveyances. To circumvent the differential freight rates he organized syndicates. He created not only the German Water Transportation Company, but also various branch firms in Russia, England, Italy and the smaller countries. When war narrowed his sphere of operation, he cleverly liquidated his foreign holdings without incurring losses. His primary object was to acquire cargo space for his manufactures, and in his characteristic way he soon established a monopoly of German inland waterways shipping.

His next step was to acquire control of the ship construction steel works in the Emden district. His efforts were not restricted to inland shipping. Ocean transportation was also a requisite, so, acting in conjunction with the late Henry Ballin, he acquired the Hapag, Waerman and East African Lines. Cheaper ocean freight rates and direct routes to markets were his chief considerations. He added more lines, and, as in other industries, he became a commanding figure in the marine world. German river and coastwise traffice is almost completely under his supervision.

Like the Kaiser of other days, Stinnes has his eyes turned to the East. The Berlin-to-Bagdad railway was a dream which wrecked William II.'s reign. Yet Stinnes may succeed where the Emperor failed. His commercial navy sails the Rhine, the Oder, the Elbe and down the Danube, giving him unchecked egress to the East. Stinnes also has his vision of tapping the East for its treasures, and under the guise of an international trader he has set out to win the coveted prize.

RUTHLESS FINANCE

Herr Stinnes's method of financing is simple. He merely uses other people's capital. He harnesses outside money to his financial chariot. When others are large investors, big dividends fail to be declared. This is shown in his management of the Rhenish-Westphalian Corporation, and the Hamburger Trading and Transportation Company. Extra dividends accruing are used in enlarging the scope and operation of the firms, and incidentally go toward increasing the strength of the controlling genius.

When Germany was obliged under the Versailles Treaty to deliver 300,000 tons of coal monthly, this burden, together with the labor shortage, crippled Germany's fuel supply. High as the price of coal was, Stinnes decided that it was not high enough. Being the coal king, he tied up fuel delivery and throttled the output of the mines. A desperate coal shortage resulted and the price mounted. As coal monopolist, Stinnes collected a royal tribute. Involved in projects requiring fuel and motive power, Stinnes is turning his attention to studying the oil and oil-motive problems. His aim is to gain control of inventions which will revolutionize the use of crude oils for energy and so enable him to win mastery in this undeveloped field.

When Stinnes discovered that he had become—overnight, so to speak—a national figure, he realized that he would have to take over the press for

the purpose of wielding public opinion in his own interests. Some newspapers overstepped what he considered the bounds of prudence, and to prevent further unpleasantness he simply bought them up. Dr. Georg Gothein, a colleague of Stinnes and a former German Minister, is authority for the statement in the *Neue Freie Presse* of April 1, 1921, that Stinnes was purchasing one daily after another and that there was no checking his newspaper acquisitions. To date, they number more than seventy. He owns the powerful *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which, during the days of the empire, was the semi-official organ. He controls the Reuter Bureau, the Associated Press of Germany. Even *Simplicissimus*, the national humorous magazine, is his. Stinnes is the Lord Northcliffe of Germany in his domination of the public prints. Ownership of newspapers led the way to ownership of paper mills. He has acquired forests for wood pulp, and, since he also controls the production of cellulose, the numerous Stinnes newspapers will never be short of print paper. Stinnes runs his newspapers like his other industries. His object is not editorship, nor is it the raising of German journalism to a higher plane. All he wants is to be certain of creating favorable opinion for his activities.

Joint ownership and control of public utilities by cities, communities and private capital is one of the pioneer achievements of Stinnes in Germany. His plan is to have communities become partners in public enterprises—a co-operative municipal ownership scheme. For himself, however, Stinnes reserves a definite power of management, thus insuring profit for himself under the guise of public benefaction.

Stinnes's project to assist the German people to fulfill the reparation penalties throws further light on his resourcefulness. He preaches increased production as the panacea for rebuilding Germany's economic structure. He advocates labor sharing by stock ownership. To the working-

men he appears to be heralding a beneficent gospel.

Stinnes, however, does not overlook the fact that increased production in his mines and factories means more profits for him. He argues for the raising of the number of working



(© International)

HUGO STINNES

Germany's most powerful capitalist, who controls many of the nation's richest mines and largest newspapers

hours, which would fit in nicely with his plans. The few shares he would allow his workmen certainly would repay him in increased production and as insurance against strikes. Stinnes dominates the Volkspartei, or People's Party, and, ironically enough, poses as the spokesman of the laboring class.

HIS POWER DISPLAYED

At the Spa conference Stinnes thrust himself forward as the supreme master of Germany's destiny. He invited the Allies to submit to him personally the reparation proposals. Acting unofficially, for he was not a member of the body, he undertook to procure Germany's approval providing the terms were acceptable to him. The allied representatives were astonished at his role of leadership. They were also surprised at the strange deference shown Stinnes by the German entourage.

Again, at the recent London conference, Stinnes displayed his power. Stresemann acted solely under Stinnes's orders. Stinnes planned to reject the allied proposals. In France the feeling was that Stinnes desired occupation of the Ruhr Valley. A Socialist newspaper, the *Schwäbische Tagwacht* of Stuttgart, wrote:

Stinnes and his friends had calculated that within the first few months after the occupation of the Ruhr district the price of coal would rise so enormously as to become prohibitive for the rest of Germany. During these first few months it was intended to accelerate production of coal to the utmost until gigantic stores had been accumulated. This, Stinnes and his friends believe, could be accomplished under the protection of French troops, whereupon wages

would be decreased and working hours increased.

If he desired, Stinnes could come to the aid of Germany as Rothschild did in France after the war of 1870. Stinnes, however, does not plan to be the savior of Germany. He is not a popular figure, like certain American millionaires. His system is not the amassing of wealth, but rather the persistent elaboration of a definite industrial evolution.

Since peace has been formally declared between the United States and Germany, Stinnes has indicated a desire to visit America. His object is to conclude an industrial alliance and to establish markets here. In Germany he is Chairman of the boards of twenty-one corporations and a member of twenty-six others. His commercial prestige will win a ready hearing with our captains of industry.

Wherever you turn in Germany you come upon Stinnes. For the most part you come into contact with his projects. Everywhere, it seems, nothing can be done without him. Continually you buy his products, ride on his transportation systems, enter his banks. At every turn Stinnes greets you—and collects tribute. Already there are murmurings against the might of this industrial giant. He is trying to replace the well-known trade mark, "Made in Germany," with "Made by Stinnes." How secure is his hold on the new throne of Germany? Rumblings predicating volcanic disturbance are heard, and whether the dynasty of the House of Stinnes will live through the inevitable eruption time alone can tell.

SOLVING GERMANY'S HOUSE PROBLEM

BY JULIAN PIERCE

Remarkable results of a new plan that gives building contracts to co-operative associations of workers—Houses built by willing labor for one-third to one-half less than under old methods

GERMANY is undertaking to solve the housing shortage by the "socialization" of the housing industry, applied under different plans. The methods employed are worthy of study by Americans in search of a cure for the present prohibitive cost of housing construction. In the United States the term "socialization" usually implies direct Government construction and management. In the current phraseology of the German building industry the term has a significance quite different. Although it is used to describe the principle of the plans now being worked out, those who use it reject partly or entirely municipalization and nationalization.

Under one German plan the Federal Government, States and municipalities award housing and other contracts to co-operative construction societies composed of the workers themselves. The societies are organized as public utility associations. In some instances they are set up by the municipal governments; in others they are organized by the mental and manual workers in the building industry.

This plan is endorsed by the National Union of Building Workers and by the organized labor movement generally. It was adopted as a substitute for direct nationalization and municipalization of the housing industry, which was opposed on the ground that hitherto Government management, whether national, State or municipal, has compared unfavor-

ably in cost and efficiency with work done under private contract.

A. Ellinger, a member of the Federal Economic Council and of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Building Workers, gives this description of the Building Workers' plan for the elimination of direct governmental or municipal work while still retaining the "socialization" principle:

They asked that the Government and municipal authorities should create large building concerns, organized and conducted on business principles and in great measure independent of national or municipal parliaments; concerns which would be carried on, not by officials with assured pensions, but by efficient building experts engaged by private contract. These concerns must be organized essentially in the same way as a capitalistic building concern, with this difference, that the large scale concern would belong, not to a private person, but to the State or municipality. Consequently, the surplus value created by the workers would benefit, not an individual capitalist or a capitalistic association, but the community organized as a State or municipality.

In order to give the workers an interest in their output, the union proposed that Government and municipal building concerns should not engage building workers individually and employ them at hourly wages, but that they should hand over complete building contracts to associations, or co-operative societies of building workers, to be carried out at a fixed price.

The principle of the workers' co-operative building societies has been applied on municipal work in Nuremberg, Pforzheim, and other cities, with satisfactory results.

Nuremberg was the first city to

dispense with direct day labor on municipal work. E. Schrag, the Municipal Building Director, declares that with direct employment in excavation the output was so unsatisfactory and the work so costly that a new system was imperative. The employes actually worked but a fraction of the time for which they were paid, and the more industrious workers were derided by their less industrious fellows. As an experiment, the Nuremberg authorities organized a co-operative society of municipal workers and gave the next municipal job to it at fixed prices. According to Mr. Schrag, the result of the experiment was excellent:

This society has fulfilled the expectations it raised. Building operations have been started in which work is once more normally carried on with that industry which modern conditions require, and in which, up to the present, after six months' working, no stoppage or dispute has taken place.

GREAT SAVING IN COST

Other municipal operations were turned over to co-operative societies with equally satisfactory results. A comparison of costs incurred by the City of Nuremberg in its building operations under various direct employment and contract systems gives the following figures:

Job No. 1—Under direct employment by city officials this job cost 100,800 marks. If it had been done by the municipal workers' co-operative society the saving would have been 44,600 marks.

Job No. 2—The private contractor's tender was 64,000 marks. The co-operative society did the work for 54,000 marks.

Job No. 3—The private contractor's tender was 234,000 marks. The co-operative society completed the work for 195,000 marks.

In canal construction the co-operative societies did the work for from 25 to 33 per cent. less than the private contractor's bids.

Of the three methods of doing municipal work—private contract, direct municipal employment, or contracts awarded to workers' co-operative societies—Mr. Schrag concludes that direct city employment is the costliest method of construction, private contract the next costliest and

contracts to co-operative societies the cheapest. Work done by contractors, he finds, is from 15 to 20 per cent. more costly than the work done by co-operative societies. Direct employment on time wages has cost as much as 50 per cent. more. In Pforzheim private contractors charged the city from 37 to 42 marks per cubic foot of walling for the erection of municipal dwellings. The building workers' co-operative societies performed the work for 27 marks and made a profit of 10 marks per meter.

Since the Nuremberg and Pforzheim experiments, municipal and Government contracts are being awarded to building workers' societies on a large scale. Today there are over 100 such societies; some were set up by the municipal authorities, others were organized by the building industry workers.

When organized by the building industry workers the capital of the co-operative building associations is subscribed by the workers themselves and draws a maximum interest of 5 per cent. Surplus profits are placed in reserve funds and used in part for unemployment and relief work. The net surplus constitutes a social fund for the good of the community, and, in the case of dissolution of the society, must be applied to objects of public utility. The co-operative building societies have materially decreased the cost of housing and are liberally encouraged by both Government and municipal authorities.

MARTIN WAGNER'S PLAN

The second "socialization" plan is different. It is called the "Wagner plan," after its author, Martin Wagner, the Municipal Architect of Greater Berlin. Like the plan just described, it recognizes that the high cost of construction is the basic reason for the housing shortage. The high cost of housing, in turn, is rooted in the low labor output of the building industry workers. The crucial question, therefore, is, How can the labor output be increased?

It was Mr. Wagner's belief—a belief later adopted by the higher grade municipal architects—that an increase in labor output cannot be obtained under private enterprise because the worker has no interest in the yield of his labor and consequently takes little interest in his work. Under the old military state the German Government combined with the employers to compel the workers to speed up. But the military State is history; and giving the workers an interest in the yield of their labor is now the only way to increase the output. From his study of the problem Mr. Wagner concluded that private enterprise in the building industry should be rejected and a "socialized" industry developed in such a way that 100 per cent. of the workers' industrial energy would be mobilized.

Mr. Wagner originally outlined his plan before the Voluntary Socialization Commission convened in the Spring of 1919 by Mr. Beuster, President of the Housing Association of Greater Berlin. The commission was composed of experts in the building industry — Government representatives, architects, representatives from the Federal Ministry of Labor, &c. The plan, slightly modified, was later adopted by a congress of the higher grade municipal architects as the proper basis for the socialization of the building industry.

The Builders' Lodge Socialized Building Association of Berlin is the original Wagner plan association. It has a capital of 1,000,000 marks, furnished by the Marches Homesteads Building Society for Greater Berlin and the Province of Brandenburg. The Marches Homestead is itself an organization of the Prussian Government, the Province of Brandenburg and the municipality of Greater Berlin. The Berlin Building Lodge is therefore a State and municipal undertaking. It is entirely independent of the national, State, provincial and municipal parliaments. It is jointly administered by representatives of the State, the Province and the muni-

cipality—those who supplied the capital—and by representatives of the skilled and unskilled workers in the building trades—those who supply the labor.

The administration consists of the managers, a Board of Control and a Board of Directors. The managers are subject to the Board of Control. Three-fourths of the members of the Board of Control are selected by the capital-supplying organizations and one-fourth by the representatives of the workers—the labor-supplying organizations. The actual operations are conducted by the Board of Directors, consisting of the managers and representatives of the workers. The Board of Directors has complete control of building operations—employment, wages, labor regulations, contracts and so forth. The shareholders' meetings are the supreme authority, with power to discharge the Board of Control.

From one-tenth to one-twentieth of the net profits are set aside as a reserve fund. Out of the balance, not exceeding 5 per cent. interest is paid on the capital, 5 per cent. is devoted to the welfare fund, 20 per cent. may, in the discretion of the association, be applied to improvements, and the remainder is divided among all the employees, from managers to clerks and laborers, in proportion to their yearly salaries or wages.

SUCCESS OF NEW METHODS

Building associations on the Berlin plan have been organized in Stettin and Frankfort-on-Main. In Stettin the capital was furnished by the Public Utility Company for Workmen's Homes, neither the State nor the municipality participating as capital subscribers. In Frankfort the trade unions took an active part in the organization of the Wagner association and subscribed liberally to the capital. The local union of the National Union of Building Workers assessed its members one day's wages (42 marks) and purchased capital stock with the proceeds. In other parts of

Germany negotiations are on foot for the organization of similar large "socialized" building concerns.

In the Ruhr Valley housing construction for the coal miners is being financed by a coal tax. Otto Hue, former chief executive for the German Mine Workers' Federation, now the federation's representative on the national coal administration, thus describes the Ruhr Valley housing scheme:

In addition to the ordinary coal production tax of 20 per cent. of the ton price, the mines pay the Government a housing tax of 6 marks per ton of extracted coal, to be used as a subsidy for the construction of workmen's houses. The Minister of Finance transfers the money to the treasury of our Labor Construction Associations. These associations, which are organized locally and regionally, are co-operative joint-stock building societies of the building trades unions and are under trade-union management. The public powers usually contribute subsidies of so much per cubic meter of construction.

These building societies are much like the English "building guilds." The most significant results of their wide development are the elimination of middlemen in the building industry and the reduction of construction costs. The co-operative labor construction societies are one of the domains in which German trade union initiative has been most fruitful since the revolution of 1918.

The Federation of Socialized Building Concerns is also doing effective work in promoting the new "socialized" building industry program.

In 1920 the National Union of Building Workers appropriated 5,000,000 marks to forward the "socialization" movement. As a result of this financial stimulus ten building industry trade unions and a number of local socialized building societies organized the federation. The constitution of the federation defines its objects as the "establishment of public utility, co-operative and other building concerns not carried on for profit." This object is more definitely explained by a A. Ellinger, a member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Building Workers:

By establishing the Federation of Socialized Building Concerns, the unions of manual and brain workers in the building industry, as representatives of the whole body of building workers in Germany, have set themselves to carry out the socialization of the building industry in Germany. * * * If the Federal Government, States, and municipalities also do their part to promote this young community movement according to their powers, the peaceful organic transformation of the present capitalistic building industry into a socialized industry is only a question of time.

It is interesting to note that the building workers' "socialization" plans, as well as the Wagner plan, reject government and municipal ownership and operation of the building industry and substitute therefor self-governing service corporations largely independent of State parliaments and municipal councils.

FLEMISH VS. FRENCH IN BELGIUM

To the Editor of Current History:

Under the caption "Belgium's Two Languages," in your January issue, you state that Flemish is the second national language. Permit me to state that the census of 1910, as reported in the Statesman's Year Book for 1921, does not confirm your statement. On pages 690-691 Belgium's population is placed at 7,423,784, of whom 3,220,662 spoke Flemish only, 2,833,334 spoke French only, and 871,288 spoke both

French and Flemish—the Flemish outnumbering the French by several hundred thousands.

THOMAS J. BRYANT.

New York, Jan. 2, 1922.

[The phrase quoted was used with no implication of inferiority as regards distribution; it was meant simply to convey the fact that, besides French—hitherto the official language—Belgium had another language, viz., Flemish, spoken predominantly in the regions described.—EDITOR.]



A glimpse of the beautiful new town of St. Quentin, rebuilt by a railroad company, with the artistic well in the foreground and some of the men who are doing the work

THE RESURRECTION OF DEVASTATED FRANCE

BY JACOB L. CRANE JR.
City Plan Engineer, Cambridge, Mass.

Progress in the vital problem of rebuilding the homes of five million people—Struggle for life on farms torn by shells and denuded of orchards—Ternier's thousands of new houses

NOT even five years of war could break the miraculous courage of the French people in the war zone. During the three desolate years since the war ended they have carried on bravely in the bitter struggle for life. The enemy, poverty, has been pitiless in this last battle, fought silently on the barren land which had been farms, and in the jobless towns of wrecked factories. Impelled by love for their own home land, a love which seemed not to diminish even though the homes themselves were destroyed, these four million stricken people, inarticulate and patient, hung on in desperation and hope.

But even with all their courage

they could not have persisted in the struggle except for the measure of agricultural and industrial rehabilitation accomplished during the first two years of peace. Nor could they have existed except for the temporary housing, meagre as it was, erected by the Government to shelter the most helpless ones.

The vast problem facing the French Government when the war ended may be estimated from the official figures issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction. In 1914 there were 4,700,000 inhabitants in the invaded zone. During the war 2,700,000 abandoned their homes to enter the army or to become refugees in other parts of

France, leaving in the devastated region less than half the former population—a dismal, poverty-stricken remnant. When the war was over, the first task of the Government was to review and tabulate the damage done to factories, farms, and homes.

In the industrial field practically every factory was partially dismantled or entirely destroyed. The coal mines had been the particular object of destruction, for the Germans realized that on them the economic vitality of France depended in a large measure. All told, 220 mining operations were rendered useless. They were flooded, dynamited, filled with waste materials, or set on fire. Their rehabilitation has been especially difficult and slow. The French estimate that these mines cannot be brought up to pre-war production before 1930, and on this calculation base their claim to German coal during the intervening years. In other important industries of the invaded district the degree of destruction ranged from 60 to 100 per cent. For example, the important sulphuric acid industry was 80 per cent. damaged, the sugar mills 90 per cent., iron foundries 80 per cent., and the textile mills were from 60 to 100 per cent. destroyed. Five thousand factories had been laid waste, and the entire vital productive capacity of the region reduced to a pitifully low figure.

Likewise agriculturally the north of France was reduced to a shadow of its normal productiveness. Four and a half million acres of land lay barren when the smoke cleared away—torn by shell holes, some so big that they had to be fenced off to keep stock from falling in; traversed by trenches, filled with shell, grenades, and all sorts of war refuse; wild and noxious weeds had sprung up, and in other places the soil was washed away. Orchards had been cut, barns destroyed, and equipment confiscated or wrecked. The land had to be leveled, cleaned thoroughly, and re-worked foot by foot; thousands of farm buildings had to be rebuilt, tens

of thousands of pieces of equipment replaced.

GRAPPLING WITH THE PROBLEM

The great problem of reconstruction in this country of desolation had two main aspects. In the first place all the people of France are dependent in an important degree upon the production of the farms, factories and coal mines of the North. It was necessary to repair the damage as rapidly as possible, for the welfare of all France. And secondly, a million people who had remained in the invaded territory were destitute because there was no work and no income for them, and, moreover, some 2,500,000 refugees were clamoring to return to their home communities, and indeed they did return long before there was cleared land or factory work to support them. Most pitiful of all, neither those who had remained nor the returned refugees had houses to live in. In a hundred towns not a single building remained standing. Here and there staggered gaunt walls, but for the most part only a dismal level of heaped brick and debris lined the partially cleared streets. All told, 2,600 towns were damaged, 300,000 houses were destroyed and 360,000 injured! Even if the farms and factories could be re-established, how could the people be provided with houses? How could these twenty-six hundred damaged towns and villages be rebuilt and their social life restored so that the workers and their families could again take up something approaching a normal life?

The problems were gigantic, but they were attacked boldly. For the restoration of Northern France the nation voted to pay all costs out of the State Treasury, which could be reimbursed with the German reparation payments when they were collected. Unfortunately, voting the money did not produce it. The funds which could be diverted to reconstruction from all possible sources were still meagre, and it was necessary to decide which of the reconstruction demands should first be met. A primary

consideration was that the people had to have work, and the country needed badly the products of their work; housing could wait. So railroad, industrial and agricultural reconstruction got the first money. Work was begun before the armistice was signed, on the heels of the northward-moving armies. And by the end of 1920 4,000,000 acres of farm land out of 4,500,000 which had been laid waste were cleared, and 3,000,000 acres placed again under cultivation. The industrial restoration was almost as rapid, so that now the industries, except for the coal mines, are back to 80 per cent. of their pre-war capacity. Four thousand establishments have been reconstructed. Thirty-five hundred miles of destroyed railroad are back in operation. Five hundred bridges, twelve tunnels, nearly six hundred stations and warehouses, and two thousand miles of telegraph were rebuilt on the railroad lines. Four hundred miles of canals have been repaired.

All this, an enterprise comparable in magnitude only to the war itself, took a vast amount of money, and when the rehabilitation had reached this point, the available funds were exhausted, Government support ceased, and the whole reconstruction

project slumped. This slump came before any house construction had been undertaken, except for a few temporary houses. In the meantime 1,500,000 refugees had returned. Four-fifths of the pre-war population is now there, employed in producing farm and factory goods which the rest of France needs critically. At least a third of them, a million people, are up to this moment living in dismal hovels built of refuse brick, of cast-off ammunition cases, or even of canvas. A number of towns are still a dead-level of wreckage where the houses stood, the little orchards are only shattered stumps, and the former gardens are humpy, weedy fields with scraps of shell and all sorts of war debris sticking out of the torn earth. No wonder the psychology of depression is taking hold of some of these people. Tourists going north from Paris may not guess the conditions in the completely destroyed places if they see only Rheims, Chateau-Thierry, and similar towns and do not see Saint Quentin, Tergnier, Montdidier, Albert and a few dozen others where the wreckage of the old towns has not even been cleared away.



Tergnier, France, as the war left it, a heap of pulverized ruins. The miracle of reconstruction accomplished near these ruins is shown on the opposite page

PROGRESS IN HOUSE BUILDING

Various emergency schemes have been proposed to remedy the deplorable living conditions in the unrestored communities, and although some of them have been tried out, none has proved generally successful. The intense provincialism or patriotism of the Frenchman will not let him use German-built houses offered in lieu of deferred reparation payments.*. The newly legalized co-operative building plan is not readily taken up by the individualist of North France, although an appreciable number of houses, both temporary and permanent, have been

constructed by co-operative societies.†. Municipal rebuilding is slow and uncertain in these disorganized communities. Only a few cities have been able to float bond issues and to start to build houses. Of course, the national reparations law provides that each property owner who rebuilds shall be paid the full cost of replacement at present prices. But most of the property holders have been waiting three years and still no reparation payment is forthcoming. It is no wonder that in face of these adversities a few people are selling their land and reparation rights for less than pre-war values and emigrating. The remarkable thing is that all but these few are hanging on with such loyal persistence for the sake of being in their own country.

But there are decidedly hopeful elements in the picture of slow domestic and social reconstruction. One of these is the movement to make the

*An Amlens correspondent of the Paris Temps wrote on Dec. 12, 1921, that the whole Somme Valley was in passionate debate over the Wiesbaden agreement, under which the French Government had agreed to accept reparation in kind from Germany, including the services of German labor associations in rebuilding French homes. When it came to the actual test of letting German workmen reconstruct Chaulnes and a dozen other towns in that neighborhood, French sentiment could not bear it. The Government had taken a popular vote on the subject last Summer, and 86 per cent. of the people had cast their ballots in favor of the plan, but in December, when the Prefect again put it to a vote, only 49 per cent. favored it. The other 51 per cent. decided against co-operating on equal terms with the men who three years ago were ravishing this same countryside. The Minister of Devastated Regions is thus compelled to find a new method for handling the reconstruction work in that part of Picardy.—Editor.

†The Chamber of Deputies last November authorized the Union of Building Societies to float a loan of 750,000,000 francs (normally \$150,000,000) for building 100,000 cheap dwellings before 1930. The Government guarantees the interest on the loan. Most of the buildings will be erected in the devastated regions, but about one-third will be put up in villages and towns near Paris.—Editor.



Panorama of Tergnier as it looks today, a wholly new town, built with all modern comforts, on farm land near the wreck of the old town

rebuilt towns better places to live in than they were before the war. The most important factor in this tendency is the national law passed in 1919 making city planning compulsory for every devastated town, as well as for every town of 10,000 population or over throughout France. This means that the resurrected communities will perforce have more efficient street and block plans, better sanitation, more and better parks and playgrounds, finer situations for public buildings, and, at the same time, that the old picturesque beauty will be preserved and enhanced by definite planning with this in view, instead of the old haphazard method of growth or rebuilding. An organization known as *La Renaissance des Cites* is helping the devastated towns in their planning under the new law. These public-spirited men and women, supported in their work by contributions from America, have had a new city plan drawn for Rheims, have held a competition for an ideal system of sanitation for Chauny, have helped in the plans for hundreds of other communities, and are now financing and directing the entire reconstruction of

Pinon as an ideal community after which other towns everywhere in France may be modeled.

EFFICIENT AMERICAN AID

As usual in places of distress, the Quakers are doing invaluable work. They have provided a few houses for the most needy, and have equipped many poverty-stricken households with furniture and utensils for re-beginning life. Similarly, the American Committee for Devastated France is doing significant work in social rehabilitation, directed and largely carried out by American women on the ground in the war zone. This committee, also with American funds, is supplying agricultural and domestic equipment, building school-houses, organizing play centres and health centres, repairing churches, and assisting French organizations for rehabilitation. Their work, while chiefly in the Department of the Aisne, will reach far beyond the time and place of its origin, for it is introducing into French social organization factors which will affect the future life of all France. Nothing is



A corner of Tergnier, showing both temporary quarters and permanent new homes. Seven people are living in the shack at the right, waiting for the houses to be completed

being forced upon the people; the service of the committee is offered, and where it is eagerly taken up, as it has been without important exception, facilities are offered for going ahead with the work. The committee has established a tourist bureau at Laon, in the geographic centre of the devastated area, where visitors are conducted to the sights of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

One of the more unusual projects developed by the French is also being carried out here in the Department of the Aisne. The Marquise de Noailles, whose chateau near Blérincourt was the centre of five little villages, all of which were destroyed, has undertaken to reconstruct them entirely. There is consequently a rush to claim former residence in these towns, and an enthusiastic co-operative organization has been developed for helping in the work. American students of engineering, architecture and landscape architecture have also been working during the past few Summers, under the direction of the French Government, at Rheims, Soissons and other places.

Most of this work, however, is the

planning of reconstruction. The actual building of homes on a large scale has been done so far only by industries and by the Railway of the North. At Dourges a coal company has built an efficient, pleasant workmen's town, and in scattered communities over Northern France groups of houses built by employers are beginning to appear. But the projects of the Northern Railway are the largest rehousing enterprises now under construction. This railway, although one of the shortest in point of mileage, is the largest in France in the amount of traffic carried. It was rebuilt directly after the armistice, but it was of little use until it had arranged for adequate housing for its workmen at the places where the main shops were located. So far the company has completed or has under construction 11,000 houses in twenty-six communities. The largest project is at Tergnier, where nearly 1,500 houses are being built. The old town, a level of ruins, has been left behind, and in an open field a fine new village is now nearly completed. Carefully planned houses, lots and streets, public water supply and sewerage,



Tasteful homes in the resurrected French village of Dourges, built by a coal company for its employes near the ruins left by German shells

baths, gardens and playgrounds, a little park, cleanliness and airiness, distinguish this new town from the old type of French community. And its possibilities for picturesque beauty, far from being destroyed, are at many points increased by the carefully studied planning. The company is renting these houses so cheaply that it will receive less than 3 per cent. net on its investment. The work had to be done; it is inspiring to see it being done so well.

To be sure, these projects are merely the start of the tremendous task of permanent rehousing, which has lagged so far behind the rehabilitation of farms and industries. The Disarmament Conference in Washington may have an important bear-

ing on this work, if it makes it possible for France to divert battleship appropriations to the building of homes. The significant thing about the work done so far is its tendency toward better standards in French domestic and community life. The people who lived here before the war can never have their old places back, but their children will live in communities far better than the old ones. And slowly, but with the certainty of slow-growing things, the old air of peace and charm is returning to these stricken towns; even the foliage and greenery are reviving. In a hundred years the marks of the war will be gone, and from the destruction will have risen a new and more livable France.

A DEFENSE OF RUMANIA

BY I. I. SCHIOPUL

Formerly Deputy to the Rumanian National Assembly

To the Editor of Current History:

Your magazine for December prints a letter from a Bulgarian contributor, who attacks Rumania on several questions, and very unjustly, I think. He forgets that for many long years Rumania has been the asylum for all Bulgarians fleeing from political persecution in their own country. Many Bulgarian statesmen have earned their living in Rumania, and many of Bulgaria's best known scholars received their education at the University of Bucharest.

The "Ode to the Rumanian Army," quoted by your correspondent, together with the marginal note saying that "at Orhany

the Rumanian soldiers fled at the firing of a single rifle," would seem to imply that Rumanian soldiers are cowards. If this is the intention, it would be a mean insult to the memory of those many thousands of Rumanian soldiers who, in 1878, lost their lives at Plevna, in Bulgaria, fighting against the Turks for the freedom of your correspondent's country. The memory of those Rumanian dead, buried in Bulgarian soil, ought to be sacred to all, especially to the Bulgarian. Hatred has never been a good adviser.

340 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, Dec. 12, 1921.

THE CENTENARY OF AMPERE

THE centenary of the memorable discoveries of the French physicist, André Marie Ampère (born 1775—died 1836), was celebrated at the Sorbonne in Paris on Nov. 25, 1921. Before President Millerand, M. Le Trocquer, Minister of Public works; M. Paul Appell, rector of the University of Paris, and a large assemblage of the most eminent scientific men of France, an address of eulogy of the great exponent of the

science of electrodynamics was delivered by M. Daniel Berthelot. Other addresses were delivered, notably by M. Appell, who said in part:

It is fitting that our country, lover of truth and humanity, should celebrate men such as Ampère, who have created a whole new world in the field of science, who have opened a new era in the development of humanity, and whose glory contributes to the prestige of France among the civilized nations of the earth.

THE NEW DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE

BY RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Procter Fellow of Politics, Graduate College, Princeton University

A comparative study of four new Constitutions of European States, revealing a significant effort to avoid faults of the American system—Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia

A SHORT time ago the President of a great American university declared publicly that the United States had contributed a form of government to the world which every European nation—wearied with continental inventions—would soon be forced to adopt; but little will be found in the Constitutions adopted by European countries since the war to justify this patriotic prophecy. Although Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have adopted Constitutions, none of them follows the American type of Presidential government.

It is true that three out of the four nations to adopt new governments have provided themselves with a President. In Germany he is elected by the people; in Poland and Czechoslovakia by legislative bodies. The type, however, is not American, but French. None of these Chief Executives possesses the vast powers of President Harding; on the contrary, they exercise little more authority than Alexandre Millerand of France. Ministers must countersign the acts of these Presidents and of the King in Yugoslavia. The Ministers, in turn, are responsible to the legislative body, which may at any time drive them out of office by an adverse vote. The President or the King, therefore, can do nothing without the assent of a Cabinet intimately controlled by a Parliament which represents the people. The legislative power supervises the execution of laws as a board of

directors controls the management of a corporation.

These new Constitutions are democratic not only because they assure the constant control of the Government by popular means, but also because they provide for the widest possible suffrage. In Germany every man and woman over the age of 20 may vote. In Poland and Yugoslavia the age is 21. In Czechoslovakia every citizen may vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies at the age of 21 and for the Senate at the age of 26. In all these countries, with the possible exception of Yugoslavia, women are given the right to vote. In all provision is made for the representation of minorities, or proportional representation.

"GROUP" REPRESENTATION

Guild Socialists and others who advocate that geographic representation be displaced by the representation of interests, or "functions," will find little to encourage them in these new Constitutions. All four Governments have retained the geographic district as the basis of representation, and have not adopted that of the trade union, professional group, or Chamber of Commerce. None of these Governments has provided itself with a legislative body composed of industrial interests per se. The German National Council is composed of representatives of States; the Polish Senate, of Voyevodships, or local self-

governing districts; the Czech Senate, of the same constituencies as the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate having only one-half the number of members possessed by the lower house.

An effort was made in the German Constituent Assembly to secure the adoption of a professional Parliament (*Kammer der Arbeit*), composed of representatives of producers, whether employers or employed. This Parliament was to constitute a second chamber, sitting side by side with a political chamber. It was proposed to give it power to veto all legislation, whatever its nature, passed by the political assembly. Its veto could be overcome only by the passage by the political Parliament of the measure under discussion in three successive years. The professional Parliament was to have power to invoke the referendum against a law thus passed by the political Parliament; it was also competent to initiate legislation of a purely economic character.

The advocates of this professional second chamber were not strong enough, however, to overcome the objections raised against it. As a result, the theory of functional representation was recognized only partially by the creation of a National Economic Council, composed of representatives of employers and workers. But the powers of this body are largely advisory. The Government must submit to this council draft laws of an economic nature. The council has the right itself to propose such laws, and even to introduce them to the Reichstag against the will of the Government. But the council is given no legislative power.

The Polish Constitution also provides for a system of "economic self-government for the individual fields of economic life." A Supreme Economic Council, composed of representatives of the Chambers of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, &c., and of labor organizations, in co-operation with the Government authorities, is to direct the economic life of the country, as limited by law. Provision for an Economic Council is also made

in the Constitution of Yugoslavia. These functional bodies fall far short of the ideal of this type of reformers. Doubtless the objections to a Government of interests are well founded, as even such a critic of our present system as Graham Wallas, in "Our Social Heritage," has been forced to point out. Yet it is to be regretted that none of the new Governments of Europe—with the exception, possibly, of Soviet Russia—has attempted to try the experiment. The value and the shortcomings of such an innovation cannot be determined by reason alone. Experience is a better teacher than logic.

LOWER HOUSE RULE

In fact, the whole idea of a second chamber, equal in strength to the lower body, has found little favor in the countries which have adopted new forms of government. Yugoslavia goes to the extent of making no constitutional provision for a Senate at all. In each of the other three Governments, in Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, though provision is made for a Senate, this body does not represent social or material privilege, but geographic divisions, such as the State of Voevodship. Neither does it possess the same legislative power as the lower chamber.

According to the Constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Senate may introduce legislation equally with the Chamber, except in the case of army and budget bills. But by a three-fifths majority the Chamber may pass legislation of which the Senate does not approve. In Poland every bill passed by the Sejm (or lower house) must be submitted to the Senate for consideration. If within thirty days the Senate offers no objection to the bill, it becomes law. If it amends the bill, it is returned to the Sejm. The Constitution is silent in regard to cases where the Sejm refuses to accept the amendments of the Senate, but it is implied that the Sejm's decision in such a case is supreme. In Germany,

the National Council (Reichsrat) has the right to veto laws passed by the lower house (Reichstag). If the latter body refuses to acquiesce, the President of the republic within three months may refer the bill to a referendum, by which the people will decide on the adoption of the disputed legislation. But if the President does not order such a referendum, and if the Reichstag overrides the protest of the National Council by a two-thirds majority, the bill becomes law.

The use of the referendum itself in the German Constitution is another democratic provision. It may be used to recall the President before the expiration of his seven-year term of office. It may be invoked in such a case by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag. Also the President may refer any law passed by the Reichstag to the people within one month. Furthermore, a referendum may be invoked if one-tenth of the qualified voters petition for the enactment of a specified law. However, if the Reichstag enacts the law desired, the referendum does not take place. Finally, in cases of deadlocks between the National Council and the Reichstag, the President may order the issue referred to the people. The referendum is also authorized in the Czechoslovak Constitution.

The referendum is an advance over the special election which is supposed to occur under a parliamentary government to decide an issue between the Prime Minister and the Legislative Assembly. In the case of a special election a thousand considerations will lead a voter to cast his lot for or against the Government in power—he may even lose sight of the issue upon which the election is held. But in the case of the referendum, the voter has only to pass on the merits of the particular issue. Consequently, the popular will is more intelligently determined, and Parliament does not run the risk of being unseated. At the same time there is no danger that a Ministry opposed to the majority in the Reichstag will be maintained in power, for the Constitution declares

that the Chancellor and other Ministers must resign as soon as the Reichstag—and not the Federal Council—withholds its confidence.

STANDING COMMITTEES

The theory of popular control, under a parliamentary form of government, is usually contradicted by the complete freedom of a Ministry when Parliament is not in session. For example, in France Parliament cannot be in session more than five months out of the year if the President wishes to dissolve it. During the intervals, the Government Ministers carry on the activities of government subject to no parliamentary supervision. To overcome this defect, three new Constitutions have adopted a device of far-reaching importance. This is the standing parliamentary committee, which continues in session when Parliament is adjourned, to survey the activities of the Government. In Czechoslovakia, this committee is known as the Committee of Twenty-four, composed of sixteen members chosen by the Chamber of Deputies and eight by the Senate, from their own membership. This committee has power to act on all matters of immediate urgency. It is competent to deal with all matters falling within the legislative and administrative powers of Parliament, except electing the President, amending the Constitution, levying permanent taxes or increasing military duties, and declaring war.

In Germany a provision is also made for a similar permanent committee, known as the Committee for Outside Affairs. Its activity is to be carried on "outside of the session and after the close of the election period until the reconvention of the new Reichstag."

The problem of racial minorities in these new States carved out of a Balkanized Europe has been difficult to solve. The Allies forced minority treaties on most of these States, guaranteeing a certain number of civil rights to minorities who otherwise would probably be oppressed.

But it is natural to believe that the most effective way of giving minorities a share in government and keeping them content would be by a Federal system of government in which local units would be sovereign in matters of local interest. But, very strangely, neither Poland, nor Czechoslovakia nor Yugoslavia has adopted the Federal form of government. In fact, the legislative powers of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have been suppressed by the Constitution of Czechoslovakia. Special laws, however, will organize local self-governing bodies.

MEASURE OF DECENTRALIZATION

All these States are attempting to avoid the evils of an over-centralized "unitary" Government, not by Federalism, but by the system of decentralization. Poland is divided up into *Voyevodships*, districts, and urban and rural communes. Each of these units may elect a council, and administration is placed in the hands of locally elected boards upon which representatives of the Central Government also sit. Through Superior Self-Government boards, the central authorities supervise all local activities.

In Yugoslavia a very strong minority favored a Federal type of government. This would have permitted the entrance of Bulgaria, who asked such a union; but that idea was defeated. Instead, an elaborate system of regionalism was devised. These regions are to be defined by law according to economic and geographic delimitations. A region cannot contain more than 800,000 inhabitants. A High Governor (*Joupan*), appointed by the King, is placed at the head of each region and administers its affairs. At the same time a Regional Assembly is to have jurisdiction over such subjects as the finances, budget, public works, economic development, public health, social welfare and communication systems of the region. The High Governor has the right to veto any decision of the self-governing bodies which do

not accord with the Constitution or national laws. His veto is subject to review by the Council of State, the supreme administrative tribunal of the kingdom. By such a system, long advocated in France, the advantages of self-government may possibly be reconciled with the necessity of national unity—which is of supreme importance to these new nations because of disruptive racial elements within and bitterly hostile foes without.

Likewise in Germany, federalism is giving way to a more unified State. The Imperial German Empire was marked by the hegemony of Prussia, which provided the Emperor with a King and Chancellor, and which controlled seventeen out of the fifty-eight votes in the Bundesrat, or Federal Council—a number sufficient to defeat any constitutional amendment or any law in regard to the army, navy, or taxation. However, Bismarck realized the great difficulty of uniting States which differed so widely in interests as did Prussia and Bavaria. Consequently, he purchased the acquiescence of the twenty-four other States of the Federation by leaving to them many powers of government which in other federalisms are vested in the central authorities. The Federal Government was one strictly of delegated powers. Even the execution of Federal laws was left, for the most part, in the hands of State officers, an experiment which was tried in America under the Articles of Confederation, and which ignominiously failed. Furthermore, the German States were permitted to maintain their own army contingents, as well as diplomatic legations abroad. Prussian hegemony and State localism were the earmarks of the old empire.

PRUSSIA'S LOSS OF POWER

All this has now been changed. First, Prussia has lost, or soon will lose, its former influence. Professor Schucking declared recently in the National Assembly that "until 1867 Prussia has been against the empire;

from 1867 to 1918 Prussia has been above the empire; henceforth the empire must be above Prussia." The new German Constitution paves the way toward this end, first, by permitting the territorial dismemberment of Prussia. The boundary of any State may now be modified by a simple Government law. In case Prussia or any other State objects to the loss of part of its territory, the Reichstag may even then disregard its wishes, provided at least a majority of the total number of voters in the territory in question votes to join another State. By virtue of this authority, seven of the republics of Central Germany have united to form the new State of Thuringia, while Coburg has voted to join Bavaria. It is entirely possible that in the future Prussia also may lose part of its territory by such a means.

Prussia has also lost in power because the Emperor of Germany, who was Emperor of Prussia, has been dethroned; and because the great powers of the old Bundesrat, or Federal Council, which Prussia controlled, have been destroyed. Consequently, Germany has become, and in the future is likely still more to become, a nation representing the whole German people. But at the same time Prussia will long exercise a legitimate preponderance over the republic, inasmuch as four-sevenths of the total population of Germany is within her borders.

As for destroying localism generally, the German Constitution has also done much. The army has been placed under more strict Federal control. The Federal Government has secured the right to administer State railways, posts and telegraphs. In April, 1920, the Government bought up the State roads and placed them under Federal control. It has also obtained control over State finances, for the States now must live virtually on subsidies from Berlin. The administration of Federal laws is still vested generally in State officials, but in cases where the Federal Government has the exclusive right of legis-

lation it may provide for the execution of its laws by Federal agents. There can be no question of secession, because the Constitution declares that Government law transcends State law, and that if a State does not carry out the duties laid down by the Constitution or laws, "the President of the republic may hold it to such fulfillment with the aid of armed power."

JUDICIAL AND OTHER FEATURES

Of the other features of these Constitutions deserving of notice, one of the most important is the provision for administrative courts. These courts, which try cases in which State authorities are alleged to have overstepped their power, are established in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia.

Social legislation, especially in regard to agrarian reform, constitutes a considerable part of the Constitutions of Jugoslavia and Germany. Provisions of this nature were not to be found in the old Constitutions, which, for the most part, limited themselves to questions of political rather than social science.

Religion has also proved in some States a difficult problem to solve. Only one of these States has set up an official religion. In Poland, Roman Catholicism occupies "the chief position among enfranchised religions"; but religious freedom is guaranteed within the limits of public order and morality. While only one State has thus set up a State religion, two States have disestablished such a relationship. In Germany no State Church is recognized, but religious organizations are given complete independence in administering their affairs. They also have the right to tax their members. The former obligation of the Government to share in the expenses of the established Church is no longer recognized. (Likewise in Russia the Church has been officially separated from the State.)

In Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, both Greek Orthodox and Roman

Catholic members are found in large numbers. A State Church was therefore impossible. In Yugoslavia the Constitution provides for religious liberty. Faiths obliged to communicate with a religious head outside of the State are permitted to do so, subject to the limitations of law. The Constitution does not prevent the financial support of religions by the State, but it does say that in case such support is given, it must be divided between the different recognized faiths according to the number of their members and needs. In Czechoslovakia the Constitution provides for the equality of all religions before the law and for religious freedom. No one can be compelled to participate in a religious ceremony.

Such are the outstanding features of the new Constitutions of Europe. They are the product of an earnest effort to provide these countries with

a form of government that will embody the best in political thought and that will reflect the popular will. None of these new Constitutions follows the American system of government. This should indeed be a subject of concern, because the rejection of the presidential type must be due to some deep-laid objections to the manner in which it operates. In formulating their own systems, the new democracies of Europe have called attention unconsciously to the defects of our Federal system: the inefficiency and irresponsibility of those who enforce the law; the deadlocks between executive and legislative power; the overshadowing influence of the Senate. These characteristics deserve the serious attention of every American who does not wish his country to lag behind the nations of Europe in providing itself with a system of government worthy of the people it is designed to represent.

FRANCE AND THE ARMENIANS

To the Editor of Current History:

Apart from the treaty recently concluded between the French Government and the Turkish Nationalists, and the consequent withdrawal of the French army of occupation from Cilicia, Premier Briand, in a letter addressed to the President of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris, states that Armenians fleeing from Cilicia are given permission by the French to take refuge temporarily in Syria, the British having refused to admit them into Palestine, Egypt, or Cyprus.

This the Premier cites as evidence of French generosity. Ostensibly he ignores the fact that this same Franco-Turkish Treaty, made in violation of the inter-allied agreement, left the Armenians no

alternative between subjection to their ancient persecutors (which meant probable annihilation) and flight from their homeland.

Cable messages from Cilicia state that the passport stations are surrounded by immense crowds of Armenian men, women and children. These refugees have either abandoned their property or sold it for a song, and are waiting in the open, day after day, in the hope of securing permission to leave. The scenes of panic and misery recall the tragic days during the deportations of 1915.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF
AMERICA.

401 Old South Building, Boston, Mass., Jan. 3,
1922.

BULGARIA'S TREACHERY

BY CAPTAIN G. GORDON-SMITH

To the Editor of Current History:

In addition to those contributors in preceding numbers of CURRENT HISTORY, Bulgaria, in your issue of December last, is fortunate enough to find no fewer than three more defenders. These writers persist in denying Bulgaria's treachery, both in 1913 and 1915. One of them declares that in 1915 "Bulgaria was a free and independent State, free to act as she chose." This is an argument which nobody can gainsay, provided always that Bulgaria is willing to abide by the consequences of her choice. What is irritating is that, having taken the German side and opposed the Allies and the United States, she expects that, because she was beaten, a sponge will be passed over the slate and that we will forget and forgive. She should remember that the first condition of the absolution of sins is sincere repentance.

Of this repentance I can discover no trace. On the contrary, all that one finds is a denial of guilt. Bulgaria tries to pose as a victim, not a criminal. One of your Bulgarian contributors declares that in 1913 "Bulgaria was at war with her former allies, trying to make them observe the sanctity of their treaties." When one reads such a statement in connection with Bulgaria one asks one's self if one is dreaming.

I know nothing more extraordinary in the domain of history than the continual attempts made by Bulgarian writers to deny the treachery of that State, both in 1913 and 1915. If any doubt whatever existed as to the guilt of Bulgarian statesmen, this denial might be comprehensible. But as this can be proved up to the hilt by means of official documents, most of them Bulgarian, these continual denials by Bulgarian contributors make it almost a duty to lay at least the list of these documents before its readers and once for all destroy the legend of Bulgaria's innocence.

As it is impossible in the short space at my disposal to cite these documents in extenso, I will have to give them in the shortest possible summary and indicate their source, so that any students interested

in this phase of European history can consult the documents themselves.

The point of departure is naturally the treaties of friendship and alliance entered into between the Balkan States. That between Serbia and Bulgaria was signed at Sofia on Feb. 29, 1912, and was completed by a secret annexe, signed the same day, a military convention (signed at Varna, June 19, 1912,) and two agreements between the General Staffs (signed at Sofia, Sept. 15, 1912).

The first mentioned treaty and secret annexe provided for the division of the Turkish territory captured in case of victory. It further provided that in case of disagreement *both powers would accept the arbitration of the Czar of Russia.*

A second treaty, in similar terms, was signed at Sofia on May 12, 1912, by Bulgaria and Greece and completed by a military convention signed at Sofia Sept. 22, 1912.

After the victory over Turkey, Bulgaria began putting forward exaggerated claims to territory. They were resisted by Serbia and Greece and these Governments, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, proposed that the controversy be submitted to the Czar for his arbitration. Reports of this attitude on the part of Bulgaria reached Petrograd and led M. Sazonoff to address a stern warning to Bulgaria, informing her that *she could not count on the aid or sympathy of Russia if she failed to keep her treaty engagements.* (Dispatch dated Petrograd, April 28, 1913. "Collection of Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 155, pp. 107 and 108.)

That there was good reason for this warning is proved by the fact that on April 4, 1913, a Bulgarian Ministerial Council had determined *to negotiate secretly with Turkey for a separate peace and, leaving in Thrace only the effectives strictly necessary for its defense, to attack, with the rest of the army, their Serbian and Greek allies.* ("The Truth About the Catastrophe," by General Savoff, Bulgarian Commander in

Chief, published in the *Dnevnik*, No. 4219, June 12, 1914.)

On April 21, 1913, a telegram was sent by M. Guechkoff, the Premier, to General Savoff, asking how long it would take to concentrate the Bulgarian armies against Serbia and Greece. (Telegram No. 974, in Bulgarian Foreign Office Archives.) The reply by General Savoff (April 23) indicated that from twenty-five to thirty-five days were necessary. (Telegram No. 3779.)

That this idea of a treacherous attack on Serbia and Greece had long been germinating in the Bulgarian mind is proved by a letter from General Savoff, dated as far back as March 8 and addressed to King Ferdinand, in which Savoff openly advocated a secret peace with Turkey and an attack on Serbia and Greece. ("Diary of General Savoff," published by the *Dnevnik* (No. 4219), June 12, 1914.)

The King replied by telegraph the same day, promising to take up the question of an attack on Greece and Serbia, but only after the capture of Adrianople, for which the Bulgarians had need of the support of the Serbian heavy artillery.

The ever-growing anxiety as to Bulgaria's attitude led the Russian Government to propose a general demobilization of the armies of the Balkan States. To this M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, at once consented. (Dispatch from M. Hartwig, Russian Minister at Belgrade. See "Collection of Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 149, p. 103.)

Though pretending to the Russian Government that it was ready to accept the proposal of demobilization, the Bulgarian Government really opposed it. (Decision of a Ministerial Council held on Easter Tuesday, April 29, 1913.) This council was attended by Generals Savoff and Fitcheff. On May 3, 1913, M. Hartwig, Russian Minister in Belgrade, telegraphed his Government that M. Pashitch greatly prized the alliance with Bulgaria and had assured him that *Serbia was ready to undertake a friendly revision of the treaty.* ("Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 163, pp. 113 and 114.)

On May 18 a telegram was sent by General Savoff advocating an immediate attack on the Serbian and Greek armies. The

following day General Savoff sent another telegram to M. Guechkoff. Its text, quoted from the "Diary of General Savoff," *Dnevnik*, No. 4223, June 15, 1914, is as follows:

War with the Serbs and Greeks is inevitable.

Any concessions made to our enfeebled allies would excite great discontent in the ranks of our army, and nothing could stifle it. On the other hand is the question of the future of our country. One asks one's self, who will have the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula? The moment has come to profit by the advantages with which our allies themselves have furnished us in this struggle, and to concentrate on it all our efforts. A victorious war will settle definitely the question of the hegemony in our favor. A year or two from now it will be too late; Europe itself would oppose it. This is why, in my opinion, we ought to make use of all the ruses and all the means at our disposal to arrive at an armed conflict with our allies, while at the same time disclaiming all responsibility for it. When we will have inflicted a decisive defeat on them we will remove all possibility on the part of our enemies of creating in the future obstacles to the realization of our national ideal. According to my idea, we would commit an irreparable error if we let slip the favorable opportunity we now have.

According to information which I possess regarding our future operations, in four days at the most the Greeks will find themselves under the necessity of breaking with the Serbs and asking for a separate peace in order to escape defeat. Then our whole effort can be directed against Serbia. The Serbian Army could not at any point resist a sudden attack by our powerful columns.

(Signed) Lieutenant General SAVOFF.
Adrianople, May 19, 1913.

On May 29 General Savoff declared that he required thirty days to prepare the attack on Serbia and Greece, and that "he counted on Bulgarian diplomacy to gain him this breathing space," so that he might prepare this treacherous attack on Bulgaria's allies.

When the critical moment came M. Guechkoff's courage failed him and he resigned. M. Daneff became Premier. Events now began to move rapidly. On June 26 and June 27 urgent orders were telegraphed to the commanders of the various Bulgarian armies to attack Bulgaria's allies all along the line at midnight on the night of June 29, 1913. The attack was made with full force, and the Greeks and Serbians, being taken completely by surprise by this

act of treachery, were hurled back to a great distance from the position they held.

Boiling with indignation at this treacherous attack, the Serbs and Greeks counter-attacked in their turn and with such success that they completely routed the Bulgarians. Then Rumania intervened and marched on Sofia, while Turkey "came back" in her turn and recaptured Adrianople. Bulgaria was then, as the result of

her treachery, forced to sign the Treaty of Bucharest.

Such is the story of Bulgaria's treason as told in Bulgarian, Russian and Serbian State documents. I think it forever disposes of Bulgaria's claim that she was attacked in 1913 by her allies without due cause.

The Chateau-Thierry, Twentieth and S Streets, Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1921.

MONTENEGRO'S UNION WITH SERBIA

By V. P. BOURITCH

To the Editor of Current History:

I note that a correspondent in your December issue serves up afresh the old legend that the Montenegrins were "subdued by the tyrannical Yugoslav Government."

The union of Montenegro with Yugoslavia was the free act of the people. Immediately after the armistice the elections for the Grand National Assembly took place in Montenegro. The Assembly was summoned at Podgoritzta on Nov. 26, 1918. On that memorable date the people of Montenegro unanimously proclaimed the union with Serbia, and, incidentally, with the other Yugoslav provinces. Ex-King Nicholas and his dynasty were deposed and accused of having betrayed and delivered the people and the army to the enemy. These elections compare favorably with any previous voting under the reign of Nicholas, whose specialty in "faking" every election held in Montenegro before the war is well known to all acquainted with that country. This is confirmed by the report of an Inter-allied Commission under Generals Franchet d'Esprey and Bridges.

The suggestion that the electors were intimidated by the Serbian army of occupation is a mere invention. The forces which, after the armistice, advanced into Montenegro consisted, in addition to some French detachments, of about 2,000 Yugoslav volunteers from America. When the dissolution of the Austrian Army set in the Montenegrin population lost no time in arming itself to the teeth. Since then it has remained armed, and if the Montenegrins were opposed to unity with Serbia, or if they took up this attitude today, the few battalions

of Serbian soldiers would not be able to remain in Montenegro for twenty-four hours; still less would they be able to exercise any pressure on the population. But the fact is that the former high command and senior officers in Montenegro, including a brother and a cousin of the Queen of Montenegro, have without pressure accepted the fusion of Montenegro in Yugoslavia. The same applies to all the administrative officials and the whole people.

Nicholas's hopes were crushed by the results of the elections for the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia, which were held in Montenegro on Nov. 28, 1920. These elections proved disastrous for the ex-King. The Montenegrins showed once more that they were firm for the union. Out of 37,000 electors, more than 27,000 voted. Ten Deputies were elected, of whom four are Communists, two Democrats, two Republicans, one Radical and one Independent. The ex-King's party is not represented. The British Government has its own evidence that the people of Montenegro freely expressed their wishes, as British officials were present during the elections. And the fact that the French Government has recalled its diplomatic and consular representatives shows plainly that France was more than satisfied with the result.

As regards the charges of atrocities committed by Serbian soldiers, these were investigated by the British Government, and the Foreign Office issued a report that the stories were the work of partisans of the ex-King and were "sheer inventions."

1519 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., Jan. 5, 1922.

MACEDONIA AND THE GREEKS

BY CONSTANTINE D. KOJOUHAROFF

Member of the Bulgarian National Historical and Geographical Societies

To the Editor of Current History:

The stand taken by certain pro-Greek contributors to your magazine does not correspond with the facts of the Macedonian question. These facts may be summarized as follows:

1. Ethnically, Macedonia, in its geographical limits, is not a Greek, but a Bulgarian, province. The Greeks form an insignificant minority, which holds third place among the ethnic groups, and consists mainly of "Greekomans" recruited through threats and force by Greek propaganda and the Greek Patriarchate. Greek aspirations to Macedonia are based purely on a policy of conquest. The Greeks have always desired the partition of Macedonia, and opposed autonomy or the principle of self-determination. Greek terror-rule in Macedonia—inhuman persecution of the population—has forced large numbers to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and this was the object sought by the Greeks. Confirmation of these statements will be found in H. N. Brailford's book, "Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future," pp. 114, 198, 130, 197, 199, and *passim*; in de Lavelly's "Balkan Peninsula"; in the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan Wars (1913, p. 13); in Pouquerville's "Voyage dans la Grèce," p. 346; in the *Courrier d'Orient*, Constantinople, 1878; in the *Paris Temps* (No. 15950), and in Lebedev's "Souvenirs d'un Volontaire Russe." Only lack of space prevents me from citing other confirmations, including my own personal experience, of the truth of the propositions above laid down.

The Greeks, in a systematic manner, continue to present the Macedonian question to the world in a light favorable to their imperialism. The Greek dread of revision in respect to the settlements of Macedonia and Thrace has forced the Greeks to send a delegation to Washington, headed by Mr. Cassavetes, to be on the ground when the Bulgarian Premier arrives, and has led them to represent the Macedonians to the American public as a flock of sheep without national consciousness.

There was a time when Greece was

modest in her pretensions. After the first Balkan war (1912), Venizelos expressed the desire to reach an understanding with Bulgaria against Serbia, by which Greece was to obtain Saloniki with a small hinterland large enough to protect the city from artillery. The Bulgarian Government declined to consider the proposition and Venizelos concluded a treaty with Serbia against Bulgaria, providing for the partition of Macedonia. In Bucharest (1913), during the peace negotiations after the Balkan War, Venizelos declared that he himself was opposed to Greek annexation of Seres, Drama and Cavalla, but that King Constantine, through the Kaiser, insisted upon their annexation.

At the Paris Conference, Venizelos had changed his policy, and, in placing Greece under British influence, as a tool of the latter in the Balkans, he gained for Greece nearly all of Thrace; but he did not have the courage to state that Greece had any legitimate claim to these territories. He expressed himself as follows: "I am already in a position to take Thrace, as Bulgaria is no longer dangerous."

Greece has always been associated with a policy of conquest far exceeding her strength, and her difficult situation today is the result of an imperialistic program, with favorable elementary natural conditions lacking; that program has already ended in failure and disappointment. Natural geographic conditions in Asia Minor foretold Greek failure even before the Treaty of Sèvres had been enforced. More success has attended the Greeks in Macedonia and Thrace, but this does not mean that Greece has permanently acquired these provinces, no matter what extraordinary measures are used to subdue the populations. These populations are bitterly opposed to Greek rule, and, in spite of oppression, will struggle for that autonomy of Macedonia and Thrace which is the legitimate and permanent solution of the Balkan question. Until then, the Balkans will remain a menace to peace in Europe.

1412 Massachusetts Av., Washington, D. C.
Dec. 17, 1921.

INDIA'S MOHAMMEDANS AND TURKEY

BY S. B. DERANIAN

To the Editor of Current History:

In your December issue you published an article entitled "India's Movement Against British Rule," in which the author—a native of India—cited as one of the chief causes of India's hostile spirit to Great Britain the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire by the Allies, and especially by the British, who are now in possession of Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Your contributor condemns British policies in the Near East—that is, in Turkey—with no basic reason. He fails to consider that from the beginning of Turkish rule up to the present, Turkey has been unable to govern herself; that she has not safeguarded the rights of the minorities inhabiting her boundaries for the last 600 years; that she has stood against all modern civilization by force of arms. Why does your correspondent ignore the greatest crime of the war—Turkey's shedding of innocent blood throughout the Turkish Empire, from the coast of the Black Sea to the shores of the Red Sea, from the Strait of Marmora to the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers? The British Indian soldiers themselves, as they fought gallantly on the battlefields of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria with the victorious British armies, witnessed these massacres and their results. Does the world wish to leave the unprotected Christian minorities in the power of these Turkish brutes?

I do not question the good faith of the Mohammedans of India, but I regret to say that their judgment seems to have been warped by their sympathy for their co-religionists in Turkey. This bias makes

them blind to the bloody deeds of Abdul Hamid in 1895 and to the bloody persecutions of the Christians in 1908 and 1914 by Abdul's followers, Hamal, Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha. Nor do they properly weigh the certainty that, once the Turks have triumphed over the defenseless Christians, the last remnants of the Christian race in Turkey will be butchered in cold blood. This makes it clear that the Christian world of the West must refuse all moral support to the Turkish cause.

Your contributor describes the origin of the Caliphate, and its qualifications to control the three former Turkish provinces, namely, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, now under the joint control of Great Britain and France. How can such qualifications be attributed to a power whose main aim and ambition has been to loot and massacre? History shows plainly that Babylon and Damascus made no progress under the retrogressive Turkish rule. Turkey always stood as a barrier against utilizing the natural resources of the empire under modern methods. Instead of serving the empire, she turned it into a shambles, committing crimes of every description on innocent men, women and children who were her subjects. It was in consequence of the continuance of these conditions and the discontent of the provinces mentioned that Great Britain, acting under the clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres, occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine, in order to give an opportunity to the unfortunate inhabitants to regain their rights as human beings, which the Turks had so long denied them, and for which they had so long and so vainly striven.

Boston University, Dec. 28, 1921.

WHAT THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS MEAN TO CHINA

Thomas F. Millard's presentation of the official text of a famous document side by side with a paraphrase that shows how the treaty might read if it had been forced upon the United States instead of upon China

THE Japanese delegates at the arms conference have repeatedly stated that the policy of Japan is in no sense threatening to China, and is not conceived in a spirit of aggression upon the territorial integrity and political autonomy of China. How nearly do the famous "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915 square with that statement? These demands have never been withdrawn; they are still an index to Japan's real attitude. In order to make their meaning clear to American readers, Thomas F. Millard, former editor of Millard's Review, Shanghai, has paraphrased each article as it might read if Japan had forced it upon the United States instead of upon China. This startling paraphrase, side by side with the official text of the Twenty-one Demands, is published in pamphlet form by the Weekly Review of the Far East, an American owned and edited magazine issued at Shanghai in behalf of the economic, political and social development of China.

When the war broke out in 1914 the Japanese military forces—against China's protest—occupied the territory of the German leasehold on Kiao-Chau Bay, in Shantung Province, and extended their control over almost the whole area of the province. This was the situation when, on Jan. 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister at Peking, acting under instructions from his Government, privately presented to the Chinese Government a series of proposals in five groups and twenty-one articles. The text of these famous demands, in the official English translation made by the Chinese Government and confirmed officially in various ways, is given herewith in the left-hand column, headed "The Real Demands." In the right-hand column Mr. Millard has adopted a simple device for making the true meaning plain to American readers; he has paraphrased each article, translating it into terms of American life corresponding with those of China. The two versions follow:

THE REAL DEMANDS.

I.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung.

ARTICLE 2. The Chinese Government engages that within the Province of Shantung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE 3. The Chinese Government consents to Japan building a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow (in Shantung), to join the Kla-Chau-Tsingtau Railway.

THE DEMANDS PARAPHRASED.

I.

The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States of America, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in the Pacific Ocean and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The Government of the United States of America engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and property which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the State of California.

ARTICLE 2. The American Government engages that within the State of California and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE 3. The American Government consents to Japan building a railway from a port in California to be selected by Japan to join the Southern Pacific Railway System.

ARTICLE 4. The Chinese Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by herself as soon as possible certain important cities and towns in the Province of Shantung as commercial ports. What places shall be opened is to be jointly decided (by Japan and China) in a separate agreement.

II.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, since the Chinese Government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of the lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the term of the lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese subjects in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ARTICLE 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and to engage in business of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE 4. The American Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open, as soon as possible, certain important cities and towns in the State of California as commercial ports. What places shall be opened is to be decided in a separate agreement.

II.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, since the American Government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in Alaska and in the States of Oregon and Washington, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of the lease to Japan of the Port of Seattle and of the Alaskan and Northern Pacific Railways shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese subjects in the States of Oregon and Washington, and Alaska, shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ARTICLE 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in the States of Oregon and Washington, and Alaska, and to engage in business of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE 4. The Chinese Government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of opening the mines in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. As regards what mines shall be opened, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ARTICLE 5. The Chinese Government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases mentioned herein below the Japanese Government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third power to build a railway or to make a loan with a third power for the purpose of building a railway in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be made with a third power pledging the local taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as security.

ARTICLE 6. The Chinese Government agrees that if the Chinese Government employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The Chinese Government agrees that control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese Government for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

ARTICLE 4. The American Government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of exploitation of the mineral resources in the States of Oregon and Washington and Alaska. As regards what resources shall be exploited, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ARTICLE 5. The American Government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases herein below mentioned the Japanese Government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third power to build a railway or to make an international loan for the purpose of building a railway in the States of Oregon and Washington, and in Alaska.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be issued for international subscription pledging the local taxes of the States of Oregon and Washington, or Alaska, as security.

ARTICLE 6. The American Government agrees that if the American Government employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in Oregon, Washington, or Alaska, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The American Government agrees that control and management of the Oregon Short Line Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese Government for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

III.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the Hanyehping Company have close relations with each other at present and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Hanyehping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations and they further agree that without the previous consent of Japan, China shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said company nor cause the said company to dispose freely of same.

ARTICLE 2. The Chinese Government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the Hanyehping company shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said company, to be worked by other persons outside of the said company; and further agrees that if it is desired to carry out *any undertaking* which, it is apprehended, *may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said company, the consent of the said company shall first be obtained.*

III.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries have close relations with each other at present, and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries shall be made a joint concern of the two nations and they further agree that without the previous consent of Japan the American Government shall not by its own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said corporation and its associated industries, nor permit the said corporation to dispose freely of same.

ARTICLE 2. The American Government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said corporation, to be worked by other persons outside of the said corporation; and the American Government further agrees that if it is desired to carry out any undertaking which, it is apprehended, may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said corporation, the consent of the said corporation shall first be obtained.

IV.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China, agree to the following special article:

The Chinese Government engages not to cede or to lease to a third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China.

V.

ARTICLE 1. The Chinese Central Government *shall* employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

ARTICLE 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese to settle, cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese, or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese police service.

IV.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of the United States, agree to the following special article:

The American Government engages not to cede or to lease to a third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of the United States.

V.

ARTICLE 1. The American Government at Washington, D. C., *shall* employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the United States shall be granted the right of owning land.

ARTICLE 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the American Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Americans (in America) to settle, cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important cities in America shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Americans, or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese so that they may help to plan for the improvement of the American police service.

ARTICLE 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the Chinese Government, or there shall be established in China a Chino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material is to be used.

ARTICLE 5. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, and another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another line between Nanchang and Chaochow.

ARTICLE 4. The United States shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the American Government, or there shall be established in America a Japan-American jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material used.

ARTICLE 5. The American Government agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Chicago with St. Louis and Pittsburgh, and another line between Pittsburgh and Baltimore, and another line between Pittsburgh and Charleston.

ARTICLE 6. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

ARTICLE 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

ARTICLE 6. If the United States needs foreign capital to develop mines, build railways and construct harbors (including dockyards) in the States of Virginia and North Carolina, Japan shall be first consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The American Government agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of Buddhist propaganda in the United States.

These humiliating concessions, with the temporary exception of Group V., China was compelled to sign under pressure of an ultimatum in which Japan demanded "a satisfactory reply" by 6 o'clock P. M., May 9, 1915. Mr. Millard's pamphlet gives the text of the ultimatum, China's official protest at the time of signing, and the American note of protest handed to the Japanese Government a week later.

THE FIRST AIRPLANE FLIGHT

THE eighteenth anniversary of the first airplane flight made by Orville Wright at Kitty Hawk, N. C., was celebrated on Dec. 17, 1921. On the corresponding date in 1903, Wright, in a crude, insecure biplane, attained a speed of thirty miles an hour in a continuous flight of fifty-nine seconds. Continuous flights of more than 175 miles an hour are now of frequent occurrence. In his first statement issued since the war Mr. Wright, at the office of the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, New York, recalled that early attempt. Flying, he pointed out, up to 1903, had been "classed with perpetual motion, and the few who expressed belief in its possibilities were looked upon as mentally unbalanced." Mr. Wright described the difficulties encountered by himself and his brother Wilbur, now deceased, as follows:

The problem was not one to be solved by guesswork. Duechemin, about the middle of the last century, had published a formula for calculating the pressure on planes at different angles. Lilienthal, in the eighties, had published his measurements on several curved sur-

faces, with other valuable scientific work. Langley, in the nineties, published his measurements of plane surfaces, corroborating the earlier work of Duechemin. It was to the work of Lilienthal that my brother and I were by far more deeply indebted. But owing to various defects in the systems of measuring all this work, we found it too inaccurate and too meagre for purposes of design.

In 1901 my brother Wilbur and I, having proved by actual gliding tests the inaccuracy of these tables, began a scientific study of the subject. We designed new types of measuring instruments and made measurements of hundreds of differing wing surfaces in a wind tunnel. It was due to the accuracy of these measurements that we were able, in 1903, to design a new type of biplane, almost entirely from calculation, which was able to lift itself and operator into the air with a crude motor weighing more than twelve pounds per horse power. We had already developed a new system of control, the system with which our name has been so largely connected, but this system of control would have been of little use without our wind-tunnel work, which enabled us to design a machine which would lift itself.

Mr. Wright believes that aviation is still in its infancy, and that the use of the airplane as a carrier will eventually become universal.

THE JUGOSLAV CONSTITUTION

Translated by HOWARD WEBSTER WOLFE,
Instructor in the Charles University, Prague,

AND

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS,
Professor of History and Public Law at Tufts College

Complete text of the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in effect since last June—First English version of one of the most important documents of its kind

THE Yugoslav Constitution went into effect on June 28, 1921, after considerable opposition on the part of those who desired to see a Federal rather than a unitary State constructed from the various fragments of the Serbo-Croat and Slovene peoples, brought together as a result of the World War. This Constitution owes its existence primarily to Premier Pashitch, who led the fight for its adoption, a fight that was successful by a narrow margin, taking into consideration those who refused to vote for it as well as those who voted against it.

The new Yugoslav Constitution owes a great deal to the Serbian Constitution of 1888, which was re-enacted in 1903. In fact, the more one compares the two the less one is inclined to call the latest promulgation a new Constitution at all; it seems to be rather an extension of the old instrument to cover new territory, rather than a totally new instrument for the administration of Government.

The older document provided for representative parliamentary government under, of course, the same Monarch, Peter I. (1903), who was the King upon the passage of the present Constitution. It emphasized, as this does, the parliamentary type of government. There was then, also, but a single chamber in the legislative branch. The provisions in regard to budgetary control, and even for the sessions of the Legislature, resembled those provided for in 1921. In this year again reappears the Court of Accounts, the Council of State, and you find similar provisions for the jury in 1921 as in 1903. The earlier Constitution, like the later, provides for proportional representation in elections and the scrutin de liste.

Still more important it is to note that the great space given to the detailed Bill of Rights in the Yugoslav Constitution goes

back to the many clauses in the Serbian Constitution, which seemed to have caused as much remark then as these same provisions do now. It is worth while here quoting the words of M. Milanovitch:

Those who do not know the constitutional history of Serbia in the past might be astonished by many of the clauses of this Constitution, which appear superfluous or out of date. In its second part, for example, it treats of the constitutional rights of the Serbian citizens. These are not only guaranteed in principle—the public rights of private individuals, such as personal liberty, inviolability of the home, the liberty of the press, &c.—but there is set forth the detail, often including the minutest things; everything that the rights thus guaranteed have as consequences and everything that they exclude and prohibit.

Here M. Milanovitch emphasizes the necessity for such clauses, "owing to the vicissitudes of the constitutional struggle, revolutions and the like."*

In this Yugoslav Constitution Part I. (three sections) provides for a constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy, and designates the name of the State, the coat of arms, the flag and the official language (which is Serbo-Croat-Slovene). Part II. devotes eighteen sections to the rights and duties of citizens, a longer space devoted to these topics than in any other Constitution among the new States. Along with this should be considered Part III., which is composed of social and economic regulations (twenty-three sections), as to the protection of labor, health, marriage, insurance against accident, illness, unemployment, incapacitation, old age and death. The protection and obligations of property rights are provided for, with special attention to the forests, fisheries, &c. Part IV. is given up to brief definitions of the various

* Milanovitch, "The Constitution and Constitutionalism," in Stead's "Serbia by the Servians," London, 1909. Pp. 46-67.

authorities in the State. To the powers of the King are given eleven long sections in Part V., which, however, include the provisions whereby the Government is controlled by the Cabinet. There are also special provisions in regard to the royal family, the possible absence of the King and the appointment of his successor, who shall assume the position of heir to the throne during the lifetime of the King. Following this there are nine sections, Part VI. providing minutely for the working of the regency, under the control of the representatives of the people. Part VII. contains twenty-one provisions for a national Legislature of but one house, chosen by universal suffrage, with representation of the

minorities, and also the regulations in regard to those qualified to vote as well as those qualified to sit in this national Legislature.

Part VIII., composed of nineteen sections, discusses at length the administrative authority and provides for partial control of the Ministry by the courts, as well as by the national Legislature, and also for the division of the country into administrative units, under autonomous officials, as they are called. Provision for the Council of State is contained in six sections, a Council of State which acts as the highest administrative court and has appellate jurisdiction in many cases. These administrative courts are quite in accordance with Continental usage.

The judiciary is treated in Part IX., where, in four sections, arrangements are made for an independent system of courts whose importance in the trial of civil and criminal cases may be great enough, but whose power over the other branches of the Government may be described as practically nil.

A curious arrangement devotes Part X. (six sections) to State Economy, i. e., taxes, budget and general financial control. This is followed by six sections devoted to the army (Part XI.), in which provisions for military courts and for terms of service are particularly noteworthy. In Part XII., arrangements for amending the Constitution according to the French model are given in three sections. The difference between an amendment to the Constitution and ordinary legislation is not very great. Parts XIII. and XIV. provide for the transfer of authority from the old officials and old organization to the new, and for the definite coming into effect of the new Constitution. The emphasis is notable on the supremacy of Serbian procedure in all these arrangements.

The tendency to regard the Constitution as the place to insert all measures or reforms that one feels most concerned about is quite evident. The idea of making the Constitution merely a skeleton on which to hang such arrangements as the Legislature may enact is not followed, therefore, even though constant reference is made to laws by which the provisions of the Constitution shall be supplemented in detail and put into effect.



(Times Wide World Photo)

KING ALEXANDER

New ruler of Jugoslavia, whose engagement to Princess Marie of Rumania has recently been announced

We can sum up the situation by stating that in almost every respect the parliamentary monarchy in Yugoslavia suggests the parliamentary Republic of France. The powers, attributes, actions of the Cabinet, the election and composition and action of the Chamber, multiplicity of parties, the place of administrative law and the Council of State, the interpellations, at all these points and many others we can see clear resemblances to French procedure and regulations. Certainly the sources are French, rather than American, and more essentially French than British, although both Yugoslavia and Great Britain are constitutional parliamentary monarchies.

The Yugoslav document has two significant provisions: No one is obliged to take part in religious acts, celebrations, rites and practices, except on State holidays and celebrations, and in so far as the law enjoins this upon persons who are subject to paternal, guardian's or military authority. Religious leaders may not employ their spiritual authority for partisan aims outside their houses of worship, or beyond prescripts of a religious character, or otherwise in the fulfillment of their official duty.

To those acquainted with Eastern and Southeastern European history, this significance is not lost. Coercion on the one side, interference by ecclesiastics in politics on the other, have been the rule rather than the exception. Probably the attempt by their rulers to iron out religious differences among the Serbo-Croat people was a vital factor in making easy their subjugation by the Turks. Surely much of the ill-feeling today among the Balkan peoples can be traced to Church jealousies and attempted clerical usurpations.

TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The copy of the Yugoslav Constitution which served as the basis for this English translation was given to Arthur I. Andrews, then Professor of American Foreign Policy at Charles University, Prague, by the Premier of Yugoslavia. From it the translation was prepared by Howard Webster Wolfe, a lecturer and instructor at the same Charles University, in collaboration with Professor Andrews. Parentheses (-) have been used to indicate somewhat freer renderings than a literal translation would justify. Words enclosed in brackets [-] are

added to clarify the meaning. The translators, however, have preferred to keep to the literal text as closely as possible. The full translation follows:

PART I.

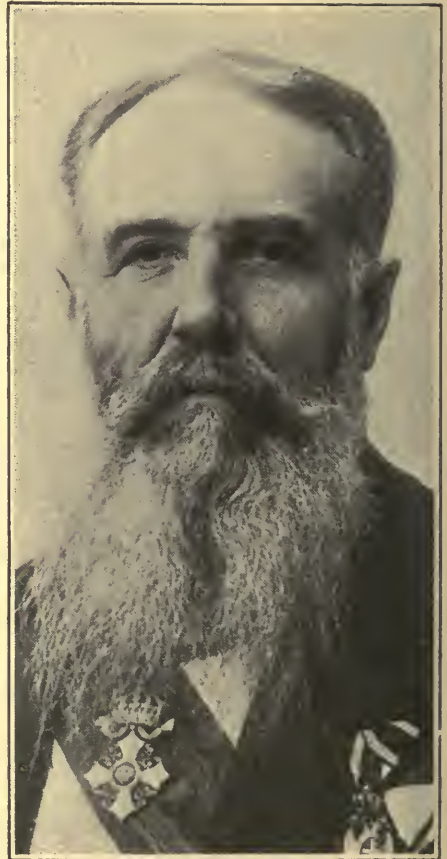
General Provisions

SECTION 1—The State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is a constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy.

The official name of the State is the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

SECTION 2—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom is a double-headed spread eagle in flight, on a red shield. Over both heads of the double-headed spread eagle stands the crown of the kingdom. On the breast of the eagle is a shield on which are the coats-of-arms, Serb—a cross on a red shield with a single firesteel by each bar; Croat—shield with twenty-five fields, alternately red and silver; Slovene—on a blue field three golden six-pointed stars and under this a white half moon.

The State flag is blue, white and red in a horizontal position facing an upright staff.



NICHOLAS PASHITCH

Premier of Yugoslavia, whose work in the Constituent Assembly was largely instrumental in shaping the new Constitution

SECTION 3—The official language of the kingdom is Serb-Croat-Slovene.

PART II.

Basic Rights and Duties of Citizens

SECTION 4—There is one citizenship in the whole kingdom; all citizens are equal before the law. All enjoy the same protection from [State] authority.

There is no recognition of nobility, nor titles, nor pre-eminence of birth.

SECTION 5—Personal freedom is guaranteed.

No one can be called to account, nor be arrested, nor otherwise be deprived of freedom by any one except in cases that the law has prescribed.

No one can be imprisoned for any crime whatsoever without a warrant of competent authority in writing and furnished with reasons. That warrant must be shown to the person arrested, either at the time of the arrest or, if that be impossible, at furthest within a period of twenty-four hours from the time of the arrest. Against this warrant for arrest he has the right to appeal to a competent court within a period of three days. In case there has been no appeal within that time, the investigating body must send the evidence to the court within twenty-four hours. The court is bound to give its decision within a period of two days from the time of receiving the evidence. The court decision is final.

Official authorities who transgress against these statutes shall be punished for illegal deprivation of freedom.

SECTION 6—No one can be tried by an incompetent Judge.

SECTION 7—No one can be condemned until he shall have been summoned by an official lawfully or in legal manner to defend himself.

SECTION 8—Punishment may be fixed only in accordance with the law and can be applied solely to acts for which the said law stated beforehand that they should be punished according to said law.

SECTION 9—Capital punishment cannot be inflicted for merely political crimes.

Excepted are the cases of the commission of or attempt at assassination on the person of the ruler or members of the royal house, for which the death penalty is fixed in criminal law.

Besides this are also excepted acts in which, to purely political culpability there is added some punishable act for which the death penalty is fixed in the criminal law, and such acts also which military law punishes with death penalty.

SECTION 10—No citizen can be banished from the State. He cannot be driven within the country from one place to another, nor be banished to one particular place except in cases which the law has expressly foreseen.

No one can, in any event, be banished from his own native place without judicial action.

SECTION 11—A dwelling is inviolable.

The authorities [the State] may not undertake any investigation or search in the house of a citizen, except in eventualities which the law has foreseen and in the manner which the law has prescribed.

Before the investigation [or search] the au-

thorities are obliged to give to the person whose dwelling is being searched a written warrant for the search, the authorities [stating] on what grounds the investigation is undertaken. Against this warrant he has the right of appeal to a court of first instance. But this appeal does not prevent the carrying out of the search. The search shall be carried out immediately in the presence of two [other] citizens.

Immediately after the completion of a search, the authorities are obliged to give to the person whose house is searched information about the outcome of the search and a signed list of articles taken away for further examination.

At night police officials may enter a private house only in cases of sudden emergency, as when they shall be called on from the house for help. At this act of the authorities there shall be present the President of the municipality or two neighbors summoned.

Officials of state who have acted contrary to these provisions shall be punished for illegal violation of a dwelling.

SECTION 12—Freedom of belief and conscience is guaranteed. The adherents of different confessions are of equal rights before the law and may practice their religion openly.

The enjoyment of civil and political rights is not dependent on confession or belief. No one can be freed from his civil and military duties and obligations by appealing to the tenets of his faith.

Those faiths are permitted which have thus far obtained legal recognition in any part of the kingdom. Other faiths can obtain recognition only in accordance with the law. Accepted and recognized faiths regulate independently their internal religious affairs and control their own institutions and funds within the limits of the law.

No one is obliged to express publicly his religious convictions. No one is obliged to take part in religious acts, celebrations, rites and practices, except on State holidays and celebrations and in so far as the law enjoins this upon persons who are subject to paternal, guardian's or military authority.

Accepted and recognized faiths may maintain relations with their sovereign superiors even outside the borders of the State, in so far as the spiritual precepts of the several confessions demand this. The manner in which these relations shall be maintained shall be regulated by law.

In so far as is foreseen in the State budget for religion, the outlay is to be divided among the several accepted and recognized faiths, according to the number of their adherents and their clearly shown need.

Religious leaders may not employ their spiritual authority for partisan aims outside their houses of worship, or beyond precepts of a religious character, or otherwise in the fulfillment of their official duty.

SECTION 13—The press is free.

There cannot be established any preventive measure which hinders the appearance, sale and circulation of publications and newspapers. Censorship can be established only during time of war or mobilization, and that in a manner previously specified by law. Forbidden is the circulation and sale of newspapers or printed

matter which contains abuse of the ruler or members of the royal house, heads of foreign States, the National Skupshtina, indirect incitement of the citizens to forcible change of the Constitution or laws of the land, or which contains serious offense against public morals. But in these cases the authorities must lay the matter before the court within twenty-four hours of the infringement of the prohibition, and said court must also within twenty-four hours enforce or annul the suppression. In a contrary event, it is considered that the suppression is annulled. The regular courts shall decide about the indemnification for a wrong done, independently of the court decision about the suppression.

For such crime committed by the press are responsible: Author, editor, printer, publisher and circulator. It shall be prescribed by a special law regarding the press when and in what event the persons enumerated above, and in what manner they shall answer for crimes committed by the press. The regular courts shall try all crimes committed by the press.

SECTION 14—Citizens have the right of assembly and discussion. Further stipulations about this, the law shall provide. They may not come into assembly under arms. Assemblies in the open must be announced to competent authorities at least twenty-four hours beforehand.

Citizens have the right to assemble for purposes which are not punishable under the law.

SECTION 15—Citizens have the right of petition. Petitions may be signed by one or more individuals or by all legal persons. Petitions may be presented to all authorities without distinction.

SECTION 16—Science and art are unrestricted and enjoy the protection and support of the State.

University instruction is unrestricted.

Education is a prerogative of the State.

In the whole land education rests on one and the same plan, being adapted to the purpose for which it is intended.

All schools must give moral instruction and develop the civic consciousness in the spirit of national unity and religious toleration.

Public instruction is individual, general, and obligatory.

Religious instruction is given according to the wish of the parents or guardians respectively, divided into groups according to confession and in harmony with their religious principles.

Technical schools shall be opened in accord with the needs of business.

State education is given without enrollment fees, school tuition, or other charges.

In how far there shall exist private schools and schools of the several religious sects and under what arrangements they shall operate shall be established by law.

All institutions for instruction are under State supervision.

The State shall assist the work of national enlightenment.

To minorities of other race or language elementary instruction shall be given under conditions which the law shall prescribe.

SECTION 17—The right of private correspondence and telegraph and telephone communication is unincumbered except in the case of criminal investigation, mobilization, or war.

All those who violate private correspondence or telegraph and telephone communication shall be punished according to law.

SECTION 18—Every citizen has the right directly and without any sort of [previous] official authorization to bring charges against State courts or minor autonomous [minor civil] officials for criminal acts, which they may have committed against him in official activity.

Special regulations apply to Ministers, Judges and soldiers under the flag.

For a wrong which a State or autonomous official does to citizens by irregular fulfillment of duty, the State or autonomous body is answerable before the regular courts. The official concerned is answerable to them.

A complaint of a wrong is invalid after nine months.

SECTION 19—All offices in all branches of State service are open alike within their legal requirements to all [Jugoslav] citizens by birth as also to citizens who are by birth of Serbo-Croat-Slovene nationality.

Foreign-born citizens can enter State service only when they have been ten years resident in the kingdom; and by the express authority of the Council of State and with the well-founded support of a competent Minister beforehand (previously given).

SECTION 20—Every citizen enjoys the protection of the State in foreign States. Every citizen has the right to renounce his citizenship after fulfilling his obligations toward the State.

The surrender of its own citizens is prohibited.

SECTION 21—Every citizen is under obligation to obey the laws, serve the interests of national unity, protect the fatherland, support the burdens of the State according to his inherited ability and in accord with the provisions of the law.

PART III.

Social and Economic Provisions

SECTION 22—With the purpose that uniform prosperity be brought to all citizens, the State will provide a place of display for the economic products to which they give their efforts. In keeping with this it will establish a permanent scientific organization and institute constant support of school attendance for capable poor children.

SECTION 23—The working class is under the protection of the State.

Women and children not fully grown are especially to be protected from occupations harmful to their health.

The law shall establish special measures for the security and protection of workers and shall prescribe the hours of work in all occupations.

SECTION 24—The products of mental exertion are the property of the author and enjoy State protection.

SECTION 25—Freedom of agreement in trade relations is recognized in so far as it is not opposed to the interests of society.

SECTION 25—It is the right and duty of the State to intervene in the public interest and on the basis of the law, in the economic relations of citizens, in the spirit of justice and for the prevention of social friction.

SECTION 27—The State shall give attention to (1) The betterment of general hygienic and social conditions which affect the national health; (2) special care for mothers and young children; (3) the preservation of the health of the whole citizenship; (4) the suppression of acute and chronic infectious diseases, as well as the suppression of the abuse of alcohol; (5) medical assistance without cost, the furnishing of medicines and other necessities without cost for the preservation of the general health of the needy citizens of the nation.

SECTION 28—Marriage shall be under the protection of the State.

SECTION 29—The State shall assist materially the National Syndicate. Likewise the State shall assist materially other national economic organizations which are not working for profit. Precedence shall be given over other private undertakings under otherwise equal conditions to such syndicate and such economic associations within the circle of their activities in view of their co-operation.

There shall be passed a law with reference to associations, which shall apply to the whole nation.

SECTION 30—Farmers' insurance unions shall be established by a special legal enactment.

SECTION 31—The insurance of workmen against the event of accident, illness, unemployment, incapacity, old age and death shall be established by a special law.

SECTION 32—Invalids, war orphans, war widows and the poor parents, unable to work, of soldiers who fell or died in the war shall enjoy special State protection and help in token of recognition.

In accord with the law, provision shall be made for the feeding of invalids incapable of work and for the training of war orphans for work and for life.

SECTION 33—The right of workmen to organize for the purpose of obtaining better working conditions is guaranteed.

SECTION 34—Special attention shall be given to the marine and to sea fisheries.

The insurance of persons employed on the sea against the event of sickness, incapacity, old age and death shall be established by a special law.

SECTION 35—The State shall care for the construction and maintenance of all means of intercommunication wherever the general State interests demand.

SECTION 36—Usury (extortion) of every sort is forbidden.

SECTION 37—Property rights are guaranteed. From property arise also obligations. There shall be no employment of property to the detriment of the public. The content, extent and limitations of private property shall be fixed by law.

Expropriation of private property for the benefit of the public is permitted on the basis of the law in return for just compensation.

SECTION 38—Entail shall be abolished.

Foundations with purely beneficent purposes shall be permitted. It shall be fixed by law in what event aims and objects of foundations shall be changed to meet changed conditions.

SECTION 39—According to law concerning taxes on an inheritance, an interest in the inheritance shall be assured to the State; in this, basing the calculation on the degree of relationship between the heir and the deceased person and the value of the inheritance.

SECTION 40—The requisition of a room and of other necessities for the military shall be done only in return for just compensation.

SECTION 41—Large private forest tracts shall be expropriated according to the law and shall pass into the possession of the State or of autonomous bodies. The law shall stipulate in how far great forest tracts can be the property of other legal bodies which already exist or which shall be founded.

Real forest land, whose forestation furthers climatic, and cultural considerations, shall pass likewise in accordance with the law of expropriation into the property of the State or of autonomous bodies, in so far as this forestation cannot be accomplished in any other manner.

Great forest tracts which foreign authority handed over to individuals shall pass, according to the law, into State or municipal possession without any recompense whatever to those individuals. The law regarding forests shall fix the conditions under which peasants cultivating the land, and those who support themselves incidentally by work on the land, may help themselves by cutting wood for building material or fuel, as well as for the pasturing of cattle in State and communal forests.

SECTION 42—Fief relationships are legally regarded as terminated on the day of freedom from foreign domination. In how far injustices were done anywhere before that time by the dissolution of fief relationships or their simulations into private legal relationships shall be passed on by the law of rectifications.

Vassals (serfs), as also in general land workers who till the land in fief-like relationships, shall be established as free possessors of State lands, not paying themselves any sort of compensation whatever for it and shall be regarded as having hereditary rights.

SECTION 43—The expropriation of great possessions and their division into properties for those who till the land shall be regulated by law. The law shall fix also what sort of compensation shall be given for expropriated possessions. For great possessions which belonged to members of former foreign dynasties, and for those which foreign authority bestowed on individuals, no compensation whatever shall be given.

Settlements shall be effected primarily with the help of settlement associations organized freely, and giving attention also thereto that the settlers may be supplied with the indispensable equipment for production.

In settlements as well as in the division of expropriated tracts, preference shall be given to needy soldiers who fought for the deliverance

of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and their families.

The amount of ground assigned to the land workers shall be specified by law, also the conditions under which this may not be divided among heirs or in any manner be taken away.

SECTION 44—An Industrial Council shall be created for the working out of social matters and the formulating of industrial laws. Further details about its composition and competency shall be fixed by law.

PART IV.

State Authorities

SECTION 45—All State authorities shall be established in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

SECTION 46—The King and the National Skupshtina (Assembly) together shall constitute the law-giving authority.

SECTION 47—The King shall exercise administrative authority through a responsible Ministry in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

SECTION 48—The courts shall exercise judicial authority. Their judgments and decisions shall be handed down and carried out in the name of the King on the basis of the laws.

PART V.

The King

SECTION 49—The King shall confirm and proclaim the laws, appoint State officials, and give out military commands according to the provisions of the law.

The King is the Commander-in-Chief of all military forces. He gives out decorations and other distinctions.

SECTION 50—The King has the right of amnesty for political and military criminals. Through amnesty the legal consequences of the criminal act may be lessened, but the right of private persons to compensation for injury cannot be infringed by it. Amnesty may be given before the beginning of court proceedings, during the course of the proceedings, or after the judgment is rendered. Amnesty is general or individual.

For amnesty of a Minister there is necessary a previous concurrence of the National Skupshtina, but this cannot be given to a Minister in any event before the rendering of judgment.

The King has the right of pardon. He can pardon, or shorten, or mollify a punishment fixed by the court. The right of amnesty for acts punishable only through private complaint is fixed by the law regarding judicial procedure in criminal cases.

SECTION 51—The King shall represent the State in all its relations with foreign States. He shall declare war and conclude peace. If the State is not attacked or war declared upon it by some other State, a previous approval by the National Skupshtina is necessary for the declaration of war.

If war be proclaimed on the country or if it shall be attacked, the National Skupshtina must be called together at once.

SECTION 52—The King shall summon the Na-

tional Skupshtina for ordinary or extraordinary session.

He shall open and close the sitting in person, with a speech from the throne or through the Council of Ministers with a message or ukas.

All the Ministers shall countersign a speech from the throne, a message and ukas.

A ukas by which the sittings of one session are closed shall always contain also an announcement of the date of the new session.

The King can at any time, in State necessity, convene the National Skupshtina which had prorogued its sitting.

The King has the right to dissolve the National Skupshtina, but the ukas concerning the dissolution must contain a call for new elections within a period of three months at latest, and a call for a sitting of the National Skupshtina within four months at latest from the day of dissolution of the Skupshtina. All Ministers shall countersign a ukas for the dissolution of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 53—The King cannot at the same time be the ruler of any other State without the consent of the National Skupshtina.

If the King, contrary to this provision, still accepts the crown of any other State, he shall be regarded as having renounced the throne of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

SECTION 54—No act of royal authority shall have force nor can it be enforced if a competent Minister has not countersigned it. For all acts of the King, oral or written, countersigned or not countersigned, as also for all his proceedings of political character, a competent Minister shall be responsible.

For the King's acts as military Commander-in-Chief the Minister of War and Marine shall be responsible.

SECTION 55—The King and his heir are of age when they complete eighteen years.

The King's person is unassailable [inviolable]. No charge can be brought involving the King's responsibility, nor can a complaint be made against the King. This [inviolability] does not hold of the King's private status.

SECTION 56—In the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the ruler is Peter I., Karageorgevich. King Peter shall be followed by Heir to the Throne Alexander and his male offspring from legal marriage by the right of primogeniture.

If the King has no male offspring he shall appoint an heir to himself from the indirect line with the consent of the National Skupshtina. For that is necessary a decision of half plus one of the full number of the membership of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 57—The royal house shall consist of the Queen Consort, the living forebears and descendants in direct line with their consorts, the full brothers and their descendants, with their consorts, and the sisters of the ruling King. The relations and status in the royal house shall be defined by a statute which shall be extra legal. No member of the royal house can be a Minister or member of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 58—In the presence of the National Skupshtina the King shall take an oath which

runs as follows: I [name], ascending the throne of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and assuming royal authority, swear by Almighty God that I will preserve the unity and independence of the State and the integrity of State territory, and that I will hold the Constitution inviolable; that I will rule according to it and the laws, and that I will keep before me with all my might the welfare of the nation. So help me, Lord God. Amen!

SECTION 59—The King shall live constantly in the country. If the necessity appears that the King go out of the country for a short time the heir to the throne shall represent him. If the heir to the throne is not of age or if he is prevented [in any way], the Council of Ministers shall represent the King. This representation shall be carried out according to the directions which the King shall give within the limits of the Constitution. This also applies in the event of illness of the King which shall not produce permanent incapacity.

During the time of absence of the King or heir to the throne, the Council of Ministers shall not have the right to dissolve the National Skupshtina.

The representation of the Council of Ministers can last at longest six months. At the end of this time shall come into play the constitutional regulations for a regency.

PART VI.

Regency

SECTION 60—The King's authority shall be assumed by a regency: (1) If the King is a minor; (2) If, on account of mental or physical illness, he is permanently incapacitated from assuming the King's authority.

The National Skupshtina shall decide by secret vote regarding the establishment and abolition of a regency.

If the Council of Ministers shall decide that the event of the King's incapacity has transpired, it shall impart this to the National Skupshtina, together with the opinion of three physicians selected from the National Medical Faculty. The proceedings shall be the same if the heir to the throne is in question.

SECTION 61—The authority of Regent shall fall by right to the heir to the throne, if he is of age. If the heir to the throne, for reasons enumerated in Section 60, cannot assume the authority of Regent, the National Skupshtina shall, by secret vote, choose three Regents for the King. Regents for the King shall be chosen for four years; after this time, in the event that the regency must be prolonged at least for a year, there shall be a new election; if the regency is to last longer, a secret election shall be held again for four years.

Eligible for Regents are only those born Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, citizens of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who are 45 years of age and have a higher education.

Before they take the King's authority into their hands the Regents must take an oath before the National Skupshtina which has chosen them that they will be faithful to the King and that they will rule according to the Constitution and the laws of the land.

SECTION 62—If one of the three Regents is for the time absent or [in any way] prevented, the two other Regents shall have authority and shall carry on State business without him.

SECTION 63—The Regents shall care for the education of a minor King. The administrators appointed by the will of a King shall care for the property of a minor King. If the deceased King has not appointed administrators, the Regents shall appoint them, conferring with the Council of State.

SECTION 64—Until the selection of Regents, the Council of Ministers shall exercise, provisionally, the royal authority under their own responsibility.

SECTION 65—In the event of the death or resignation of the King, the heir to the throne, if he is of age, shall assume the Government at once and shall announce this to the nation by proclamation. At the end of ten days he shall take the prescribed oath before the National Skupshtina. If the National Skupshtina has previously been dissolved and the new one is not yet elected, the old National Skupshtina shall be convoked.

SECTION 66—If the King, after his death, has not left male issue, but the Queen should be pregnant at the time of the King's death, the National Skupshtina shall choose Regents, who shall exercise the authority of the King only until the time of birth. The Government is bound to submit to the National Skupshtina before the selection of Regents, the opinions of three physicians selected from the National Medical Faculty regarding the pregnancy of the Queen. The same requirement holds also in the event that the heir to the throne should die and that his wife should be pregnant at the time of the King's death.

SECTION 67—In the event that the throne, according to the provisions of this Constitution, should remain without an heir, the Council of Ministers shall take into their hands the authority of the King, and shall at once call the National Skupshtina to a special session, in which a solution about the throne shall be reached.

SECTION 68—The civil list of the King shall be fixed by law. The civil list, once fixed, cannot be increased without the consent of the National Skupshtina, nor decreased without the consent of the King.

The King's Regents shall take from the State Treasury, for the fulfillment of their duties, only so much as the National Skupshtina shall fix for them at the time of their selection.

PART VII.

National Skupshtina

SECTION 69—The National Skupshtina shall be composed of representatives which the nation shall choose freely in a general, direct and secret election, held everywhere at the same time, with representation of the minorities.

For every 40,000 inhabitants one representative shall be chosen. If the excess of inhabitants in any election district shall be more than 25,000, one representative shall be chosen for that remnant.

The National Skupshtina shall be elected for

four years. The further details about the election shall be prescribed by law.

SECTION 70—Every citizen by birth or naturalization shall have electoral right if he shall have reached the age of 21 years.

Active officers, even though not in service, as well as under officers and soldiers under the flag, cannot exercise electoral right or be elected.

The law shall decide also about woman's right to the vote.

SECTION 71—Those persons shall be deprived temporarily of electoral right: (1) Who are condemned to hard labor (imprisonment), until they shall be restored to their rights; (2) who are condemned to the loss of the privileges of citizenship, for the duration of this punishment; (3) who are under restraint (temporarily mentally incompetent); (4) who are under guardianship.

SECTION 72—For representative in the National Skupshtina can be chosen only those persons who have electoral right, regardless of whether they are entered on the electoral list. From every representative are demanded the following conditions: (1) That he shall be a citizen by birth or naturalization of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Naturalized citizens, if not of Serb-Croat-Slovene birth, must be resident at least ten years counting from the day of naturalization; (2) that he be 30 years of age; (3) that he speak and write the national language.

National representatives cannot be at the same time purveyors or State contractors.

SECTION 73—Political, financial and forest officials as well as officials of the agrarian reform cannot be candidates except they have given up office a year before the announcement of the election.

Other officials who exercise public authority cannot be candidates in the electoral district of their territorial competence.

Officials who shall be chosen for national representatives shall be placed in official retirement during the period of the duration of the mandate.

Ministers, active and in retirement, and professors in the universities can be candidates, and if they are elected shall hold their position.

SECTION 74—Every national representative shall represent the whole nation and not merely those who elected him.

Electors cannot give, and national representatives cannot receive, mandatory and obligatory instructions.

All national representatives shall take oath that they will faithfully preserve the Constitution.

SECTION 75—The National Skupshtina shall meet in the capital city, Belgrade, in regular session every year Oct. 20, if it is not called before that date into extraordinary session by the King's ukas.

If in the event of war the capital is changed, the National Skupshtina shall meet in the provisional capital.

The regular session cannot be dissolved until the State budget shall be fixed.

During the time of war the National Skupsh-

tina is constantly in session except if it itself shall decide otherwise.

SECTION 76—The National Skupshtina shall scrutinize the credentials of its own members and shall decide about them.

The National Skupshtina shall prescribe its own order of business.

SECTION 77—The National Skupshtina shall choose for each session its officials from its own membership.

SECTION 78—The Council of Ministers or individual Ministers shall introduce bills on the King's authority.

The right of introducing bills belongs to every member of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 79—The King shall conclude treaties with foreign States, but a provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina is necessary for the validity of these treaties. The provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina is not necessary for the validity of merely political agreements, if they are not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the State.

An agreement that a foreign army shall occupy land of the kingdom or shall go across it is not valid without provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina.

The National Skupshtina can, if State necessity demands it, by resolution beforehand, empower the Council of Ministers to take measures for the acceptance of a proposed treaty if it cannot be postponed.

State territory cannot be disposed of or exchanged without the ratification of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 80—The King shall proclaim the laws by ukas which shall contain also the law itself if passed by the National Skupshtina. All the Ministers shall countersign the ukas. The Minister of Justice shall place on it the State seal and shall care for the publication of the laws in the Official News.

The law shall have binding force fifteen days after publication in the Official News, if the law itself does not stipulate otherwise. The day of publication in the Official News shall be counted.

SECTION 81—The National Skupshtina has the right of inquiry and even of investigation in electoral and purely administrative questions.

SECTION 82—Every member of the National Skupshtina has the right to put questions and interpellations to the Ministry. The Ministers are obliged to give answer to them in the course of the same session at the time which the order of business fixes.

SECTION 83—The National Skupshtina shall deal only indirectly with the Ministers.

SECTION 84—Only its members, members of the Government, and Government confidants have the right to speak in the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 85—The National Skupshtina can make a fully binding decision if there are one-third of all the members present in the sitting.

For a fully binding decision a majority of the votes of the representatives present is necessary. In the event of an equal division of votes, the proposal voted upon shall be regarded as lost.

SECTION 86—No bill can be passed in a legal

manner by the National Skupshtina until it shall have passed first through a competent committee.

Voting in the National Skupshtina is usually open; only elections are decided by secret ballot. A vote can be cast only in person.

Each bill must be voted on twice in the same session of the National Skupshtina before it is finally adopted.

SECTION 87—No one can ever call a representative to account for a vote which he has cast as a member of the National Skupshtina.

For all utterances and proceedings in exercise of a mandate, whether in a sitting of the National Skupshtina, or in a committee, or on an individual mission, or in an individual duty at the direction of the Skupshtina, representatives are accountable only to the National Skupshtina according to the provisions of the order of procedure.

SECTION 88—Without the authorization of the National Skupshtina no members can be held to answer for any crime of whatever degree, nor in any event or on any authority be deprived of their freedom, as long as their mandate lasts, unless they are caught in the very act of crime or misdemeanor. But even in this last event the National Skupshtina, if it is in session, shall be informed at once and shall give or refuse authorization for a competent trial to be carried on during the time of the session.

Right of immunity of the representative begins with the day of election.

If any one becomes a representative before a judgment against him on account of any crime is carried out, the authority which made the inquiry and investigation shall give information about this to the National Skupshtina, which shall give or refuse authorization for the continuance of the proceedings.

A member of the National Skupshtina can be held to account only for that act of which he is charged.

SECTION 89—To the National Skupshtina falls the exclusive right of maintaining order in its midst through its presiding officer. No armed force can be posted in the building of the National Skupshtina, nor in any courtyard, without the consent of the President of the National Skupshtina. Likewise no State officials can perform any acts of authority in the National Skupshtina without his consent.

No armed person may enter the building of the National Skupshtina except persons who are authorized to wear arms and are engaged in service under the National Skupshtina.

PART VIII.

Administrative Authority

SECTION 90—All the Ministers form the Council of Ministers, which stands directly under the King. The King names the President and the members of the Council of Ministers. The Ministers stand at the head of the several branches of the State Administration.

Ministers can also be without portfolio.

In the Ministries there can be placed, where the necessity is shown, State Under Secretaries

for one definite part of the business of these branches of the State Administration. State Under Secretaries, if they are chosen from Parliament, do not lose their mandate.

Ministers name the subordinate State officials according to the provisions of the law.

Ministers before entering upon their duty take oath to support the Constitution and be faithful to the King.

SECTION 91—Ministers are responsible to the King and to the National Skupshtina.

The King and the National Skupshtina can bring charges against Ministers for infringement of the Constitution and of the laws of the land committed in their official capacity. For wrongs which Ministers do by an illegal [act in] fulfillment of duty the State is responsible.

SECTION 92—Charges can be brought against Ministers both during the time of their service and for five years after retirement.

A proposal that charges be brought against a Minister must be made in writing and must contain the charges.

If the National Skupshtina brings charges against a Minister a decision to bring the Minister before the court shall be brought by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the members present.

SECTION 93—The State Court shall try Ministers. The State Court is formed of six Councilors of State and six Court of Cassation Judges, whom each of these bodies shall choose by lot in their plenary sittings. The President of the Court of Cassation is the President of the State Court.

For those acts which are not foreseen in the said law punishment shall be fixed by the law about Ministerial responsibility.

Further details about Ministerial responsibility shall be set forth in a special law.

SECTION 94—Administrative authority can make the necessary regulations for the application of laws.

By regulations with legal force administrative authority can regulate relations only on the basis of legal authorization which shall be given especially for each case.

The National Skupshtina can by resolution declare without force in whole or in part regulations set forth on the basis of legal authorization.

Regulations may be published, and in them must be cited each time the law on the basis of which they are made.

SECTION 95—Administration in the kingdom shall be conducted by departments, circuits, districts and communes.

The division into departments shall be made by law on natural, social and economic bases. One province can have at most 800,000 inhabitants.

Two or more smaller departments can be joined into one larger department. The departmental assemblies of the departments concerned shall make the final decision about this. But even such a department cannot have more than 800,000 inhabitants.

At the head of each department shall be a Great Zupan, whom the King shall appoint and who shall conduct the business of State admin-

istration in the department through State officials.

SECTION 96—For business of a city, commune, district and departmental character there shall be established local civil autonomous organizations for the city, commune, district and department on an elective basis.

A special law shall be passed regarding the government and autonomy of cities.

Autonomous business shall be cared for by special autonomous officials, according to the provision of the law.

In the range of activity of the autonomous departmental administration shall fall the following sorts of business:

1. Departmental finances: (a) Making up the departmental budget; (b) disposition of departmental public taxes, which are fixed on the basis of the law by the department to cover departmental expenditures.

2. Departmental public works, as also building prescriptions.

3. Care for the furthering of departmental economic interests: Agriculture, stock raising, vine culture, fruit culture, forestry, lake and river fisheries, hunting, as also for technical improvement of the land.

4. Administration of public property.

5. Care for the public health in the departments, as well as for all institutions, through which the health status of the department may be furthered.

6. Care about social problems in the department.

7. Departmental humane institutions.

8. Departmental means of communication.

9. Co-operation in the furtherance of enlightenment in the department.

10. Co-operation in industrial education in the department.

11. Establishment and maintenance of seed institutions, tourist clubs, mutual loan and insurance associations.

12. The expression of opinion at the request of the Government about projects in conformity with the law, which concern the department, as also in general about all other subjects for which the Government asks their opinion.

Also other business can by law be entrusted to the departmental, autonomous administration.

If the department with its means should not be able to carry out the several matters enumerated, the State shall on demand of the departmental Skupshtina and by decision of the National Skupshtina give the necessary means or shall itself take over the carrying out of these matters.

SECTION 97—Autonomous [local] units shall have their yearly budgets. The administration of autonomous units shall be under the supervision of the Minister of Finance and the chief control shall be regulated by special laws.

SECTION 98—The departmental organs of administration are the departmental Skupshtina and the departmental committee.

The departmental and district Skupshtina shall choose for themselves a President, who shall preside over their sittings. They shall choose also a departmental and district committee.

By exception, joint competence can be as-

signed by law for the same branches of State and autonomous work in the department.

The Great Zupan is the chief official of the general State administration in the department, in so far as special competence for one or more departments is not given by law for special business of State administration.

The law shall decide what State business the Great Zupan shall handle in consultation with the departmental committee.

Further details about authority and competence of autonomous bodies—city, commune, district and departmental—shall be fixed by a special law.

SECTION 99—The departmental Skupshtina has the right to make departmental regulation about those matters of its competence. The Great Zupan of the department shall proclaim departmental regulations.

The Great Zupan of the department shall stay from proclamation regulations which he finds are not based on the Constitution and the law. In this event he shall bring such regulations with his opinion to the Council of State for decision, and shall inform the competent Minister about this. If the Council of State shall find that the said regulations are not based on the Constitution or on any law, they shall not be proclaimed or published. The Council of State is obliged to bring in their decision within two months. If the Council of State shall not bring in their decision in that time, the decision of the Great Zupan shall stand.

SECTION 100—The departmental committee shall prescribe provisions and directions for the fulfillment of departmental regulations.

SECTION 101—The State administrative authority exercises supervision over autonomous business authorities through the Great Zupan and individual expert officials. The Great Zupan has the right to stay from execution all decisions of autonomous officials which should not be based on the Constitution, the laws or departmental regulations. Against a ruling of the Great Zupan a complaint can be lodged with the Council of State within the time limit of the law. If the Council of State should not bring a ruling within a month at furthest from the date of its receipt, the decision of the Zupan shall stand.

SECTION 102—For matters of administrative nature administrative courts shall be established. The law shall fix their seat, competence and organization.

SECTION 103—The Council of State is the highest administrative court. The King shall appoint members of the Council of State on the advice of the President of the Council of Ministers, and in the following manner: The King shall name half the members from twice the number which the National Skupshtina proposes, and the National Skupshtina shall choose the other half from twice the number which the King proposes. The filling of the administrative positions of the Councilors of State shall be fixed by a special law which can also deviate from the above stipulations.

For members of the Council of State only those higher officials or public workers who have Faculty (university) preparation or ten

years' State service or public work can be appointed.

At least two-thirds of the Councilors of State must have diplomas after completing [the work of] a legal Faculty.

Members of the Council of State can be removed from their places, transferred to another branch of State service and placed on pension only on legal action. But when they reach 70 years of age or become ill, so that they cannot fulfill their duty, they must be placed on pension.

The Council of State has the following duties:

1. As the highest administrative court it decides on matters of administrative nature. Matters pertaining to a complaint against a ukas and Ministerial decrees shall be decided by the Council of State in first and last instance.

2. As an administrative organ it heads State Administration and decides about acts of administrative nature for which its approval is not necessary according to special laws.

3. It exercises supervisory authority over autonomous units according to the provisions of the law.

4. It decides conflicts about competence between State administrative authorities as well as conflicts about competence between State and autonomous authorities.

5. It decides also about other questions which shall be placed within its competence by law.

Further details about the constitution of competence and its handling under the Council of State shall be prescribed by special law.

SECTION 104—State competence shall be established according to the prescriptions of the law.

SECTION 105—It shall be prescribed by law how officials shall be named.

SECTION 106—The names of State officials, rights and duties, pay and pensions of State officials according to their office shall be fixed by the law about officials.

SECTION 107—State officials are officials of the whole State and shall work for the general interest.

The use of their authority and position by State officials for partisan aims, as also the influence of a chief on State officials, shall be punished according to the law.

SECTION 108—An official to whom a permanent place shall be assured by law cannot be removed against his will without process of a regular criminal or disciplinary court.

PART IX.

Judicial Authority

SECTION 109—Judges are independent. In the rendering of justice they shall not stand under the influence of any authority, but shall judge according to the law.

Judges and judicial competency can be established only by law. But in no event can extraordinary Judges or commissions be established for investigations.

In family and supervisory business of the Muslims State Sheriat Judges shall act.

SECTION 110—For the whole kingdom there

shall be only one Court of Cassation, with its seat at Zagreb.

The Court of Cassation is competent also for the settlement of conflicts between administrative, civil or military authority and judicial authority. Likewise it is competent, also for the settlement of conflicts between administrative and regular courts.

SECTION 111—The appointment of Cassation and Appellate Judges and of the President of courts of the first rank shall be made by the King's ukas (decree) on the advice of the Minister of Justice from among the number of candidates which the original body shall select, the constitution of which shall be fixed more exactly by law.

SECTION 112—The Judges of all courts are permanent. Judges cannot be deprived of their office nor from any cause be relieved from duty against their will, without process of regular courts or disciplinary process of the Court of Cassation. Judges cannot be held to account for their judicial work without approval of a competent Appellate Court. For members of the higher courts the Court of Cassation shall give this approval.

A Judge cannot, even provisionally, be assigned to another paid or unpaid public service without his own consent and the approval of the Court of Cassation.

A Judge can be transferred only at his own consent.

A Judge can be in service only until reaching the sixty-fifth year of his life and the Presidents of the Cassation and Appellate Courts till the age of 70 years. Before that time Judges can be placed on pension only on written request or if they have so failed physically or mentally that they cannot fulfill their duty. The Court of Cassation shall bring in the rulings about pensioning in this last event.

PART X.

State Economy

SECTION 113—Each year the National Skupshtina shall draw up a State budget, which it shall fix only for a year.

The budget must be spread before the National Skupshtina at furthest a month after its coming together. At the same time with the budget shall be spread before the National Skupshtina for survey and approval also a complete account of the expenditures of the last fiscal year.

The National Skupshtina cannot increase the showing of the parts, but can decrease and omit them.

The budget shall be approved by parts.

The manner of construction and completion of the budget shall be prescribed by law.

The savings of one part of the budget or budget year cannot be expended in satisfying the needs of another part or year, without the approval of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 114—Until the budget laid before it shall be approved, the National Skupshtina can approve one-twelfth for one or more months. If the National Skupshtina is dissolved before the budget is fixed, the budget of the preceding fiscal year shall be prolonged by ukas for at most four months.

SECTION 115—State expenditures and general State outlay shall be fixed by law.

The National Skupshtina shall decide about State loans. The Government is obliged to lay before the National Skupshtina, through the Chief Control, a punctual attested report, whether arrangements about loans are concluded and fulfilled in the sense of the law.

SECTION 116—Tax obligation is general, and all State public expenditures are general for the whole State.

[A] tax shall be paid according to taxable worth, and progressively.

The King and heir to the throne shall pay State taxes on private property.

No help whatever, permanent or temporary; no gift or loan can be given from the State Treasury if it shall not be based on the law.

SECTION 117—The Minister of Finance shall have control of State property, so far as the laws do not establish otherwise.

A special law shall be passed about the manner of disposal of State goods.

[The] right of monopoly shall fall to the State. Ores, medicinal waters and springs and forces of nature are State property.

A special law shall be passed about the giving over of mining, industrial or, indeed, any other privileges.

SECTION 118—A Chief Control shall be established for the oversight of State accounts and supervision of the completion of State and provincial budgets and as head of the Court of Accounts.

The President and members of the Chief Control shall be chosen by the National Skupshtina from a list of candidates, which the Council of State shall prepare and in which shall be nominated twice as many candidates as there are places vacant.

The President and half the members of the Chief Control must be jurists (i. e., members of the bar). The other members must have been Ministers of Finance or must have had ten years of proved service in financial employment.

The President and members of the Chief Control shall enjoy the same right of tenure as the members of the Council of State.

Further details about the composition, authority and procedure of the Chief Control shall be set forth in a special law.

It shall be fixed by law in what events there shall be grounds for complaint against the ruling of the Chief Control to the Court of Cassation.

The Chief Control shall survey, justify and liquidate accounts of general administration and all bills rendered against the State Treasury. It shall watch that no expenditure overstep the budget, and that no sum shall be carried from one part of the budget into another. It shall close up the accounts of all State administration and is obliged to bring together all evidence and information.

A complete State accounting shall be laid before the National Skupshtina in conjunction with explanations of the Chief Control and that, at longest, for one year, reckoning from the completion of each fiscal year.

PART XI.

The Army

SECTION 119—Military obligation is general, according to the ordinances of the law. The organization and size of the army and fleet shall be prescribed by law. The King, depending on the advice of the Minister of War and Marine, shall prescribe the formation of units for both within the prescriptions of the law. How much of the army shall be held under the flag shall be decided each year by the budget.

SECTION 120—The military courts are independent. In rendering justice, the Judge shall not be under any authority, but shall judge according to the law.

The Judges of the Military Appellate Court shall be permanent, but the permanency of the Judges of military courts of first instance shall be regulated by the law.

Judges of a military court of first instance cannot be held to account for their judicial work without the approval of the Military Appellate Court, and Appellate judges without the approval of the Court of Cassation. Judges of a Military Appellate Court can be transferred only by their own consent, and in the event of promotion to a higher position, and Judges of a military court of first instance in accordance with the ordinances of the law.

SECTION 121—The civil courts shall judge crimes which a civilian associated with the army commits, but during time of war military courts.

SECTION 122—No one, on reaching the age of 20 years, can enter State service or remain in it if he has not served his year according to the ordinances of the law or been excused from military service.

SECTION 123—For the maintenance of internal order, the military can be used only on the request of competent civil authorities.

SECTION 124—A foreign army cannot be taken into the service of our State, as also the army of our State cannot be placed in the service of any foreign State without the previous approval of the National Skupshtina.

PART XII.

Changes in the Constitution

SECTION 125—The National Skupshtina, with the King, shall decide about changes in the Constitution.

SECTION 126—A proposal that something be changed or supplemented in the Constitution can be made by the King or the National Skupshtina.

In such proposal must be named expressly all the points of the Constitution which should be changed or supplemented.

If the King has made the proposal, he shall impart this to the National Skupshtina, but the National Skupshtina can be prorogued at once afterward, and shall be convened anew after four months at longest.

If such proposal originated from the National Skupshtina, decision shall be made about it on the basis foreseen for decisions of legal (constitutional) proposals with a majority of three-fifths of the whole number of members.

If the proposal shall be adopted in this manner, the National Skupshchina shall be prorogued and convened anew at latest in a period of four months from the day when the proposal was adopted.

And in one and the other event the National Skupshchina can decide only about those changes and supplements of the Constitution which the proposal on the basis of which it was called together contains.

The National Skupshchina shall make decisions with a majority of half plus one of the total number of its members.

SECTION 127—In the event of war or general mobilization the National Skupshchina can suspend for the whole territory of the State, and for the event of an armed uprising, for any single part of it, by law, temporarily these rights of citizens: The right of assembly, coming together and taking counsel, freedom of movement, noninfringement of dwelling, correspondence and telegraphic communication. For the same reason the freedom of the press can be limited in the event of an armed uprising for the part of the State concerned.

PART XIII.

Transfer of Authority

SECTION 128—In the first session of the Skupshchina after the proclamation of the Constitution the Heir to the Throne Alexander as the Regent of King Peter I, in the sense of Section 58 of the Constitution shall take the oath:

"In the name of his Majesty King Peter I., I swear with the help of God that I will hold the Constitution inviolable; that I will rule according to it and the laws, that I will preserve the unity of the nation, the independence of the State and the integrity of the territory of the State, and that in all my efforts and work I will have the good of the nation before my eyes. So help me, God. Amen!"

SECTION 129—After this the national representatives in the sitting of the Skupshchina before the President of the Skupshchina shall take this oath:

"I [name] swear that with the help of God and by all that is most holy to me under the law and dearest to me on earth, I will hold true to the Constitution in my work as a representative, and that I will have ever the good of the King and the nation before my eyes and the unity of the State in my heart and mind."

SECTION 130—The provisions and provisional laws, with the signatures of the Provisional Government, published in the Official News, given out for the time from Dec. 1, 1918, until the entering into force of this Constitution, shall remain further in force as laws so far as they are not rescinded or changed by other laws.

Within the period of three months from the entering into life of this Constitution the Government shall lay before the Constitutional Committee all those provisions set forth for the time being in the first sitting which are to be annulled, and the Constitutional Committee shall render its decision as to what shall be annulled.

SECTION 131—Until the passing of laws regarding the organization of the Ministries, re-

garding the Council of State, regarding the Chief Control, regarding the order of business in the Council of State and regarding Ministerial responsibility, there shall be extended provisionally over the whole State the force of the corresponding laws of the Kingdom of Serbia, with changes and additions which shall be carried out in the manner foreseen in Section 133.

SECTION 132—The statute signed by the King Aug. 30, 1909, and published in the Serb News Feb. 26, 1911, shall remain in force until a new statute shall be passed in the sense of Section 57 of this Constitution.

SECTION 133—For the correlation of legislation and administration in the [newly] founded land a short course of procedure shall be established.

All legal proposals which have for their object the correlation of legislation and administration, originating either from the Government or from individual representatives, shall be referred through the President of the Skupshchina to a legislative committee.

The report of the legislative committee with the proposal which the committee has adopted shall be referred to the National Skupshchina for action. Regarding these legal proposals the Skupshchina shall decide by roll-call vote once and for all whether it shall accept or reject them. Before the vote each Parliamentary group may give short explanation through one representative.

Such rather brief procedure for correlation of legislation and administration in the land can be applied within five years from the day of entering into force of the Constitution, but this time can also be extended by law.

As long as the Constitutional Skupshchina shall last as a legislative Skupshchina the Constitutional Committee shall fulfill the duty of the legislative committee.

SECTION 134—After the entering into force of this Constitution there shall remain for the time being the provisional provincial administrations. A provincial Regent shall exercise administration through a chief of department under the direct supervision of the Minister of Internal Affairs, but as the organ of competent Ministers on the basis of laws and ordinances hitherto prevailing.

Laws passed after the entering into force of this Constitution cannot assign to provincial administrations new duties.

Regarding the progressive transfer of the business of the provincial administrations to the individual Ministries and to the individual departments, according to provisions set forth in the manner foreseen in Section 135, the Council of Ministers shall make decisions in agreement with the provincial Regent concerned.

As long as the provincial administrations shall be prolonged the subordinates of the several Ministries in the provinces are obliged to consult the opinion of the provincial Regent previous to a Ministerial decision for a project of theirs of general character or which bears on the official personnel.

Parties have the right of appeal to the Council of State as a first and last appeal about ad-

ministrative conflicts in which the provisional provincial administration decides. With respect to this duty, whatever is necessary is prepared in the Council of State. An administrative conflict is only between a private or legal person on the one side and an administrative authority on the other; and they arise there where by regulation or decision of an administrative authority the right of a private or legal person is injured contrary to legal provisions. According to this there is no conflict there where it is established by law for the provisional provincial Executive or administrative authority how he shall handle, judge or decide a matter.

SECTION 135—The project of a law about the division of the country into departments and for the establishment of departments (Sections 95 and 96), as also about the transfer of the previous provincial authority to the Ministerial and Departmental Governments (Section 134), the Government must present to the National Skupshtina for adoption within a period of four months. If the National Skupshtina should not act on these laws within a period of three months, the same shall be carried out under the provisions of Section 133 regarding the correlation of legislation and administration in the country; and in so far as these laws shall not be passed in accordance with this rather short method of procedure in the further time of two months, there shall be made by a decree of the King within one month a division of the country together with the apportionment of the provincial administration in the sense of Sections 95 and 96 of the Constitution. This decree can be changed only in a legal manner. If this division of the country should be made, not in accordance with the first nor the second sentence of this section, but in accordance with the third, then there shall be established in Chorvatia and Slavonia four departments.

Likewise, also, if the country be divided by higher decree, according to this section, Tzrna Gora (Montenegro), of 1913, with the region of Boka Kotorska, but without the circuits of Plevlje and Bijelopolje shall constitute a department and shall fulfill the functions of a department according to this Constitution.

In accordance with the law about the apportionment of departments, Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be divided into departments within their present bounds, until this shall be enacted by law, the circuits in Bosnia and Herzegovina shall constitute departments. Uniting of these departments shall be carried out by decision of the Departmental Skupshtinas of the departments concerned by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast within the limitations fixed by the third paragraph of Section 95 of the Constitution. Single communes or districts can be separated from their departments and annexed to another department within the present bounds of Bosnia and Herzegovina or outside of them, if their autonomous representatives consent to this by a decision of three-fifths of the votes and the National Skupshtina approves this decision.

The *circula* (*županates*) shall remain as units of State administration as far as they are not

abolished by law. The law shall regulate their circuit work.

Liquidation of the autonomous circuits shall be carried through in favor of the departments and districts as soon as the departments shall be organized.

SECTION 136—Until the new law about officials foreseen in Section 106 of the Constitution, the present law about the rights and duties of officials shall hold. The new law shall contain the transfers of authority in the whole compass and schedule of the officials of administration and shall be passed at furthest within three years from the entering into force of this Constitution, until which time the list of officials shall be extended and revised.

SECTION 137—The Presidents of the courts and all Judges to whom permanency is guaranteed by the Constitution or the law shall be maintained further in their positions and duties in court. In other regions than the former Kingdom of Serbia, permanency for the several Judges can be instituted within a period of one year from the adoption of this Constitution. In this time the Minister of Justice will form a commission of the Judges of the higher courts for these regions, with whom he shall formulate a decision, for what Judges by name this permanency shall not hold.

The necessary filling of administrative Presidencies and judicial positions shall be done according to the laws which are now being formulated.

Judges, who are appointed or shall be appointed in accordance with the law about the provisional filling of official positions during time of war or according to any other provisional law or decree, must pass their judicial examination within a year and a half after the entering into force of this Constitution. Whoever of them does not do this within the time decreed, shall be at once relieved from judicial duty.

The Court of Cassation in Belgrade, the Hundred Seven in Zagreb, the High Court in Sarajevo, the Great Court in Podgoritsa and the division of the Court of Cassation in Novy Sad shall continue as hitherto until the new establishment of one Court of Cassation for the whole land and shall be regarded as part of the Court of Cassation.

SECTION 138—The publishing—i. e., the circulation—of newspapers and printed matter can be forbidden if they stimulate hatred against the State as a whole, religious or race discord; likewise if they indirectly incite citizens to change the Constitution or the laws of the land by force, merely if it is seen clearly from the title that they thereby aim at such incitement of the citizens. The provisions of Section 13, Paragraph 3, about the enforcement of suppression, apply also here. If express necessity arises these provisions can be annulled by law.

SECTION 139—Until a law shall be passed about privileges in the sense of Section 117 of the Constitution, all privileges assigned until the day of the proclamation of the Constitution shall be reviewed in the manner foreseen in Section 133 of the Constitution. In the privilege for the cutting of State forests the terms

fixed in the review shall have retroactive force from Dec. 1, 1918.

SECTION 140—When this Constitution shall enter into force the Constitutional Skupshtina called Nov. 28, 1920, shall be transformed into an ordinary legislative Skupshtina with the time of duration provided by the electoral law for the Constitutional Skupshtina.

SECTION 141—Until a new law is passed regarding the election of representatives on the basis of the Constitution, that law shall continue in force on the basis of which the elections were held on Nov. 28, 1920, with whatever changes shall be made in conformity with this Constitution. These changes shall be made in the manner provided in Section 133 of this Constitution and shall have force as soon as they receive the sanction of the King.

The committee can make the necessary changes in time also, which that law prescribes, but besides that it is empowered to prescribe the manner, too, in which shall be made the

apportionment of the mandates to the several candidate lists in proportion to the number of votes.

PART XIV.

Concluding Ordinances

SECTION 142—This Constitution with the transfer of authority shall come into force when the King signs it, but shall take on binding force when it is published in the Official News. From that day all legal provisions which might be contrary to it shall cease to have force.

The President of the Council of Ministers and all the Ministers shall care for the enforcement of this Constitution.

We recommend to our Provisional Ministry for the Constitutional Skupshtina and Unification of the Laws that this Constitution be published, and to all the Ministers that they care for its enforcement; we enjoin the authorities then that they act according to it, and one and all that they submit to it.

THE END OF THE HAPSBURGS

*Text of the Dethronement Act which debars any member of the House of Hapsburg from assuming the Hungarian throne, by election or otherwise—
Debate that preceded the passage of the bill*

THE text of the Dethronement act of Nov. 6, 1921, which deposed the Hapsburgs from all future title to the throne of Hungary, together with the Government report recommending the bill to the National Assembly, is printed below. The third paragraph is somewhat ambiguous, and might, so far as the Hapsburgs are concerned, be construed "at a suitable time" as nullifying the first and second paragraphs. The Ambassadors' Conference had demanded that Hungary pass a law deposing the Hapsburgs and revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, to some extent under pressure from the Little Entente. Dr. Benesh, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, had stated with considerable definiteness that the Little Entente was determined, after the last adventure of Karl, to secure once and for all the deposition of the Hapsburgs. The debate in the Hungarian National Assembly, when the Government introduced this bill, showed that both the Government and the majority of parties at present represented were bitterly opposed to the measure.

Because of the ambiguity of the third paragraph the representatives of the Great

Entente informed the Hungarian Government in a note (Nov. 5) that the bill was inadequate, as it did not expressly exclude the members of the House of Hapsburg from election as King. This occurred on the day (Nov. 5) on which the bill was passed in the Hungarian National Assembly. Subsequently (Nov. 8) the Hungarian Government issued a declaration, subject to ratification by the Assembly, correcting the ambiguity of the statute by an interpretation which definitely bars the election of a Hapsburg as King.

REPORT RECOMMENDING THE BILL

The text of the Government report recommending the bill that deposed the Hapsburgs, followed by the text of the law, is as follows:

To the sorely tried Hungarian Nation the time has come for further severe trials. In connection with the recent events the demand has been made of the Hungarian State to declare that its crowned King is deprived of his throne and his dynasty of its right of succession. The Hungarian State has never been faced with so hard a decision as this. Foreigners are now interfering with the independence of Hungary, guaranteed by the Peace Treaty, and with her internal affairs. They are demanding a measure to which Hungary has never bound

herself, the execution of which is not laid upon her by the Treaty of Trianon, and which cannot be brought into harmony with the basic principles of her Constitution. In case the demand is refused, they threaten the country with armed attack. The Government cannot take the responsibility of exposing the nation, deprived of its rights by the World War and the devastations of both revolutions, to a fresh war which would menace the very existence of the fatherland, for it places all its hopes of renewed prosperity and power for the country in the industrious habits which may be developed in peace. It has, therefore, resolved, in view of the crisis in the country—after resorting in vain to every possible peaceful means of maintaining peace, averting the menace to the existence of the nation, and safeguarding the free expression of the people's will—to bring the following bill before the National Assembly in fulfillment of the demand of foreign powers.

The bill satisfies the above-mentioned demand of the powers by declaring expressly in Clause 1 that King Charles's royal rights have ceased to exist, and on the other hand in Clause 2 by repealing the Pragmatic Sanction contained in Acts I. and II. of the year 1723, and all other laws upon which the succession of the House of Hapsburg is based. Consequently the bill decrees at the same time that the privilege of electing a King reverts to the nation. It was, however, necessary to provide that the extinction of the succession of the dynasty could not be held to involve any further consequences affecting the constitutional form of the Hungarian State. The bill, therefore, provides that the

nation retains the constitution of a kingdom unaltered. By this provision the National Assembly, in accordance with Clause 2 of Act. II. of the year 1920, which gives it the right, as the legal representative of Hungarian State sovereignty, to determine the method by which the State shall be governed, finally decides the future constitutional form by declaring for the ancient institution of royalty for the future in conformity with the feelings and traditions of the Hungarian Nation.

[From the *Prager Presse*, Nov. 4, morning edition.]

TEXT OF DETHRONEMENT ACT

1. King Charles IV.'s rights as a ruler have ceased to exist.

2. The Pragmatic Sanction, contained in Acts I. and II. of the year 1723, which determines the succession to the throne of the House of Austria (*Domus austriaca*), has lost its validity, and thereby the right of free election of a King has reverted to the nation.

3. The nation retains the ancestral Constitution as a kingdom unchanged, but postpones the choice of a King to a later date and instructs the Government to make proposals in this matter at a suitable time.

4. This act shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

[From the *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov. 3, morning edition.]

DEBATE ON DETHRONEMENT BILL

The measure permanently debarring Charles and the rest of the Hapsburg



Typical harbor on the south shore of the Island of Mañeira, 400 miles off the west coast of Morocco, to which island the former Emperor of Austria-Hungary has been exiled



(© Keystone View Co.)

Ex-Emperor Charles and his wife, former Empress Zita, kneeling while high mass was being celebrated at a railway station near Budapest. They had just arrived in Hungary and still expected to become the rulers of that country

family from the throne was passed by the Hungarian National Assembly on Nov. 3, 1921, but with great reluctance—under the imminent threat of armed invasion by the neighboring States of the Little Entente. The debate that preceded the passage of the bill is a matter of historical interest. It was, in part, as follows:

Count Bethlen, Premier—The bill now before the National Assembly is not a consequence of normal constitutional development, but the result of the events of the past two weeks. It makes a break in the development of 400 years by a stroke of the pen. Events had matured rapidly as the result of two circumstances: First, the frivolous attempt to which the King and the dynasty have been sacrificed [cries from members of the Friedrich Party: "Long live the King!"] Answering cries from members of the Smallholders' Party: "You are a disgrace to Hungary!"] that unprincipled attempt to which the King, the dynasty and the peace of the nation have been sacrificed; secondly, the eagerness and greed which our neighbors showed as a result of the attempt, with the object of interfering in our internal affairs

and compelling us by force of arms to yield to their demands. The events are too close for any one who played a part in them to claim to judge impartially. History will pronounce judgment on these events, and I, for my part, submit to that judgment.

* * * Hitherto we have been represented as the disturbers of the peace, desirous of interfering with armed force in the affairs of others and pursuing aggressive ends. Now Europe can see for herself that it is we who have saved the peace of Central Europe. Although we did nothing to endanger peace, yet it was endangered. This is explained by the fact that within the Carpathian basin Hungary has not ceased to attract all the peoples living in the basin. The fact that the Hapsburg problem has been raised in this form is, perhaps, also to be explained by the fact that, although from the international point of view it is clearly an internal question for Hungary, it becomes a question of foreign policy only if it is true that even the dying theories and traditions which the peoples living around us connect with the dynasty are still strong enough to break up the unity of neighboring States. [Applause continuing for several minutes.] It has not hitherto been clear what need there is, from the point

of view of defense, for a federation of States with 42,000,000 subjects to take hostile action against a State with 7,500,000 inhabitants. In the light of present events we can explain it thus: either that federation is necessary—in which case it is a confession of inner weakness by those States—or else it is unnecessary from the point of view of defense, and then it aims at aggression.

Count Apponyi—Article 73 of the Peace Treaty stipulates for the independence and integrity of Hungary. * * * Moreover, the Peace Treaty of Trianon contains the Covenant of the League of Nations. No armed interference or threat of armed attack is permissible until the matter has been before a court of arbitration. Only if one party does not submit to the award can there be any question of military action for a period of three months reckoned from the summons of the League of Nations. A conflict has arisen between Hungary and her neighbors. Hungary has therefore the right to demand that the League of Nations shall require her to submit the matter to arbitration. Any attempt at or threat of armed intervention is a flagrant

breach of the Covenant of the League of Nations, against which we must protest with such vehemence that we are heard beyond the frontiers of our country. [Stormy applause.]

Nobody deplors the recent unfortunate events more than I. Nobody has more cause for regret than the legitimists. Many patriots were in the throes of a hard mental struggle, and each individual decision must be judged historically, for patriots might in all good faith think this or that point of view best for their country. The Government Ministers followed the voice of conscience, and took steps which they assumed to be essential in the interests of the country. They used armed force to prevent the return of the King. The neighboring States ought to have learned this with the utmost satisfaction, since the Hungarian Nation, on its own initiative, adopted a standpoint which they demanded. But they were not satisfied. The question is now no longer one of the honor and dignity of the nation, but of the personal safety of every citizen, since the surrender of a Hungarian, and that the King, is demanded. The Government has not been able to resist. But I regard it as my duty not only to protest in the interest of all Hungarian citizens but to give expression to the burning sorrow of all Hungarians at this violation of the legal security of all Hungarian citizens and of the sacred crown, which embodies the glory and dignity of the nation. * * * [Count Apponyi with twelve other Deputies leaves the Chamber.]

The President of the National Assembly, Gaál—According to Count Apponyi, the bill which the National Assembly is just about to pass is invalid. According to Paragraph 1 of Act I. of the year 1920, the National Assembly constitutes the sole representative of national sovereignty. * * * From this it appears that at the present moment the Hungarian Nation has only one constitutional and legal representative body, that is the National Assembly. Count Apponyi himself took part in passing this act. I must, therefore, state that Count Apponyi's declaration is contrary to the law. The freedom of speech of the Deputies cannot go so far as to allow them to cast doubt upon the validity of the existing laws. [Exclamations of approval from all parts of the House.]

Deputy Rassay proposes that in Clause 1 the provision be included that all members of the House of Hapsburg, now living and in future, should be excluded forever from the reversion of the Hungarian throne.

Count Bethlen begs that the clause be adopted in its original form.

Deputy Rubinek [reporter] makes the same request.

The bill is passed in its original form.

[From the *Prager Presse* and *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov. 5, 1921, evening edition, and Nov. 6, morning edition.]

On Nov. 6 the Dethronement act was promulgated and came into force. Two days later the Hungarian Government, at the demand of the Great Entente, issued the declaration that removed the ambiguity of Paragraph 3 and satisfied both the Council of Ambassadors and the Little Entente.



(Keystone View Co.)

EX-EMPEROR CHARLES HAPSBURG
Whom the Allies have banished to Madeira
and barred from the Hungarian throne

IRISH RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY

Historic debate that ended in acceptance of the covenant making Ireland a Free State with rights of a British Dominion—Resignation of de Valera and election of Arthur Griffith—Provisional Government headed by Michael Collins

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 18, 1922]

AS the signing of the Irish Free State treaty in London was the outstanding Irish event of December, so the ratification of that treaty by the Dail Eireann at Dublin was the great event of January. After long and bitter debate, which bade fair to create a dangerous split in the ranks of the Irish patriots themselves, the treaty was ratified, on Jan. 7, by a vote of 64 to 57. Thus by a majority of 7 the anxiously awaited decision was determined in favor of the covenant making Ireland a Free State within the British Empire.

Events leading up to this conclusion were at times of a tense and dramatic nature. At the resumption of the debate, on Dec. 19, Arthur Griffith and Eamon de Valera stood out prominently as the leaders for and against the treaty. With sincerity conceded to both, a plain, common-sense, reasonable man was found opposed to a very fluent, loud-voiced, unbending extremist who believed that Ireland was losing all she had fought for. As the mover for ratification of the treaty, Mr. Griffith won sympathetic cheers when he referred to the heavy task placed upon the shoulders of the London plenipotentiaries. He declared they had brought back with them the evacuation of British troops, who had been in Ireland for 700 years; they had got a full right of fiscal control and equality for Ireland with all the other nations of the British Commonwealth. Yet they were told the treaty was a poor thing, and the Irish people were to go back on it and fight for a quibble. He declared that 95 per cent. of the Irish people were for the treaty. The seconder of the motion was Michael Collins, who spoke in the direct form of a man of action. Mr. de Valera followed, and asked for rejection of

the treaty, because it would not make Ireland a republic and would not bring peace to the nation.

At this session Mr. Barton told the dramatic story of the last hour of the Downing Street negotiations, at which the treaty had been signed. He said there was a proposal to refer certain matters to the Dail. Mr. Lloyd George told them they were there as plenipotentiaries, and they must accept or reject. "He gave us," said Mr. Barton, "till 10 o'clock to make up our minds whether we should stand by our proposals for external association, face war, and maintain a republic, or whether we should accept inclusion in the British Empire and make peace. The responsibility for that war was to rest directly on two of the delegates who refused to sign. For myself I declared I could not accept that responsibility." Mr. Barton accordingly signed the agreement. This disclosure brought the unofficial English answer that Mr. Lloyd George had not intended to hand the Irish delegates an ultimatum of peace or war, but in the stress of that fateful hour, when a decision had to be conveyed to the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig, he had wished to impress upon them most earnestly the consequences of rejection.

The meeting of the 20th was largely taken up with discussion of "Document 2," or de Valera's alternative treaty, which had been the subject of argument for three days in secret session. As a cat out of a bag, de Valera's oath was read by Mr. Milroy, after demanding to know if they were to take the responsibility before all humanity and all history of sending young men and women to their death for that. The oath ran as follows: "I do swear to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Ireland and to the treaty of association of Ireland with the British Commonwealth of nations and to recognize the

King of Great Britain as head of the associated States." Mr. de Valera later explained the difference between his oath and that contained in the treaty. He said: "The word 'Constitution' occurs in both oaths, but in one it refers to a Constitution in which there is not a vestige of British authority. The other oath is one in which the British King must be recognized as the head of the Irish State. There is a tremendous difference, though the same words are used in both."

The Dail Eireann on Dec. 23 adjourned until Jan. 3. During this interval many local public bodies adopted resolutions in favor of ratification of the treaty. Many Deputies received telegrams urging them to support the covenant. The Clare County Council made de Valera their representative in the Dail, aware of the strong trend of public opinion, by adopting a resolution which requested him to work for the treaty. The press was almost unanimously for it.

A statement issued by Premier Lloyd George on Dec. 28 threw new light on the broad liberal principles of the treaty, and left little but the form of allegiance to the British Crown for the de Valera faction to continue its opposition upon. It read as follows:

The treaty places Ireland on an equality with the other States of the empire, gives Ireland the same claim to membership in the League of Nations, and every right that Canada has in law, fact and constitutional practice, and not merely rejection but alteration even of the treaty by Ireland or Great Britain would render it null and void. This would, indeed, be deplorable in the interests of both countries.

The British Government have gone to their utmost limit in the treaty, and to reopen the discussion, which was closed only after the most exhaustive consideration of every point, would be a fruitless proceeding and is impossible. A committee consisting of British Ministers, presided over by the Colonial Secretary, has been set up to deal with the evacuation of the British forces, the settling of an amnesty and the making of all necessary arrangements on the British side for transferring full executive responsibility to an Irish Provisional Government. The work of this committee, which had been in continuous session up to Christmas, and had proposed to sit through the Christmas holidays, is now unavoidably held up pending the approval of the treaty. But on approval it would be carried through with the utmost possible dispatch.

It is the intention of the British Government to hand over without delay their responsibilities to a Provisional Government which will function during the period of transition required for the

[American Cartoon]



—©Chicago Tribune

JUST AS SHE IS GETTING IRELAND
QUIETED DOWN

setting up of the Irish Free State administration.

When the Dail Eireann reassembled on Jan. 3 it plunged at once into a stormy debate. The Republicans signalized the occasion by issuing a new organ, The Republic of Ireland, to represent their principles. On its committee of directors were Charles Burgess, Austin Stack, J. J. O'Kelly, Mme. Markievicz, Miss MacSwiney, Sean

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

THERE'S NO HOLDING A THIRSTY HORSE

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

THE IRISH QUESTION SETTLED
LLOYD GEORGE: "Viola!"

Etchingham, Erskine Childers and E. O'Callaghan. In its first issue the paper declared that "war, the exposure of ourselves to wounds, toil and death, is as much our duty in a just cause as any other mode of sustaining justice."

A peace committee was formed on Jan. 4 by nine members, representing both parties, to try to discover a formula on which the two sides could agree. This committee reached a temporary agreement the next day, but de Valera vetoed it. At the public session of the Dail in the afternoon of Jan. 6 de Valera caused a sensation by offering his resignation; but he subsequently agreed to Griffith's plan to wait for a vote on the treaty if taken within twenty-four hours.

Jan. 7, 1922, proved to be a notable date in the history of Ireland. Ratification of the treaty with England was voted by 64 to 57, a majority of 7. The last hours of the debate were made memorable by a bitter attack on Michael Collins by Charles Burgess, who questioned the former's military

record. The vote in favor of the treaty was received with cheers, but was taken by de Valera as proof of his defeat. He rose immediately and said:

It will be, of course, my duty to resign, but I don't know if I will do it just now. But I have to say to the country and to the world that the Irish people established a republic. A vote of Dail is simply approval; the republic can only be disestablished by the Irish people. Therefore, until the Irish people in regular manner disestablish it this Republican Constitution goes on. Whatever arrangements are made, this is the supreme sovereign body in the nation. This is the body to which the nation looks for its supreme Government, and it must remain, no matter who is the Executive, until the Irish nation has disestablished it.

Subsequently in attempting to say a last word he broke down completely, a pathetic figure as he almost fell back into his seat and covered his eyes with his hands. Many of the President's supporters gave way to tears. Michael Collins, in pleading for a united committee of both parties to take over the machinery of Government, said: "The President has the same position in

my heart as he always had." After cheers had been given for the republic, Charles Burgess declared that so far as he was concerned he would see that discipline was kept in the army.

After a heated debate on Jan. 9, de Valera finally resigned the Presidency of the Irish Republic. On permitting himself to be offered for re-election, he was beaten in the Dail Eireann by a vote of 60 to 58. Both he and his Government thereupon passed out of official existence. On the following day Arthur Griffith was unanimously elected President by 64 Deputies of the Dail Eireann after de Valera and his followers had left the Chamber. The Dail then approved a Cabinet presented by Mr. Griffith, as follows:

MICHAEL COLLINS—Minister of Finance.
GEORGE GAVIN DUFFY—Foreign Affairs.
EAMON J. DUGGAN—Home Affairs.
WILLIAM T. COSGROVE—Local Government.
KAVIN O'HIGGINS—Economic Affairs.
RICHARD MULCAHY—Defense.

The Griffith Cabinet held its first meeting on Jan. 11 and discussed plans for taking over the administration from Dublin Castle and for obtaining the release of the 1,010 political prisoners in Ireland and England. On the 12th King George issued a proclamation of amnesty "in respect to political offenses committed in Ireland prior to the truce of last July."

Mr. Griffith and his Cabinet summoned the Southern Parliament to meet on Jan. 14, and on that day it assembled, in Mansion House, Dublin, where it formally ratified the treaty with Great Britain, created a Provisional Government, and set up the Irish Free State.

The Southern Parliament, which was technically different from the Dail Eireann, should have consisted of 126 members, including the four from Trinity College; but the abstention of Eamon de Valera and the other Republicans reduced the number to 65. The one surprise of the session was that Michael Collins, and not Arthur Griffith, was nominated as Premier or head of the Provisional Government. The change of plan was to avoid the criticism that would come from the Republicans if Griffith became both the Premier and the President of the Dail Eireann.

Pierce Beasley moved and Joseph McBride seconded the resolution "that the instrument entitled 'the treaty between

[American Cartoon]



—Springfield Republican

It's only taken about 750 years, but it seems longer

Great Britain and Ireland—articles of agreement signed in London on the 6th day of December, 1921,' by the members of the Irish and British delegations respectively be and is hereby approved." With the same businesslike dispatch it was moved, seconded and carried, "that a Provisional Government be and is hereby constituted composed of the following members: Michael Collins, William Cosgrove, Eamon Duggan, Patrick Hogan, Finian Lynch, Joseph McGrath, John MacNeill, Kevin O'Higgins and such other persons if and as determined from time to time by the Ministers for the time being." All are Ministers of the Dail Cabinet except Professor John MacNeill, who is Speaker of the Dail, and Finian Lynch, who was Secretary of the Irish delegation at London.

Arthur Griffith then stated that the Provisional Government had been set up to supervise the carrying out of the treaty. The Dail Eireann, he said, would remain in being until the treaty had been executed and a general election held in Ireland. He concluded by making a plea for fair play for the new Administration.

The Southern Parliament under the Home Rule act had met, but it will never meet again, and so before it adjourned the minutes of its proceedings were read over and approved. All the members present signed them, and then adjourned to a garden to be photographed as a memento of the historic occasion.

The next day—Jan. 16—Michael Collins and the Irish Provisional Government took over Dublin Castle amid public rejoicings, and received in their hands all the powers of Government. The cheering crowd commented freely on the fact that the taking over of the ancient British stronghold fell to Collins, who until a few months ago was a fugitive sought by Dublin Castle. He and the other Ministers, who received a salute from the military and police guards, went to the Chief Secretary's office and then to the Council Chamber, where the formal transfer was carried out. Viscount Fitz-Alan, Lord Lieutenant, and the chief offi-

cial were present. An official report of the proceedings was issued as follows:

Mr. Collins handed to the Lord Lieutenant a copy of the treaty in which acceptance of its provisions by himself and his colleagues had been endorsed. The other members of the Provisional Government were then introduced. The Lord Lieutenant congratulated Mr. Collins and his colleagues and informed them that they were now duly installed as a Provisional Government, and that in conformity with Article XVII. of the treaty he would at once communicate with the British Government, in order that the necessary steps might be taken for the transfer to the Provisional Government of the powers and machinery requisite for discharge of its duties. He wished them every success in the task they had undertaken, and expressed the earnest hope that under their auspices the ideal of a happy, free and prosperous Ireland would be attained.

When Lord FitzAlan drove from the Castle he was cheered. The evacuation of Ireland by the British Army, consisting of 60,000 men, began the next day. Ten battalions had already been ordered to embark. Peace with England seemed at last assured to the Irish people.

[Dutch Cartoon on the Arms Conference]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

A PERMANENT RESULT FROM WASHINGTON

"The high contracting parties undertake that they will only be slain by each other"

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Senate investigation of charges against officers of the American Expeditionary Force—Supreme Court decision forbids a manufacturer to control retail prices

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1922]

THE Senate Committee appointed to investigate the charges made by Senator Watson of Georgia against officers of the American Expeditionary Force held sittings on Dec. 20 and 21, and then adjourned until after the holidays, when the sessions were resumed, beginning Jan. 4. Some of the charges made were that officers had shot down enlisted men in cold blood; that they had made courtesans of army nurses, that many men were hung without court-martial, &c. The cases thus far heard have tended to disprove these assertions.

Thus charges were made that Major H. L. Opie of Staunton, Va., as a battalion commander of the 116th Infantry, had deliberately and without provocation shot five enlisted men. Major Opie, who was decorated by President Wilson with the Distinguished Service Cross and by the French with the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor, took the stand and denied the charges absolutely. Only one of the thirteen witnesses who were called testified against Major Opie. Lemuel O. Smith of Dublin, Va., swore that he had seen Major Opie shoot to death in a dugout on the Verdun front a young Virginia soldier named William Woolwine. He named three comrades, who, he said, were with him at the time. These three men in turn testified that Smith's accusation was false, while the soldier said by Smith to have been murdered was shown to have met a gallant death in battle.

As his comrades, one after another, denied the charge made against Major Opie, that young officer almost lost control of himself, and he wept when Colonel John Philip Hill of Baltimore testified that no more courageous, high-minded officer than Opie served under the American flag in France.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

The resale price maintenance policy adopted by the Beechnut Packing Com-

pany of New York, by which it controlled prices of its food and other products to consumers, was condemned as illegal on Jan. 3 by the United States Supreme Court. An order of the Federal Trade Commission requiring the company to desist from its methods was upheld by the court. The decision was rendered by a five to four vote, the Justices dissenting from the majority of the court being Holmes, McReynolds, McKenna and Brandeis. Opposing views were read by Justices Holmes and McReynolds, in which the practices of the company were defended and held to be entirely legal. The order of the commission that was thus upheld by the court provided that the company, its officers, Directors, agents, servants and employes, cease from directly or indirectly recommending, requiring, or by any means bringing about the resale of Beechnut products by distributors, whether by wholesale or retail, according to any system of prices fixed or established by the company.

On Jan. 9, the Supreme Court, ruling for the second time on the North Dakota statute imposing a special excise tax against corporations, joint stock companies and associations organized under the laws of other States and doing business in that State, declared it invalid, so far as it had been applied to interstate railroads. The case in which the decision was rendered was an appeal from the United States District Court, which sustained a tax assessed upon the business of railroads within the State. The tax was opposed on the ground that it was levied on interstate commerce, and for a period when the railroads were under Federal control, and when the railroad corporation was not doing business within the State.

GREATER SAFETY ON RAILWAYS

The Interstate Commerce Commission on Jan. 11 issued a sweeping order directing forty-nine railroad systems to equip con-

gested sections of their main lines with automatic train control devices, to be operated in connection with all road engines. The carriers were allowed until March 15 to show cause why the order should not become effective. It was specified that under the Transportation act the installation must be completed by July 1, 1924. Figures were presented to show the heavy cost of railroads caused by wrecks, and proof was advanced that these would not have occurred if there had been adequate automatic control devices. In directing the roads to make the installations, which would entail considerable expense, the commission stated that investigation by a special train council committee had demonstrated that the devices were practicable.

AID AGAINST PROFITEERS

Attorney General Daugherty, on Dec. 27, addressed a letter to every State Attorney General, in which he urged close co-operation between State and Federal law-enforcement officers, and suggested that the separate States should call conferences between Federal and County District Attorneys to attain this object. Violations of the liquor, food and fuel supply laws should be prosecuted without duplication of State or Federal effort, Mr. Daugherty declared. Though the Department of Justice did not seek to evade any of its responsibilities, he said, it was his opinion that the initiative for the enforcement of these laws lay with the State authorities. The majority of cases of retail profiteering, the Attorney General held, were interstate matters, and rested with individual States for correction.

Investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the housefurnishing goods industry was directed in a resolution adopted by the Senate on Jan. 4. The resolution, sponsored by Senator Kenyon of Iowa, provided that the inquiry should embrace the causes of factory, wholesale and retail price conditions in the industry. There was no record vote on the resolution. The debate which preceded its adoption was characterized by a general attack on profiteers, trusts and combinations in restraint of trade. The commission was defended by several Senators, who contended that it could never be a "popular" Government agency because of the nature of its work.

BAN ON UNION ABUSES

The Lockwood Committee of the New York State Legislature served a warning, Dec. 20, on upward of 1,000,000 members of labor unions in New York State, to the effect that it would expect them to eliminate existing abuses and regulations that limit efficiency, retard production and violate the law, and that if the reforms were not made voluntarily, legislation would be enacted to remedy the abuses. The communication embodied approximately fifty reforms and abuses. The latter cover restriction of membership, high initiation fees, limitation on the number of apprentices, the issuance of permit cards to non-union men, the auditing of books by independent chartered accountants, and the assumption of power by unions to hale their employers before them and to impose fines on them for infraction of union rules.

On Jan. 10, the Building Trades Council unanimously approved resolutions embodying practically all of the above reforms, as changed and modified somewhat at conferences between their representatives and Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Lockwood committee.

WAR FINANCE LOANS

The War Finance Corporation showed, in the annual report submitted to Congress on Dec. 22, that it was doing business at the rate of several millions of dollars a day. Up to Nov. 30, the date of the report, the corporation said, its advances for agricultural and live stock purposes totaled more than \$82,000,000, of which the principal items were loans on cotton aggregating \$22,000,000; on grain, \$16,000,000; live stock, \$13,000,000, and for general agricultural purposes, \$34,000,000.

In addition to the agricultural financing, advances were reported aggregating \$51,500,000 on exports, of which the largest items were \$28,000,000 on cotton and \$11,500,000 on grain.

The loans were distributed as follows: Colorado, \$3,000; Georgia, \$208,000; Idaho, \$13,000; Illinois, \$46,000; Iowa, \$899,000; Kansas, \$138,000; Louisiana, \$375,000; Minnesota, \$196,000; Missouri, \$168,000; Montana, \$329,000; Nebraska, \$375,000; New Mexico, \$16,000; North Dakota, \$902,000; Ohio, \$100,000; Oklahoma, \$28,000; South Carolina, \$655,000; South Dakota, \$559,000; Texas, \$170,000; Utah,

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

TRYING TO SPILL YOUR UNCLE

\$602,000; Virginia, \$250,000; Wisconsin, \$59,000 and Wyoming, \$806,000.

FARM CONFERENCE SUMMONED

President Harding on Dec. 30 instructed Secretary Wallace, head of the Department of Agriculture, to call a national conference in Washington for the consideration of all phases of the country's agricultural problems. In a letter to Mr. Wallace the President declared it "unthinkable that with this country's vast agricultural resources the United States should develop into a distinctly industrial nation." To illuminate the matter, he would have a conference to consider, first, the solution for temporary agricultural difficulties, and, secondly, to make a survey of the future and lay down a general policy that would co-ordinate with governmental policies toward general business and manufacturing. Secretary Wallace expressed satisfaction with the President's suggestion, and set about its execution at as early a date as possible.

In the final estimates for the year, issued by the Department of Agriculture on Dec. 28, the important farm crops of the United States for 1921 were valued at \$5,675,877,000. This was almost \$3,400,000,000 less than the crops for 1920 were worth and \$8,000,000,000 less than was received by the farmers in 1919, when high prices prevailed for farm products. The

values were based on prices paid to farmers on Dec. 1, and the crops comprised about 90 per cent. of the value of all farm crops.

There were only two \$1,000,000,000 crops in 1921, corn and hay, while in 1920 four crops were valued at a billion dollars or more. Production was below that of 1920 for almost every crop.

IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

The number of immigrants permitted to land in this country up to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1922, and also those admissible for the month of January, as made public at Ellis Island, N. Y., Jan. 4, was as follows:

	Remainder for January.	Remainder for Year.
Armenia	92	92
Austria	1,489	4,669
Belgium	66	66
Czechoslovakia	2,159	2,159
Denmark	1,127	2,721
Finland	778	2,140
France	1,138	2,691
Germany	13,608	57,706
Italy	1,465	1,465
Netherlands	720	2,058
Norway	2,425	9,263
Rumania	753	753
Russia	6,848	18,246
Sweden	3,991	14,776
United Kingdom	15,439	50,300

[American Cartoon]



—Providence Journal

CONGRESS STARTS ON A LONG TRAIL

The following countries have exceeded their quotas for immigrants admissible during the remainder of the fiscal year: Australia, Africa, Atlantic Islands, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Other Asia, Other Europe, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, New Zealand, Spain, Syria, and Turkey and Smyrna district.

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

During the debate on the anti-lynching bill, fathered by Representative Dyer of Missouri, statistics were submitted to show that in the last thirty-five years there had been 4,096 lynchings in this country, and of that number only 810 of the victims were charged with offenses against women. Opposition to the bill was expressed almost solely by Southern Democrats, and was for the most part temperate. They made their fight on the ground that Congress had no authority to pass such legislation, that such an act would be a serious encroachment upon the sovereign powers of the States, and that it would not cure the evil, but would have a tendency to encourage the outrages which led to lynchings. Advocates of the bill declared that its provisions were simple and sensible. One section provided for the punishment of officials who should fail to do their duty. Another was to punish those who participate in lynchings, and a third provided for fining communities in which the crimes occurred.

RELEASE OF DEBS

Announcement was made at the White House on Dec. 23 that President Harding had commuted the sentences of twenty-four so-called political prisoners, including Eugene V. Debs, who were convicted under the Espionage act and other wartime laws and sentenced to from two to twenty years in prison. The releases from prison took place on Christmas Day. A statement issued from the White House said in part:

The list, in the main, is made up of those who opposed the war in one way or another, and it is made up of less than a third of I. W. W. prisoners, and these have either expressed full penitence or are booked for deportation. The Department of Justice has given no recommendation in behalf of the advocates of sabotage or the destruction of Government by force, and the President let it be known he would not consider such cases.

No comment was made by the President on

the case of Debs. The President and the Attorney General had given very extended consideration to the Debs petitions, and it is known that the fact that he had twice been the Presidential candidate of a million voters had its influence in reaching a decision favorable to his release.

The President expressed the wish that it be stated that the grant of clemency in the cases acted upon does not question the justice of any action of the courts in enforcing the law in a time of national peril, but he feels the ends of justice have been fairly met in view of the changed conditions. The vast majority of so-called political prisoners still imprisoned are the I. W. W. group, are rarely American citizens and have no good claim to Executive clemency. A number of convicted citizens have never been imprisoned, owing to appeals under bond. There are also many thousands of indictments under war legislation still pending. These do not come under Executive consideration.

Mr. Debs called upon the President and Attorney General Daugherty to thank them for the act of Executive clemency. He took pains to make it clear that there had been no change in his opinions, and declared that he would devote his time and efforts toward the freeing of all prisoners.

NEWBERRY SEATED AS SENATOR

By a vote of 46 to 41, the Senate on Jan. 12 adopted a resolution declaring Truman H. Newberry entitled to his seat as Senator from Michigan, but expressed disapproval of the large amounts spent to obtain his election. The affirmative vote was entirely Republican, while nine members of the majority (Borah, Capper, Jones of Washington, Kenyon, Ladd, La Follette, Norbeck, Norris and Sutherland) voted with thirty-two Democrats against the resolution. Mr. Newberry's view of the vote was thus expressed:

"My heart is filled with thankfulness that the three years and four months of persecution have ended in complete vindication and exoneration of myself and all concerned."

The resolution adopted by the Senate, concerning which Senator Kenyon of Iowa declared, "We have written our own infamy into this resolution," read as follows:

1. That the contest of Henry Ford against Truman H. Newberry be, and it is hereby dismissed.

2. That Truman H. Newberry is hereby declared to be a duly elected Senator from the State of Michigan for the term of six years, commencing on the fourth day of March, 1919,

and is entitled to hold his seat in the Senate of the United States.

3. That whether the amount expended in this (Michigan) primary was \$195,000, as was fully reported or openly acknowledged, or whether there was some few thousand dollars in excess, the amount expended was in either case too large, much larger than ought to have been expended. The expenditure of such excessive sums in behalf of a candidate, either with or without his knowledge and consent, being contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government, such excessive expenditures are hereby severely condemned and disapproved.

PER CAPITA MONEY CIRCULATION

Per capita circulation of money in the United States declined \$6.09 during 1921, according to a statement issued Jan. 9 by the Treasury Department. On Jan. 1, 1922, the per capita circulation was \$53.03, based on a total of \$5,775,400,315 and an estimated population of 108,917,000, as compared with a per capita of \$59.12 on Jan. 1, 1921, based on a total of \$6,340,436,718 in circulation and an estimated population of 107,249,000. The reduction in the amount of money in circulation was accounted for mainly by the decrease of nearly \$1,000,000,000 in Federal Reserve notes, the total on Jan. 1, 1922, being \$2,443,789,739 in circulation, as compared with \$3,349,389,117 on Jan. 1, 1921.

During 1921 2,355 petitions in bankruptcy were filed in the Federal Court of the Southern District, being 852 more than in 1920 and 632 more than in any year since 1911. In the Eastern District, bankruptcies increased 60 per cent., compared with 1920. The 1921 record exceeded the number of bankruptcies in any year since the passage of the Federal Bankruptcy law in 1898.

DEATH OF SENATOR PENROSE

Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and for years one of the outstanding figures in the Republican Party, died Dec. 31 in his apartments at Washington, D. C. He was a member of an old and distinguished fam-

ily, born to affluence, well educated, and with a mind and training that would undoubtedly have made him eminent as a lawyer had he not chosen politics as a career. He had served in the Senate from Pennsylvania since 1897, at which time he succeeded the late Senator Donald Cameron. Since that time he had been by far the most powerful figure in Pennsylvania politics and extraordinarily influential in the national councils of his party.

On Jan. 9, Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. George Wharton Pepper of Philadelphia as successor to Mr. Penrose. Like his predecessor, Mr. Pepper is a member of an old Philadelphia family. He will be 55 years old on March 16. He was graduated in 1887 from the University of Pennsylvania, of which he is now a trustee, and from the law department of that institution two years later. He is a lawyer of wide experience and recognized ability.

HENRY WATTERSON'S DEATH

Colonel Henry Watterson, one of the most forceful and picturesque figures in American journalism, died of heart disease Dec. 22 at Jacksonville, Fla., at the age of 81.

Mr. Watterson was almost the last of the old personal editors, those whose personalities were so dominant in their papers that the two were never dissociated in the thoughts of the readers. His was a trenchant and vivid pen, and the thoughts of "Marse Henry" as expressed in his paper, *The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal*, went all over the country, and were widely quoted abroad. He was a redoubtable fighter for the causes in which he believed and a formidable foe to those that aroused his opposition. His virility and vigor, his spontaneity and buoyancy, endured to the day of his death. He fought with the energy of a crusader against sectionalism, greenbackism, protectionism and prohibition. His original and at times whimsical style made him tremendously effective, and no editorial writer has so enriched American journalism with memorable phrases and epigrams of enduring quality.

NEWS OF THE NATIONS

Birdseye view of the chief events and developments of the month in all countries, arranged alphabetically for convenience of ready reference—Survey of world political and social changes

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1922]

AFGHANISTAN

THE full text of the treaty between Great Britain and Afghanistan signed at Kabul on Nov. 22 was made public in London on Dec. 13. It contained points of importance not hitherto disclosed. Of these, Article 3, providing for the exchange of diplomatic representatives between London and Kabul, removed an Afghan grievance of many years' standing; the Afghan Government had long resented being compelled to negotiate as a vassal or protected State with the British Indian Government at Calcutta instead of with London direct as an independent sovereignty. A matter of Afghan prestige was also decided in the realignment of the British-Afghan frontier: so as to include in Afghanistan a small place known as Torkhani, on a ridge some 2,240 feet high. * * * On Dec. 4 Sir Henry Dobbs, head of the British Mission to Afghanistan, recrossed the frontier after having been entertained at Kabul by the Amir Amīn-ullah with the most friendly courtesy.

ALBANIA

After hardly a month's term in office, the Cabinet of Pandheli-Evangelhi resigned owing to differences of opinion with the Council of Four Regents. The latter availed itself of the recess of the Diet in order to assert its claim to a more positive and active leadership. The Evangelhi Cabinet was succeeded by one formed by Hussan Prishtina and supported chiefly by the Catholic leader Louis Goura Kuqi, appointed Minister of Interior, and the prominent Bektashi Moslem chieftain, Hodja Kodri. This Cabinet, however, lasted for only a few days. The chief mover in the intrigues that led to the overthrow of both Ministries was Aqif Pasha, Bektashi Moslem member of the Council of Regents, over which his personality predominates. He is supported by Abdi Toptani, the Sunni Moslem Regent. The Orthodox Regent, Dr. Tourtuli, was in Paris during the crisis, while his Catholic colleague, Mgr. Bumci, was outvoted by the two Mohammedans. After the withdrawal of Hussan Prishtina a "business Ministry," without party color, was formed by M. Kosturi, a wealthy merchant. This Ministry is expected to remain in power until Parliament reconvenes at the end of January. * * * The Mirdites (Catholic Albanians of the North) have made representations to the League of Nations and to the Allies, asking for protection against the encroachment of the "Turkish" Government of Tirana. The Mirdites have formed their own

independent republic and have applied for recognition.

ARGENTINA

This year's wheat crop appears to be considerably larger than last year's, the most authoritative estimate being 207,415,067 bushels. * * * The Governor of the Province of San Juan, Señor Jones, was assassinated by a group of political enemies. Federal intervention has extended not only to San Juan, but also to the Province of Entre Rios. * * * The appointment of John Riddle of Connecticut, as Ambassador to Argentina has been generally well received throughout the country. * * * Norberto Pinero, a lawyer, former Minister of Finance and one-time Minister to Chile, was named candidate for the Presidential election by a new party called the Concentraci6n Nacional. This party is a combination of the groups of Conservatives and Democrats arrayed against the governing Radical Party. * * * President Irigoyen declared to a representative of the Cologne Gazette that Argentinian neutrality during the war was neither for nor against any country, but purely in the national interest, and that though the Argentinian Senate and House of Representatives had both declared themselves in favor of joining the Allies, neither of them had gained popular support. The House of Representatives has enacted an insurance law by which insurance will be made compulsory for all citizens earning more than 6,000 nacionales a year. National insurance comprises as minimum benefits the age pension, pension for the disabled, insurance for illness and for maternity. The employer's and the employee's quota will be fixed according to the amount earned. * * * According to the most recent statistics, the population of the country has reached 8,698,516 inhabitants, the immigration for last year being 188,688 persons and the emigration 148,907.

AUSTRALIA

A reconstructed Australian Cabinet was announced in a dispatch from Melbourne, dated Dec. 27, as follows:

W. M. HUGHES—Premier and Minister for External Affairs.
GEORGE FOSTER PEARCE—Home and Territories.
E. D. MILLEN—Repatriation.
L. E. GROOM—Attorney General.
MASSEY GREENE—Navy and Defense.
A. S. ROGERS—Trade and Customs.

ALEXANDER POYNTON—Postmaster General.
S. M. BRUCE—Treasury.
R. W. FOSTER—Works and Railways.
J. EARLE—Vice President of Executive Council.

Premier Hughes has proposed a Constitutional Convention composed of delegates to be elected to amend the Federal Constitution, adopted in 1900 and since unchanged. It is proposed to give the Federal Parliament full powers over all trade and commerce, instead of that between the States only. As the convention would include eighteen members of the State Legislatures, eighteen from present members and seventy-five elected from Parliamentary constituencies, it is considered there will be enough defenders of State rights to prevent drastic Socialist proposals for centralizing government. * * * Australian labor unions on Jan. 10 voted in favor of merging into One Big Union.

AUSTRIA

A bill passed by the National Council on Dec. 21 obliges owners of foreign currency, cheques or credits abroad to deposit with the Government such property in exchange for bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest. The purpose of the measure is to raise the exchange of the Austrian krone. Failure to comply is punished with imprisonment (maximum, ten years), and confiscation of the concealed property. Foreigners resident in Austria are not exempted. * * * Plans to pledge the famous Imperial collection of gobelins and other art treasures, valued at \$50,000,000, with an American syndicate, have been announced. The money thus obtained will be used for the purchase of foodstuffs. * * * Pre-war bonds of the former Austrian Government owned by Americans and held outside of the Succession States will be received for collection by the Department of State at Washington, it was announced. The United States Government, the announcement says, does not guarantee payment, but merely turns the securities over to the Reparations Commission, which will take proper action.

BELGIUM

The new Belgian Cabinet which, at the request of King Albert, on the resignation of Count de Wiart, following the November elections, was formed by M. Georges Theunis, and is constituted as follows:

M. GEORGES THEUNIS—Premier and Minister of Finance.

M. HENRI JASPER (Catholic)—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. MASSON (Liberal)—Minister of Justice.

M. VAN DE VIVERE (Catholic)—Economic Affairs.

M. DEVEZE (Liberal)—Defense.

Viscount BERRYER (Catholic)—Interior.

M. NEUJEAN (Liberal)—Railways.

Baron RUZETTE (Catholic)—Agriculture and Public Works.

M. MOYERSOEN (Catholic)—Industry and Labor.

Professor HUBERT (Liberal)—Sciences and Arts.

M. FRANCK (Liberal)—Colonies.

Thus M. Theunis selected five Catholics and



(© Harris & Ewing)

HENRY P. FLETCHER

*New Minister to Belgium, succeeding
Brand Whitlock*

five Liberals for his Ministry, leaving the Socialists unrepresented. The complete returns of the elections showed a gain to the Catholic Party, a loss to the Socialists, while the Liberal Party remained about as it was before. The Chamber of Deputies is constituted as follows: Catholics 80, Socialists 68, Liberals 34, other parties 5. The Senate is as reported in the January CURRENT HISTORY: Catholics 73, Socialists 52, Liberals 28. Mme. Paul Spaak, Socialist Senator, is the first woman elected to a Belgian Parliament. M. Jasper was also Minister of Foreign Affairs in the old de Wiart Cabinet. * * * On Dec. 24 King Albert visited the American Embassy for a two-hour farewell call on Mr. Brand Whitlock, the retiring American Ambassador, expressing his nation's thanks for Mr. Whitlock's relief work during the German occupation. * * * President Harding nominated Under Secretary of State Henry P. Fletcher to succeed Mr. Whitlock as Ambassador to Belgium, but it was understood that Mr. Fletcher would remain in Washington until the close of the Armament Conference.

BRAZIL

All the important Republics of America, including the United States, have expressed willingness to take part in the Brazilian World's Fair to celebrate the centenary of Brazilian independence. It is stated that the American building will be a permanent structure, to be-

come the home of the Embassy after the Exposition is closed.

BULGARIA

It was officially announced that normal diplomatic relations have been resumed with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The step was delayed since the termination of the war because of disagreements between the two Governments concerning the fulfillment of certain provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly. * * * The Princesses Eudoxia and Nadejda, sisters of King Boris of Bulgaria, have been granted permission by the Bulgarian Diet to return to Sofia, and they are entertained there by their brother. The deposed King Ferdinand is barred absolutely from the country. * * * The Diplomatic Corps at Sofia, including the American Minister, Charles S. Wilson, has made a collective representation to the Bulgarian Government by way of protest against the burdensome taxation imposed upon foreign corporations in violation of peace treaty provisions.



(© Harris & Ewing)

COUNT LASZLO SZECHENYI
Newly appointed Hungarian Minister to the
United States

visions. * * * The Bulgarian Government is negotiating with an American syndicate concerning the purchase of 1,000 freight cars from the United States.

CANADA

In the new party alignment due to the Liberal triumph in the December elections, Arthur Meighen, the defeated Prime Minister, has undertaken to lead an opposition group of Conservatives in the next House of Commons. The new Premier, William Lyon Mackenzie King, stated on Dec. 29 that national unity through having all parts of the Dominion represented in his Cabinet was the principal aim of his administration. On the same date he announced his Cabinet as follows:

W. L. MACKENZIE KING of Ontario—Premier.
WILLIAM S. FIELDING of Nova Scotia—Finance.

DANIEL D. MACKENZIE of Nova Scotia—Solicitor General and Minister without portfolio.

A. B. COPP of New Brunswick—Secretary of State.

JOHN E. SINCLAIR of P. E. I.—Minister without portfolio.

RAOUL DANDURAND of Quebec—Minister without portfolio.

HENRI S. BELAND of Quebec—Health and Soldiers' Re-establishment.

Sir LOMER GOUIN of Quebec—Justice.

JACQUES BUREAU of Quebec—Customs and Excise.

ERNEST LAPONTE of Quebec—Marine and Fisheries.

JAMES A. ROBB of Quebec—Trade and Commerce.

GEORGE P. GRAHAM of Ontario—Militia, Defense and Naval Service.

CHARLES MURPHY of Ontario—Postmaster General.

THOMAS A. LOW of Ontario—Minister without portfolio.

WILLIAM C. KENNEDY of Ontario—Labor.

WILLIAM R. MOTHERWELL of Saskatchewan—Agriculture.

CHARLES STEWART of Alberta—Interior, Mines and Indian Affairs.

HEWITT BOSTOCK of British Columbia—Public Works.

According to a report issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada's commerce declined heavily in the twelve months ended with November, 1921. Exports totaled \$880,458,548, compared with \$1,289,536,450 the previous year, while imports were \$825,226,585 against \$1,345,592,300 last year. Customs duties fell to \$124,184,941 from \$207,412,639 in the same period. Imports from the United States were valued at \$574,927,941 and exports at \$359,016,167.

CAUCASUS REPUBLICS

Events are moving swiftly in the Caucasus. Under the treaty signed Oct. 13, at Kars, Armenia, between the four Bolshevized republics, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Daghestan, on the one hand, and the Turkish Nationalist Government of Angora, the latter power was given about half of Caucasian Armenia and large tracts of territory in Georgia; a small autonomous State was also set up on Armenian territory, to be known as Nakitchevan, under the protection of Azerbaijan. It now appears that the Russians broached to the Turks at Kars, and received support for, their intention to federalize in the Russian State all the so-

called Caucasus republics. This has now been effected, with the definite object of fortifying Soviet influence in the Near East, and ostensibly for these republics' own protection. This action was timed to synchronize with the economic crisis in the region, and with the activities of the notorious Enver Pasha, Mustapha Kemal's bitter enemy, on Caucasus territory. The political centre of the new Russian province is at Baku, the economic centre at Tiflis. The independence of these republics is now a thing of the past, and they have reverted to their pre-war status as a part of Russian rule. Foreign Affairs, Finance, Transport, Food, Army and Labor have all been placed under Pan-Russian administration. The change was signalized by a note sent by Tchitcherine, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to the Angora Government, the text of which was published on Dec. 30.

CENTRAL AMERICA

That Guatemala intends to adhere to the Central American Federation was shown by the election on Jan. 7 of Senators to represent the State in the Federal Senate, and the approval by the Assembly of the Deputies and Federal Councillor. * * * General José M. Orellana, one of the leaders of the revolution that deposed President Herrera (see CURRENT HISTORY for January, p. 626) took the oath of office as Provisional President and named the following Cabinet for Guatemala:

J. S. RODRIGUEZ CASTILLEJO—Foreign Relations.
SELITE SOLARE—Finance.
JORGE UBICO—War.
BERNARDO ALVARADO—Interior.
MANUEL P. ARRIOLA—Education.
DAVID PIZARAL—Agriculture.

As an expression of desire for peace in Central America, Secretary Hughes sent a note to Salvador and Honduras, hoping they would abide by their treaties with Guatemala. Señor Castillejo telegraphed to Washington that Francisco Sanchez Latour had been designated to take charge of the legation archives and that the new Guatemalan Administration did not recognize Dr. Julio Bianchi as Minister. Dr. Bianchi refused to turn over the legation to Señor Latour and said the same position had been taken by Guatemalan Ministers to France, Mexico and Nicaragua, also by a number of Consuls. * * * Elections for President of Guatemala have been set for May 21 to 27. * * * Amnesty was proclaimed for Herrera and the more important prisoners held in connection with the overthrow of his Government.

CHILE

The note addressed on Dec. 12 by the Chilean Government to the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs provoked a spirited though short-lived debate which carried the exchange of views almost to a tentative agreement for a meeting of plenipotentiaries at Washington. It finally failed, however, due to Peru's insistence that the negotiations should be preliminary to submitting to arbitration all the provisions of the Ancón Treaty, while Chile maintained that direct negotiations should be abandoned only on failure of

the plenipotentiaries to reach an agreement on the basis of the protocol governing the plebiscite by which the attribution of Tacna and Arica shall be decided. Another reason for the temporary suspension of negotiations has been the interference of the Bolivian Government, which claimed a voice in the negotiations with a view to obtaining a port on the Pacific. The Chilean Government replied that this was impossible, owing to the fact that it was then dealing with a provision of the Ancón Treaty with Peru, in which Bolivia has no part. Moreover, it was pointed out that matters between Chile and Bolivia were definitely settled by the treaty of 1904. The reply, however, leaves the door open for direct arrangements with Bolivia. Chile's contention, on the other hand, was upheld at the recent meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, at which Bolivia's move for a revision of her treaty of 1904 with Chile was dismissed by the conference. * * * President Alessandri has sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of the bill limiting the production of wine, beer and liquors to one-fifth of the present output. The Presidential project proposes a tax on the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, the proceeds of which shall be destined to compensate the growers who prefer to destroy their vines and undertake some other agricultural enterprise. The establishment of bone-dry districts around the copper, coal and nitrate mining camps is also included in the bill.

CHINA

The resignation of the Chinese Cabinet headed by Ching Yun-peng, on Dec. 18, it is now known, was virtually forced by General Chang Tso-Lin, the powerful super-Tuchun of Manchuria, who arrived in Peking on Dec. 14. This feat, performed with apparent ease by General Chang, supported by his troops in and around the capital, and the formation of a new Cabinet of men approved by him, demonstrated "strong-man" dictatorship in a land where the central Government is completely overshadowed by the provincial military rulers. The new Cabinet, which assumed office on Dec. 25, was made up thus:

LIANG SHI-YI—Premier.
W. W. YEN—Minister of Foreign Affairs.
CHANG HU—Vice Minister of Finance.
PAO KWAI-CHING—Minister of War.
LI TING-HSING—Minister of the Navy.
YEH KUN-CHO—Minister of Communication.
WANG CHUNG-HUI—Minister of Justice.
CHI YAO-SHAN—Minister of Commerce.
KAO LING-WEI—Minister of the Interior.
HUANG YEN-PEI—Minister of Education.

General Chang's motives were thus explained by himself in an interview published in Peking toward the end of December: "Government by an Occidental Constitution was a failure. We propose to assemble Parliament to frame a new Constitution suited to the temperament of the people. * * * Unscrupulous officials having been eliminated, financial reforms are easy, since the Government's normal income is 300,000,000 taels, and normal expenditure totals only 100,000,000 taels." This statement was challenged by the foreign press of Peking, which made charges against several of

the new officials. The reaction of the Canton, South China, Government to the new Cabinet was hostile. It issued, and subsequently renewed, an order for the arrest of Premier Liang as a traitor, and charged that he and his Cabinet were planning to capitalize the "failure" of the Chinese delegation at the Arms Conference to strengthen the grip of the Northern Government upon the country.

Another enemy against Liang appeared in Wu Pei-fu, Inspector General of the Southern provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, who charged the new Cabinet with being pro-Japanese. On Jan. 15 it was reported from Peking that Wu Pei-fu had sent a triple ultimatum to Liang demanding his and his Cabinet's resignation within three days, Wu threatening to publish further charges if this demand were not complied with in five days, and to march on Peking if Liang took no action within seven days. Liang defied all three ultimatums. President Hsu's appeals to General Wu had no effect, and all evidences pointed to war between Wu Pei-fu and Liang's sponsor, General Chang Tso-lin. Not only the Chinese delegation at Washington, but the United States Government itself was apprehensive of the threatened civil war, and the House of Representatives on Jan. 16 passed the Mapes resolution (already passed in substance by the Senate on Nov. 14, 1921) to prevent the shipment of arms and munitions from the United States. It was expected that the Senate would act on it promptly, in view of the crisis. * * * The China Trade bill was passed by the Senate on Dec. 16; under its terms American firms in China were to be incorporated under Federal charter, but tax exemption privileges were stricken out.

COLOMBIA

Just as the House of Representatives was about to adjourn on Dec. 20, the President of the Republic, Señor Holguin extended the period of extraordinary sessions four days, for the purpose "of putting an end to the grave crisis afflicting the National Treasury, and of furthering the serene and careful study of international questions having an influence upon the future of the Republic." On Dec. 24, the House approved the treaty with the United States on the Panama settlement, by which Colombia is to receive \$25,000,000 payable in five instalments, as a compensation for territorial losses she sustained through the setting up of the Republic of Panama. Thus is closed a series of incidents and unsuccessful negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Colombia lasting since 1903, when Panama separated itself from the latter country.

CUBA

Thirty thousand Cubans took part in a public demonstration on Dec. 18 against the Fordney Tariff bill, parading through Havana, carrying Cuban flags and banners demanding a "square deal." Similar demonstrations were held throughout the island. A statement was presented to President Zayas and Major Gen. E. H. Crowder, by sugar-mill owners and planters, pre-

dicting disaster to the trade of the island if ruinous tariff rates were enforced. On Dec. 19, Horatio S. Rubens, Chairman of the American Committee on Cuban Emergency, told the Senate Finance Committee that the proposed tariff would ruin Cuba and possibly again force American intervention, adding: "There is no use of protecting Cuba physically unless you protect her economically." On Jan. 7 a legal opinion was sent by Mr. Rubens to the Senate Committee, holding that the proposed Fordney rate is a violation of part of the reciprocity treaty with Cuba, under which preferential rates are granted over commodities from other countries. * * * The Cuban Sugar Commission, created to control the export of the 1920-21 crop, was dissolved on Dec. 31 by decree of President Zayas after it had disposed of half the crop and the free export of sugar was resumed. * * * At a conference between President Zayas and Congressional leaders it was decided to reduce the budget to a point that will render it unnecessary to continue negotiations in the United States for a loan. Congress had approved a budget of \$84,000,000, but it was stated an effort would be made to cut this to less than \$40,000,000.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A new era of friendship and good-will between the Republics of Czechoslovakia and Austria was inaugurated with the conclusion of negotiations at Lana Castle, in Tyrol, between the Presidents Masaryk and Hainisch, the former staying as the latter's guest. The outcome of the negotiations is virtually a new Entente between Austria and Czechoslovakia. Contentious questions will in the future be referred to the League of Nations. The two countries have agreed to assist each other in the defense of this policy of good-will and co-operation. * * * The agreement guarantees mutual support in maintaining the peace treaties of St. Germain and Trianon. Czechoslovakia undertakes to communicate to Austria her treaties previously concluded with Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland. Austria will do likewise. The agreement is valid for five years.

DENMARK

With respect to the recent negotiations for a commercial treaty between Denmark and Soviet Russia, the Rosta (Bolshevist News Agency) published an interview with Kerzentsev, the Soviet delegate, who said he warned Foreign Minister Scavenius of Denmark that Danish unemployment would increase if Denmark did not come to an agreement satisfactory to Soviet Russia, who could afford to bide her time. Afterward Danish Socialists made use of this threat in an attack on M. Scavenius at a private meeting of Rigsdag members. At the meeting of the Folkething (Lower House), held on Dec. 16, the former Socialist Minister, Stauning, introduced a resolution violently attacking Foreign Minister Scavenius for his attitude toward the Soviet delegation and interpellated him on the interruption of the negotiations. M. Scavenius replied that Kerzentsev would have

nothing to do with any Danish-Russian "commercial" treaty, and was trying to secure a political treaty, with a de jure recognition of the Soviet Government. Thereupon the Folkething rejected M. Stauning's resolution by a vote of 81 to 47. * * * A letter was recently received in Copenhagen from Knud Rasmussen's fifth Thule Expedition to Arctic North America. Three months out from Copenhagen the expedition reached Lyon Inlet, Sept. 18, the latter part of the journey being made difficult by block ice and motor trouble. Discovering an uncharted island at the mouth of Lyon Inlet, they took it for Winter quarters and named it Danish Island. There the letter was dated Sept. 23. It reports good hunting, sealing, and salmon fishing sufficient for food for men and team-dogs, and a highly favorable situation for scientific work. As ruins found suggest former Eskimo habitation, sledge-quests were to be made for tribes, Eskimo migrations being one of the objects of study.

EGYPT

After continuing negotiations for an Egyptian settlement the greater part of last Autumn (CURRENT HISTORY, October, 1921, Page 153), Adly Pasha's delegation gave up the task on Nov. 19 and left the next day for Egypt. Britain, it was conceded, would find it easy to grant independence to the Egyptians, a single nation with one race and practically one religion, were it not that the right of Britain to guard her communications through the Suez Canal, keeping garrisons in Cairo and Alexandria, was insisted upon by the Foreign Office and refused by the Egyptians. Adly's contention was that British troops should be confined to the canal zone, that Egypt should control her own foreign relations and Britain abandon her claim to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, now under joint control. Adly Pasha arrived at Alexandria on Dec. 5, reaching Cairo the next day. He resigned the Premiership on Dec. 8. The Sultan asked Sarwat Pasha to form a Ministry, but he declined unless certain conditions were accepted by the British Government. * * * Zaglul Pasha, on the day of Adly's arrival in Cairo, issued a manifesto stating that Britain had always toyed with Egypt, after the occupation promising evacuation and after the protectorate independence, but had thrown aside the mask and demanded that Egypt form part of the British Empire. He appealed to his followers to use their energies for the liberation of the country. * * * Rioting began in several places during the week before Christmas and on Dec. 24 extended to Gizeh, where students raided the Government Survey offices, but were ejected by British troops, leaving 5 killed and 20 wounded. There were minor disturbances at Tanta and Alexandria, spreading on Christmas Day as far south as Beni-Suef, sixty-two miles up the Nile from Cairo. British armed boats moved up the sacred river and airplanes circled over the tombs of the Pharaohs. Twelve persons were killed in disturbances in Cairo, among them "Professor Jean Orth," said to be the Austrian Archduke who disappeared years ago and who had been living as a teacher in the capital. He

was stabbed in the back on his way home. All the other persons killed were natives. * * * The disturbances were largely due to the forcible removal of Zaglul Pasha from Cairo to Suez early in the morning of Dec. 23 on his refusal to obey an order by General Allenby to refrain from political activity. With him were arrested five of his followers, and on Dec. 29 the six sailed from Suez for Ceylon, Arabi Pasha's old place of exile. On Jan. 10, twenty-seven participants in the riots were sentenced to several months' imprisonment and a number of others were ordered flogged.

ENGLAND

From official returns of the Ministry of Labor it was gathered that unemployment in Great Britain had decreased 350,000 between June 24 and Nov. 25, 1921. The reports showed 1,832,400 remained on the "live" registers. * * * The annual report of the Minister of Pensions issued on Dec. 20 showed the number of awards of all kinds at the end of the period was 1,760,000, 1,200,000 being for disabled officers and men and 560,000 in respect of widows and dependents. The total number of beneficiaries of all kinds was 3,365,000, an increase of about 20,500 on the figure of March 31, 1920. * * * An interim report of the Economy Committee, presided over by Sir Eric Geddes, was presented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It planned to save £195,000,000 by further cuts in the army and navy services, since there was an absolute need to effect a reduction approaching £200,000,000 in the national expenditure. * * * The Official Gazette of Dec. 13 contained the announcement of the revocation of Sir Edgar Speyer's British naturalization and the ordering of his name stricken from the list of his Majesty's Privy Council, on counts of disloyalty during the war. Sir Edgar Speyer declared the charges trivial and readily susceptible of explanation, in which contention he was supported by his English partners. * * * Over 1,000 men blinded in the war attended a memorial service on Dec. 13 for Sir Arthur Pearson, who, when his own sight failed, had devoted himself to alleviating the lot of others similarly affected.

FINLAND

The tension between Finland and Soviet Russia caused by the Karelian insurrection which the Russians accused the Finnish Government of fostering continued high, and wireless dispatches from Moscow declared that Finland was preparing for war. It was partly in answer to this threat that Leon Trotzky, at the ninth Soviet Congress, declared that the Red Army would be prepared for all attacks, whether they came from Finland or from any other neighboring nation. Tchitcherin, in a new note to the Finnish Government, gave warning that all Karelian recruiting bureaux must be expelled from Finnish territory; the Soviet Foreign Minister even furnished Finland with the addresses of such bureaux. In Karelia, meanwhile, the Russians had gathered a force of 150,000 men, part of whom protected the roads to Petrograd. This force was under the com-

mand of Colonel Sergius Kamenev, Commander in Chief of the Bolshevik armies. From Bolshevik sources it was stated that this force would not cross into Finland unless attacked by the Finns themselves. Fighting between the Russians and Karelians was still going on early in January, and the insurgents sustained heavy losses. A considerable number of Karelian fugitives had crossed the frontier. A decisive victory was won by the Soviet forces against Finnish White raiding bands around Jan. 7. It was believed in Moscow that the defeat and dispersal of these Finnish pro-Karelian marauders would do much to decrease the danger of war between Russia and Finland, as the attacks of these bands had been one of the chief causes of friction. True to her word, Finland brought the whole controversy up before the Council of the League of Nations, which accepted the task of investigation of the merits of the controversy.

* * * The Council of the League of Nations on Jan. 11 formally undertook to guarantee the neutralization of the Aland Islands and to shoulder the responsibility of enforcing the ten-power treaty under which the League recently settled the dispute over these islands. Finland is empowered to act in defense of the islands if their neutrality is threatened. This is the first agreement involving the guarantee of neutrality of territory by the member States of the League.

* * * Axel Leonard Astrom, the new Minister from Finland to the United States, was received by President Harding on Jan. 5.

FRANCE

Aristide Briand resigned his office as Premier on Jan. 12, and Raymond Poincaré, former President of France, became the new Premier on Jan. 13. No recent event has caused more excitement in French political circles than the resignation of M. Briand, occurring as it did in the midst of uncompleted negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George at Cannes. The Cannes conference had opened on Jan. 6 and continued nearly six days. Briand had obtained a Franco-British treaty guaranteeing protection to France against any sudden German attack, but in exchange had made certain concessions on reparations. The news of this proposed arrangement aroused a storm of political hostility at home. Important organs of the French press raged against Briand, and even President Millerand was affected. The Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs on Jan. 11 sent to Briand at Cannes a warning telegram, embodying a resolution adopted unanimously by twenty-five Senators, declaring that no reductions in the May 5 reparations program should be made, and that the Franco-British compact "should, above all, confirm the guarantees and methods of execution and the securities France now holds under existing peace treaties, or will hold under future accords." Strong objection was also made to French participation in the proposed Genoa Conference, to which both Germany and Soviet Russia were to be invited, unless all French rights were previously guaranteed. The storm in Parliament and press was so violent that President Millerand sent a telegram to Premier Briand, soon fol-

lowed by another, urging him to return to Paris at once. With a modified draft of the Franco-British compact in his pocket, M. Briand hastened home, and after a stormy Cabinet meeting on the morning of Jan. 13 he appeared before the Chamber to defend himself. Pale and weary after his hurried night journey, the Premier declared it was his duty to dissipate certain fears and to tell the truth regarding the Cannes negotiations. Point by point he answered his enemies. In the bluntest words he declared that for a year he had done his best to put his country in a sound position, and that the responsibilities of the problems raised must be faced. He could not, however, continue without sufficient support; this he did not have, and others must now carry on the work he had begun. He then gathered up his papers and left the Chamber, which was still resounding with applause. Many Deputies crowded around him as he left, congratulating him, shaking his hand. The Premiership of Aristide Briand was over. His formal resignation was forthwith offered to President Millerand—and at once accepted. The next day the President asked Raymond Poincaré to form a new Cabinet. Briand's arch enemy accepted the post, and with considerable difficulty formed on Jan. 15 a Cabinet made up wholly of members of the Right. Its personnel was as follows:

RAYMOND POINCARE—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LOUIS BARTHOU—Vice Premier and Minister of Justice for France and Alsace-Lorraine.

ANDRE MAGINOT—Minister of War and Pensions.

M. RAIBERTI—Minister of Marine.

COUNT CHARLES DE LASTETRIE—Minister of Finance.

MAURICE MAUNOURY—Minister of the Interior.

LEON BERAUD—Minister of Education.

YVES LE TROCQUER—Minister of Public Works.

HENRY CHERON—Minister of Agriculture.

ALBERT SARRAUT—Minister of the Colonies.

M. REIBEL—Minister of the Liberated Regions.

M. PEYRONNET—Minister of Labor.

LUCIEN DIOR—Minister of Commerce.

PAUL STRAUSS—Minister of Health.

GERMANY.

The total estimated deficit for the year, including railroad and post subsidies, was 46,800,000 marks. * * * The industries are active and the number of unemployed at the close of the year was estimated around 1 per cent. All the factories were in operation. * * * Herr Stinnes obtained the consent of the Government to denationalize the railroads. His plan assigns to the Government 51 per cent. of the new railroad stock, 25 per cent. to the capitalists and apportions 24 per cent. to the railroad employes. * * * Between 250,000 and 300,000 Russian immigrants now live in Germany. The colony consists mainly of ex-officers, lawyers and merchants. * * * The Krupp Works has increased its capital 250,000,000 marks, changing from war production to peace production. The gross profits during the year were 250,000,000 marks, the net 98,000,000. The new stock is to be profit sharing with the employes. * * * The Allied Disarmament Commission reconsidered its order to destroy the Deutsche Werke, a group of plants used during

the war for manufacturing German armaments, and will instead convert them into workshops for the manufacture of industrial machinery, which will call for the employment of 20,000 workers. * * * The German Consulate at New York was reopened in January at the old address, 11 Broadway. The office was taken in charge by Dr. Erich Kraske, Acting Consul General in the absence of Dr. Karl Lange. * * * The trial of the Kapp supporters ended in Berlin Dec. 21. Herr Jagow was sentenced to five years' detention in a fortress. The other defendants, Baron von Waginheim and Mr. Schelle were discharged. Jagow once was famous as Berlin's Police Chief. * * * The German monarchists circulated a petition embodying birthday greetings to Emperor William, expressing the hope for his restoration to power.

GREECE

The new year began auspiciously for Greece with the announcement made on Jan. 1 by the Ministry of Finance that the British Government had withdrawn its objections to granting a credit of £15,000,000 to Greece, the credit to be supplied by private banking interests. * * * The congress of the Metropolitans and Bishops belonging to the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, but whose dioceses are in the provinces liberated by the Greek Army, met in Saloniki on Jan. 2 and decided to consider the election of the Most Rev. Meletios Metaxakis as null and void. It appointed a committee to proceed to Constantinople after the holidays in order to find a settlement of the difficulty arising from his elevation to the Patriarchate. The Ecclesiastical Court of the Holy Synod of Athens found him guilty of an attempt to create a schism in the Greek Church on Jan. 12, and sentenced him to lifelong seclusion in a monastery, with reduction to the rank of a mere monk. Metaxakis was not present when he was sentenced, and his extradition was asked by Greece from the Allies. * * * On Jan. 4 King Constantine received a delegation representing the Popular Clubs of Athens, who congratulated him upon the first anniversary of the plebiscite that brought him back to Greece. The King, in an address to them, expressed his firm belief that Greece, with the help of her great allies, will succeed in satisfactorily solving all her problems. * * * On the same day the newly-appointed British Minister to Athens, Mr. Lindley, who bears the title "His Majesty's Representative," visited the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece and assumed his duties. * * * The Greek Government decided (Jan. 6) to build a great port at the Aegean town Dede-Agatch, which is to be renamed Alexandroupolis. * * * M. Nicholas Demetracopoulos, one of the most prominent jurists of Greece and ex-Minister of Justice under M. Venizelos, died in Vienna on Jan. 6. M. Demetracopoulos was the leader of the Progressive Party. * * * M. Caffrey Jefferson, until recently Counselor of the American Embassy in Madrid, was sent to Athens on Jan. 10 to take charge of the American Legation there.

HAITI

The Senate Committee investigating American naval administration in Haiti and Santo Domingo returned on Dec. 21, and the Chairman, Medill McCormick, delivered a preliminary report to President Harding advising that United States marines should not be withdrawn from the island at present. It exonerates the marines of charges of atrocities, urges a definite policy, while making it clear that annexation is not intended, and advocates the centralization of American control and the extension of road building and educational and sanitary work. The report contained no analysis of the charges of brutality by marines, made by Haitians, such as cutting off ears of prisoners and pouring salt into their wounds. Appointment of a high Commissioner, to whom both civil and military authorities should report, continuance of the treaty forced upon Haiti, and maintenance of the American civil staff were recommended. Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, was quoted as saying reports of atrocities were largely exaggerated. One case was well established, that of Captain Merkel, who ordered killing of men without trial in 1918, but when arrested by order of the Military Governor he committed suicide. * * * The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society in New York, on learning of the foregoing report, issued a statement saying that the committee had done irrevocable damage to the good name of the United States, especially in Latin America, as it made a part of American policy the overthrow of weak nations, imposed a treaty and upheld a dummy President by American bayonets. It urged the restoration of Haitian independence at once.

HOLLAND

The Government bill to increase the size of the Dutch Navy is opposed by all parties, on the grounds that it is premature in view of the Washington conference's efforts to limit armaments, that it will stimulate the militarist movement, that even joint action with an ally in such a policy offers too great risks, that the plan is at variance with the economy recommended in the last speech from the throne, and that Holland cannot afford the estimated expenses of the fleet contemplated in the plan. It would cost Holland for twelve years 36,000,000 guilders (normally \$14,000,000) and India 32,000,000 guilders (normally \$20,800,000) annually for the expenses of the fleet.

HUNGARY

The discussion in the National Assembly of the responsibility for the attempted coup d'état of the ex-King Charles revealed sensational details. Deputy Somogyi read the depositions of the arrested Legitimist leaders, ex-Foreign Minister Gratz and Mr. Borovicsenyi the Hungarian Government's Envoy to Charles's Court at Hertenstein, Switzerland. It appeared from these documents that Premier Bethlen had encouraged Charles's plans, and that Regent Horthy himself conducted a correspondence with

the ex-Monarch. Another storm broke forth when the ex-Premier, Friedrich, in an impassioned speech, hurled charges of responsibility for the White Terror at the Regent's head. He disclosed a plot, engineered by Regent, then Admiral, Horthy in August, 1919, to do away with the leader of the Farmer's Party, Stephen Szabo of Nagyatad. The latter, he said, was kidnapped at Kaposvar and taken to Siofok, the Admiral's headquarters. It was planned to wrap him in cotton and burn him in a railroad engine's boiler, so as to make him disappear without a trace. Friedrich said that he had learned of the plot in time. He was Premier then, and rushed without a moment's delay to Siofok and effected Szabo's release. Szabo, who listened to the narrative, confirmed it with a nod, but refused to make a statement. * * * Dr. George Nagy and Emery Veer, leaders of the Republican Party, which has no representation in Parliament, were acquitted by a jury of a charge of seditious utterances, made in connection with a celebration at Louis Kossuth's grave. The acquittal is regarded as a sign of a reversal of public sentiment toward more liberal policies. * * * Oedenburg, principal city of the Burgenland, over which discussion had raged with Austria since August, 1921, was handed back to the Hungarian authorities on New Year's Day by the interallied commission in charge of the plebiscite there. The plebiscite had decided in favor of Hungarian sovereignty. * * * Count Laszlo Széchenyi, husband of the former Miss Gladys Vanderbilt of New York City, has been appointed Hungarian Minister to the United States following the exchange of ratifications of the Peace Treaty between the two Governments.

INDIA

The tour of the Prince of Wales through India continued to produce some demonstrations of popular protest from the Gandhi Nationalists. The month's events will be found sketched in detail on page 752, following the article on "Gandhi's Weaponless Revolt in India."

IRELAND

The story of the ratification of the treaty that created the Irish Free State is told in detail on pages 851-855. Ratification was accepted on Jan. 7 by a vote of 64 to 57 in the Dail Eireann. On the 9th de Valera resigned the Presidency of the Irish Republic. A motion for his re-election was defeated by 60 to 58 votes. This action automatically terminated the de Valera Government. After a night without an Irish Government, on the 10th Arthur Griffith was unanimously elected President of the Dail Eireann in a House vacated by de Valera and his supporters. Mr. Griffith then presented the names of his Cabinet, and after formal approval of this Cabinet the Dail Eireann adjourned until Jan. 14. * * * In Northern Ireland the setting up of an Irish Free State fixed the attention of Ulster politicians on the task of saving the whole of the counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone from the surrender of one inch to Southern Irish dominion. J. M. Andrews, Northern Min-

ister of Labor, stated there would be a fight to a finish by the Northern Parliament over this question. In a more pacific vein the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig, at New Year's expressed a hope for good feeling between North and South. Meantime factional disorder continued to increase in Belfast and adjacent territory, with many casualties. Official figures made public in Belfast on Dec. 29 showed that 110, including eleven policemen, were killed and 540 wounded by bombs and bullets in Belfast disorders in 1921.

ITALY.

The Parliamentary situation underwent a considerable change at the beginning of December, through the formation of a bloc of the Constitutional parties of the Left, comprising at least 140 Deputies. The Rome correspondent of the Temps reported that Signori Boselli, Orlando, Nitti and Giolitti—all former Premiers—had joined this new grouping, and that everything indicated that the three chief parties of the Right—the Fascisti, the Nationalists and the Liberals—would give their adherence. The formation of this group implied a diminution of the influence of the Popular or Catholic Party in the future. * * * A great sensation was caused in Rome and other cities of Italy by the suspension of payments by the Banca di Sconto (Bank of Discount) on Dec. 29. It was well known that this bank, one of the largest in Italy, had been shaken by heavy losses, and that it had been saved from closing several months before only by the aid of other banks. The Government took steps at once to protect the bank's creditors, granting meantime a limited moratorium. Government aid to the industries which had been dependent on the bank was being considered. The bank's liabilities totaled 4,000,000,000 lire. A dramatic sequel came on Jan. 4 when it was announced in Rome that the liquidating court had decreed the sequestration of the private fortunes of the Directors of whom Senator Marconi is one. * * *

The long-delayed commercial agreement between Italy and Soviet Russia was signed on Dec. 26 by Marquis della Torretta, the Foreign Minister, and M. Vorovsky, the Soviet representative in Rome. The conclusion of the compact had been previously hindered by the Russian desire to include political clauses. The terms of the agreement were briefly these: reciprocal clauses regarding import and export, the use of ports by shipping, abstention from propaganda, removal of all trade barriers except the ban on import of alcoholic liquors from Russia, repatriation of Italian nationals from Russia, postal and telegraph communications and Italian trading in Russia not to be hampered by the Soviet, Italian goods in Russia not to be requisitioned, funds of former Russian property in Italy not to be demanded, all forms of blockade and boycott to be avoided. A similar agreement was signed to cover the Ukraine. M. Vorovsky departed at once for Russia to secure the ratification of this agreement. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate had previously (Dec. 17) given its anticipatory consent to the resumption of trade relations with

Soviet Russia, on condition that it be based on the free expression of the will of the Russian people, that the rights, past, present and future, of all Italians in Russia be effectively guaranteed, and that the bonds with the Entente Powers be not thereby weakened. * * * Another agreement signed with M. Vorovsky pledged the Italian Red Cross to establish eighteen food and medical bureaus in the famine area of South Russia. An Italian famine mission is to leave for Russia in February. The Government has contributed 6,000,000 lire for this work.

JAPAN

Reactions to the decisions of the Washington conference have not been lacking in Japan. These decisions were denounced at a mass meeting of the Anti-American Young Men's League in Tokio on Dec. 18. The police suppressed a contemplated demonstration before the American Consulate. Various papers, notably the *Asahi*, the *Yorozu Choho* and the *Kokumin Shinbun*, condemned especially the naval ratio agreement, which they interpreted as detrimental to Japan. The leaders of the *Kenseikai*, or Opposition Party, at a meeting of Parliamentarians held on Dec. 20, formulated questions implying that the acceptance by the Government of the invitation to the Washington conference was unjustified by the circumstances and that the conclusion of the four-party treaty would be a wedge for interference by the United States and other powers in Far Eastern affairs. One of the Ministers contested this view and declared the criticism unwarranted. Premier Takahashi, on the other hand, in an address delivered the following day to the *Selyukai*, or Government Party, stressed the "paramount importance of the understandings nearly concluded at Washington." On Dec. 23 he declared that "the Quadruple Alliance, which for Japan replaces the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, is much wider in bearing and removes all chances of war." The conference, he added, had "opened a new epoch in the Pacific and in the world." The new entente, he said, would lighten the Japanese people's burdens and strengthen the position of Japan in the Far East. * * * The Cabinet met on Dec. 24 to consider the Shantung and Siberian questions. In both cases a deadlock had been established, in the one instance with the Chinese delegates at Washington (see the Arms Conference), in the other with the Chita delegates at Dairen. It was semi-officially understood in Tokio that Japan was determined to maintain her position regarding property rights in Siberia, including the coal properties in Northern Saghalin. The Chita delegates at Dairen (Dalny) from the latest reports (see Siberia) had refused the Japanese demands. * * * A Korean appeal for independence to the Washington conference was made public in Washington on Jan. 1. Signers of a similar appeal from Korean students in Tokio were arrested. * * * Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, Japan's "grand old man" and twice Premier, died in Tokio on Jan. 6. The death

of this great progressive and patriotic statesman was universally deplored.

JUGOSLAVIA

The threatened Cabinet crisis was averted when President Ribar of the Chamber succeeded in mediating between the Radicals and Democrats, whose split threatened the coalition with ruin. The Democrats retain the Ministry of the Interior, which was the bone of contention between the two parties, but M. Pribitchevitch, the Minister of Education, is forced out. The Radicals obtain a new post of Under Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior and the Democrats a similar post in the Department of Agrarian Reform. M. Pashitch remains Premier. * * * Disorders between Croats and Italians at Sebenico, Dalmatia, culminated in an attack by an armed Croat mob, aided by police, upon sailors from an Italian destroyer at anchor in the port. Friction also occurred at Spalato. * * * Prince George, former Crown Prince of Serbia, who renounced his rights to succession in 1909 and of whom nothing was heard for some time, has been discovered as a student of law in the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. * * * The engagement has been announced of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Princess Marie, eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Rumania.

LATVIA

M. Meierovics, Premier and Foreign Minister of Latvia, in an interview given in Riga in the middle of December, stated that the general situation of his country, both internally and externally, was favorable. Economic questions with Soviet Russia were being resolved. Moscow was doing all it could to fulfill the terms of the Russo-Lettish treaty, considering the lack of administrative organization and the inertia of the Russian character. The Soviet had restored some of the locomotives, cars and boats removed by the Russian army. It had sent back more than 200,000 Lettish refugees. The Lettish Government was effectively helping the feeding of Russia's starving by facilitating railroad transit across its territory. * * * Latvia's relations with her other Baltic neighbors were excellent. The military alliance with Estonia was in force. A political agreement had been made with Finland. A full understanding with Lithuania and Poland was dependent on a solution of the Vilna controversy.

LITHUANIA

The Vilna controversy between Lithuania and Poland, which was expected by both parties to be settled by the plebiscite elections held on Jan. 8, is again threatening trouble. The official result of the elections has not yet been published, but unofficially it is understood that a large majority of votes were cast in favor of annexation to Poland. The dispute was brought before the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva for the tenth time on Jan. 12, at the Council's request. At this session both the Polish and Lithuanian delegates declined for-

mally to accept the second solution proposed by M. Paul Hymans, the Council's President. [This solution proposed to make Vilna a canton in a Lithuanian federation under a joint Polish-Lithuanian council.] The Lithuanians refused furthermore in advance to be bound by the outcome of the Vilna elections. M. Askenazy, the Polish spokesman, admitted that the Council's efforts had prevented armed conflict between his country and Lithuania, and declared that Poland was ready to settle the dispute in a spirit of fairness. Both delegations declared that all safeguards existed in their respective countries for the protection of minorities. At the session of Dec. 13 the Council again acknowledged its inability to settle the dispute and urged the parties in dispute to seek their own settlement. M. Hymans informed them that the League could not accept the Vilna plebiscite, inasmuch as it had been held without the Council's sanction. A resolution was presented terminating the League's efforts for conciliation and notifying the disputants that it proposed to withdraw its military mission within one month. The Lithuanian representative laid the initial blame on the failure of the Versailles Treaty to establish boundaries. He feared that the withdrawal of the League mission would lead to a revival of the frontier troubles which would be fatal to peace. Lithuania, he said, was ready to submit the whole controversy to the League's newly-established Court of International Justice. Both parties agreed to strive for a peaceful settlement. * * * The plebiscite held on Jan. 8 covered not only Vilna, but the two contiguous districts of Lida and Braslaw, both which were already a part of the Polish State. The total vote approximated 900,000. To remove all appearance of coercion General Zeligowski, the Polish irregular General who had occupied and held Vilna since October, 1920, was induced to resign at the end of November, 1921, and he was replaced by a prominent local citizen, M. Alexander Meysztowicz.

MEXICO

President Obregon in a reception on New Year's Eve declared his policy would be unchanged during the coming twelve months, but some prohibitionists see hope for their cause in his interest to end the manufacture of pulque and mescal by forbidding future planting of the maguey, or century plant, from the juice of which these are made. * * * During recesses of the Mexican Congress legislative affairs are placed in charge of a permanent commission, which has considerable power and is elected by the Chamber of Deputies just before adjourning. On the last occasion, Dec. 30, the Social Democratic bloc triumphed over the Liberal Constitutional Party, of which President Obregon is the head, receiving 122 votes to 118 cast by the administration party. Crowds in front of the building took a lively part in the discussions, which lasted two days, and there were scenes of wild disorder, scores of shots being exchanged and several persons wounded. * * * General Francisco Reyna, who figured prominently in revolutions in Mexico during the last

ten years, was executed by a firing squad in Nogales on Dec. 26, having been caught digging up rifles that had been buried in preparation for a revolt on Jan. 1. * * * A special delegate from the Pope, Mgr. Philippi, who was in Mexico during the Diaz régime, was received by President Obregon on Dec. 21. Since 1910 the Vatican had been unrepresented. * * * Mexico's army budget calls for \$124,383,859, more than \$30,000,000 less than in 1921, and \$50,000,000 are to be spent on schools, more than ever before. * * * Unemployment in Puebla has reached an acute stage, and union workmen on Dec. 24 asked the authorities to grant them lands on which they can raise food. The May-orazgo hacienda was seized by workmen, who displayed a red and black flag. * * * Felipe Carrillo, a Deputy and leader of the Socialists in Yucatan, was elected Governor of that State, unopposed by the Liberal-Constitutionalists, and was inaugurated on Jan. 1, succeeding Manuel Berzuanza, a youth of 25. * * * Señor Morones, leader of the Social Democratic Party, and Congressman Luis Leon were attacked on Jan. 10 in the streets of Mexico City. Three shots were fired at them, but they escaped without injury. The attack was said to be a result of the troubles over the election of the permanent commission referred to above. * * * Supreme Court Justice Donnelly of New York, on Jan. 11, dismissed a suit brought by the Mexican Government against the Lebertan Corporation for breach of contract to supply twenty-five submarine chasers, on the ground that Mexico has not been recognized by the United States.

NEW ZEALAND

The population of New Zealand increased more than 14,500 last year by immigration from Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, the largest annual total of new arrivals in forty years. The British Government assisted 5,286, and of the remainder nearly 5,000 were assisted by the New Zealand Government. A curious feature of the immigration laws is that those Britons expecting to receive assistance in the form of steamer passage at a reduced fare are required to be nominated by some person already in the Dominion. * * * At a conference of meat packers and dealers, presided over by Premier Massey, a resolution was adopted on Jan. 10 supporting the principle of compulsory pooling of meat sales, and a committee was appointed to bring it into operation.

NICARAGUA

Three American marines, who killed three Nicaraguan policemen and wounded others in a brawl in Managua on Dec. 8 (CURRENT HISTORY, January, 1922, p. 675), were sentenced on Dec. 30 to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor by a United States naval tribunal composed of officers from the Galveston, which had been ordered from Balboa to investigate. * * * Nicaragua's best harbors and the bulk of her population are on the west between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific, so that the chief means of com-

munication with Europe and Eastern America are by way of the Panama Canal. To open a more direct route, it is proposed to construct a railroad to the Atlantic Coast, and the Government has authorized a loan of \$3,000,000 to start the work.

NORTH AFRICA

Anti-white feeling is increasing among the natives all over Africa, according to evidence obtained by an authoritative British observer. The strongest factor in the development of this antagonism, he says, is "skillful propaganda fostered by an extreme section of American negroes." Circulars from the United States are translated into the principal African languages and distributed with unsettling effect in French and Belgian Africa, Nyassaland, Uganda and Kenya. * * * Italy, to allay the race prejudice, has announced her intention of granting self-government to Tripolitana. All persons 20 years of age are to receive the franchise. * * * Count Maurice de Leusse, member of a well-known Paris family, was assassinated by natives while on a big-game hunting expedition in Northeast Africa, according to a message from Jibuti to the French Foreign Office, on Jan. 2. The other members of the party were returning to France with the Count's body. * * * The death of Colonel Charles Young, the only negro to reach the rank of Colonel in the United States regular army, was reported in a cable to the War Department, received in Washington on Jan. 12 from Monrovia, Liberia, which said he had died in Nigeria, but gave no details of why he went there. He was graduated from West Point in 1889, served with Pershing in Mexico and was Military Attaché in Liberia in 1912, reorganizing the constabulary there. He was retired in 1917 and went again to Liberia two years ago.

NORWAY

Under the special arbitration agreement between the United States and Norway, signed June 30, 1921, for the adjustment of certain claims of Norwegian subjects against the United States arising out of requisitions by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation during the war, President Harding has appointed Chandler P. Anderson of New York arbitrator, and William C. Dennis of Indiana agent. Under the terms of the treaty, the case is to be heard by an arbitral tribunal of three members sitting at The Hague. * * * M. M. Mjelde of Norway House, London, in a letter to The London Daily Telegraph, Dec. 23, corrected newspaper reports that an amount recently paid to Norway by Germany for food sold to the latter since the armistice was an indemnity for submarine damages. M. Mjelde added that Norway had received no submarine indemnity from Germany, and that the Norwegian merchantmen seized by the Germans were afterward divided between the Allies as German ships. On Dec. 29, King Haakon formally opened the newly finished Norway House, Cockspur Street, London, which for several months has been the home of the Norwegian

Legation, the Norwegian Chamber of Commerce, and the Norwegian State Railways Travel Bureau. * * * News of Messrs. Knudsen and Tessen, the men lost from the Roald Amundsen North Polar expedition in the Winter of 1919, was given through the official Russian Rosta Agency. It told The Associated Press on Dec. 30 of getting a letter signed by the two lost Norwegians and found at Cape Wild by the Russian expedition under Begitchen. The letter was dated Nov. 10, 1919, and read in part: "Bears destroyed our depots; we have now twenty days' provisions." Near Cape Premetny, the Begitchen expedition, which has been searching the Arctic regions for traces of Knudsen and Tessen, reported finding the remains of a fire on the beach and what seemed to be a burned human body. There were footprints of only one man, and a rifle and cartridges of the Norwegian 1914 model. Little hope is entertained of their survival. * * * Captain Roald Amundsen's preparations for his renewed quest for the North Pole contemplate a five-year drift from Alaska, over the top of the world with the ice-pack, to Norway.

PALESTINE

On the fourth anniversary of Lord Allenby's entry into Jerusalem, Dec. 9, the Palestine Arab delegates in London, in a florid telegram to the King, requested his Majesty, under the guidance of the Christianity originating in Palestine, to grant them the self-determination proclaimed by Lord Allenby on his entry into Jerusalem. * * * The Duke of Sutherland replied in November, on behalf of the British Government, to interpellations by Lord Sydenham and Lord Parmoor, that a moratorium had been declared in favor of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem to ease its almost hopeless burden of debt. The activities of the Patriarchate, founded on the Bishopric of Jerusalem, which extended back to the days of the Apostles, had been paralyzed by a great schism between the Patriarch and the majority of the Synod, at the time of the formation of Palestine's civil government. As Palestine was no longer under Moslem rule, it had been decided to sell off the properties of the Patriarchate still under Moslem jurisdiction. Also, lands in Palestine, especially in the suburbs of Jerusalem, of recent acquisition and of no historic associations with the Patriarchate, were being sold under provisions that aimed to prevent land speculation.

PANAMA

Panama's independence, after eighteen years of separation, was finally recognized by Colombia on Dec. 24, when the Chamber of Deputies at Bogota passed the treaty with the United States first presented on April 6, 1914.

PERSIA

Rabbi Joseph Saul Kornfeld of Columbus, Ohio, has become United States Minister to Persia, having been nominated for that position by President Harding. The President received the credentials in November of Mirza Hussein Khan Ali, the new Persian Minister to the

United States. * * * Friendly negotiations between British and American interests in Persian oil fields were under way in December. The result was expected to have no effect on the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's operations in Southern and Eastern Persia. A complication arose over the Northern interests, originally belonging to a Georgian named Khostaria. Oil magnates in Great Britain expected the whole question of the remaining Persian oil concessions would have to be settled by diplomatic action of the powers concerned.

PERU

On Dec. 25 the Peruvian Government sent a note to Bolivia offering to co-operate with Bolivia to bring about arbitration between Bolivia and Chile, provided the present controversy between Peru and Chile is settled by arbitration. The Bolivian Government in a previous note suggested that in case Peru and Chile were unable to reach an agreement regarding the sovereignty of the disputed Provinces of Tacna and Arica an international conference, composed of disinterested and friendly nations, be called to settle all claims. * * * The head of the Peruvian Cabinet denied on Dec. 14 that revolutionary troops operating in Eastern Peru had defeated the Government forces, declaring that, on the contrary, the rebel forces have been repelled three times in small encounters. * * * The anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho was commemorated with the inauguration of the Bolivar Museum, in which many trophies of the War of Independence are exhibited. * * * A Presidential decree forbids the crossing of the national boundaries at below 3,000 meters for any foreign airplane or other airship, establishing at the same time a protective zone of 12,000 meters breadth. Any foreign aircraft trespassing beyond these limits will be suspected of espionage, and will be dealt with by force and its crew taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this law, foreign aircraft will be permitted to cross Peruvian territory in transit if previously furnished with official authorization. The descent within Chilean territory will also be allowed, provided the place and time have been designated in advance. * * * With the hundred-thousand-pound loan for the payment of several months' salaries to customs employes and the approval by the Executive of the plan presented by the American expert in charge of the reorganization of customs services, rapid improvement is expected of the commercial life of the country.

POLAND

Poland received its first payment about the middle of December from the Russian Soviet Government under the Riga Peace Treaty signed last March. The payment was in the form of gold and jewels to the value of 50,000,000,000 Polish marks, and arrived on a special train under military guard. The bullion, weighing 1,280 pounds, gives Poland its first substantial gold reserve. * * * The number of Polish refugees from Russia arriving daily at Baranowicz, on the frontier, was estimated in De-

cember at 6,000. Many of these repatriated Poles had been frozen to death in unheated cars, and the Polish officials blamed the Soviet Government for criminal neglect. * * * Polish foreign trade is improving month by month. Trade with the Ukraine is active, and a special commission composed of Polish economic leaders has been formed in Warsaw for the double purpose of developing trade relations between Poland and Soviet Russia and improving the transportation conditions between them. Considerable quantities of agricultural implements were being exported to Russia. * * * The settlement in Upper Silesia was progressing smoothly, both in Kattowitz and in Geneva. The German industrialists, haunted by the fear of expropriation in the districts assigned to Poland, and the Polish negotiators were showing a mutually conciliatory spirit. * * * The result of the Vilna elections, which were held on Jan. 8, has not yet been officially announced. (See Lithuania.) * * * The political and economic treaty concluded by Poland with Czechoslovakia (Nov. 7) was communicated to the League of Nations toward the middle of December. Under this treaty, all future disputes are to be settled by compulsory arbitration under an appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice recently set up by the League. * * * Danzig-Poland relations continue to be favorable. The inter-allied commission for the division of former German property in Danzig has assigned virtually all the material of the arms factories to Poland, thereby arousing the furor Teutonicus of the Pan-German press. The Free City has given all Germans one year in which to exercise their option of citizenship under the Danzig-German Treaty, which Poland refused to ratify.

PORTO RICO

Despite the demand of Porto Ricans, of fifteen out of nineteen Senators and thirty-nine out of fifty-eight Assemblymen, for the removal of E. Mont Reilly as Governor of the island, President Harding instructed him to return to his duties, according to a White House announcement made on Dec. 16. * * * With regard to the charge that Governor Reilly was appointing an unusual number of Americans to jobs in Porto Rico, about which Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, offered a resolution of inquiry, President Harding, without waiting for its passage, wrote to Mr. King saying that on July 1, when Reilly became Governor, forty-nine continentals and 5,911 natives were employed in the insular government and the only changes of consequence since then were a reduction of the number of Americans from forty-nine to forty-five. In the major appointments, there had been six changes, and in four of them continentals had been replaced by islanders. * * * Associate Justice Emilio del Toro was selected for appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico by Secretary Weeks on Dec. 22. * * * The Federal farm loan system has been extended to Porto Rico. * * * Cayetano Coll, Speaker of the Porto Rico House of Representatives, in an address at Madrid, Spain, on Dec. 20, suggested the founding of a Spanish-speaking League of Nations, "as Spain

and Latin America have been ignored at the Washington conference." * * * A commission of Porto Ricans on Jan. 13 presented a petition to Congress for an ample autonomous form of government, comparing the political situation of Porto Rico to that of Canada in 1839.

PORTUGAL

The outstanding event in revolution-torn Portugal in December was the overthrow of the Cabinet of Maia Pinto, with the formation of a new Cabinet under Senhor Cunha Leal, former Minister of Finance. The new Premier, who came into power on Dec. 15, is barely 30 years of age, a Captain in the Engineer Corps, who served in Africa and Flanders. He entered politics only three years ago, and his rise to high responsibility has been exceptionally rapid. The downfall of the Pinto Cabinet was due primarily to the dissolution of Parliament and the adjournment of the elections. Premier Cunha Leal increased his reputation for energy and courage on the night of Dec. 15, when, menaced by the revolutionary Octobrists, he passed the night under the protection of the Republican Guards and declared that no threats would deter him from accepting his new responsibilities—that he would succeed or perish. Assured of the support of the principal parties in Parliament, he managed despite all obstacles on the following day to form a Cabinet, composed as follows:

CAPTAIN CUNHA LEAL—Premier and Interior.
 SENHOR JULIO DANTAS—Foreign Affairs.
 SENHOR VICTORINO GUIMARAENS—Finance and Commerce.
 CAPTAIN JOAO CAVALHO—Marine.
 SENHOR MARIANO MARTINS—Agriculture.
 SENHOR REGO CHAVES—Colonies.
 COLONEL FREIRIA—War.
 SENHOR ALVES SANTOS—Labor.
 SENHOR ROCHA SARAIVA—Instruction.
 SENHOR ABRANCHES FERRAO—Justice.

"I have a double task—to maintain order and to reorganize the Administration," said the new Premier on Dec. 20. It was essential, he said, to improve the bad financial situation caused by Portugal's failure to increase taxation during the World War. First of all, the Government must be stabilized. Measures must also be taken to remedy the high cost of living, which caused universal discontent. Arrests were made on Dec. 29 following the killing of two persons and the wounding of five others through the explosion of bombs in process of manufacture in a building belonging to the Lisbon General Confederation of Labor. Up to the middle of January Senhor Leal had succeeded in keeping the revolutionary element in control.

RUMANIA

The Cabinet crisis continued to be the centre of public interest. It appears that, although the withdrawal of the Averesco Government had been expected, it occurred ahead of schedule time and under rather precipitate circumstances. This was the result of a feud of old standing between Premier Averesco and the Foreign Minister, Také Jonesco. The former had made all arrangements to cede his place to General Coanda, who had been Premier in the period between the pro-German Marghillo-

man Cabinet of 1918 and the appointment of the Averesco Administration. The Coanda Cabinet was to assume power pending the convocation of a new Chamber. This plan, however, was thwarted by Averesco's enemy, Foreign Minister Jonesco, who resigned three days ahead of the time set, and thus precipitated the fall of the Ministry. It is generally assumed that the newly-appointed Cabinet, headed by M. Jonesco, cannot last over Feb. 1. Both the new Premier and ex-Premier Averesco are canvassing the Deputies, trying to secure their pledges of support for the reopening of Parliament. Averesco is making approaches to the Extreme Left, the Peasant Party, headed by Dr. Lupu. It is generally believed, however, that the man of the future is the former Premier Bratiano, who is regarded as the strongest man by both Court and people, and who, as head of the Liberal Party, commands the support of all the big banks. He is negotiating with the powerful Transylvanian Nationalist Party, and the combination, if achieved, would probably carry the day. The Liberals, who have been out of power for several years, have a detailed program of economic reconstruction, with the stoppage of the currency-printing presses as a preliminary.

RUSSIA

Premier Lenin has shifted some of the portfolios in his Cabinet and added three new members. The following is the revised list, as taken from the official newspaper Pravda and the Rosta Agency on Jan. 13:

NIKOLAI LENIN—President of the Council of Commissars.
 M. RYKOV—First Vice President.
 M. TSURUPOFF—Second Vice President. (The Vice Presidents are newly created officials.)
 M. LUNACHARSKY—Commissar for Education.
 LEONID KRASSIN—Foreign Trade.
 M. KARETSKISKY—Finance.
 M. STALIN—National Minorities and Labor and Peasant Inspection.
 M. SCHMIDT—Labor.
 M. BRUKHANOFF—Food.
 LEON TROTZKY—War and Navy.
 M. DJERJINSKY—Communication and Interior.
 M. DOVNALEVSKY—Posts and Telegraphs.
 DR. SEMASHKO—Health.
 GEORGE TCHITCHERIN—Foreign Affairs.
 M. KUESKY—Justice.
 M. YAKOVENKO—Agriculture.
 M. BOGDANOFF—President of the Supreme Economic Council.

All the members of the Cabinet are of the so-called Right Wing Communists, following Lenin's lead. Nearly all are native Russians. Trotzky, the Minister of War, and Schmidt, Minister of Labor, are of Jewish parentage. Djerjinsky, the Minister of the Interior, is of Polish nationality, and Stalin, the Minister of National Minorities and Labor and Peasant Inspection, is a Georgian.

An American appropriation of \$20,000,000 for Russian Relief was signed by President Harding on Dec. 23. Col. Haskell, Director of the relief work in Russia, had reported that 27,000,000

people were starving. * * * The Soviet Government on Dec. 24 promised Walter Lyman Brown, European Director of American relief work, that it would contribute \$10,000,000 to purchase food and seed supplies in the United States within 90 days. The Soviet's request for permission to send a representative to the United States to supervise these purchases was granted by Mr. Hoover. Meanwhile five large ships, laden with grain, sailed for Russia. * * *

The ninth All-Russian Congress opened in Moscow on Dec. 23, and closed on Jan. 4. Many addresses were made, notably by Lenin and Trotzky, but the practical results of the congress were few. Lenin announced at the opening session that the dreaded Extraordinary Commission would henceforth confine itself to political activities. His whole plan for economic reform was approved at this first session. Land reform plans were adopted at the session of Dec. 28. Trotzky on Dec. 29 made a belligerent speech against Poland, Rumania and Finland, in which he declared that the Red Army would be ready to beat back all new aggressions in 1922. He also denounced the Washington Conference, one of the first consequences of which, he declared, was Japan's attack on the Far Eastern Republic. The whole "Presidium," or Soviet governing body, was re-elected at the closing session.

SANTO DOMINGO

The Senate Committee which investigated conditions in Haiti also inquired into affairs in Santo Domingo and advised against the removal of American troops. The conditions laid down by President Harding last summer—that elections be held under American auspices and that a loan floated by American bankers be validated—had not been fulfilled, Senator McCormick, the Chairman, said in a preliminary report. He admits that the program of public works was "perhaps too ambitious" and urges a new loan to refund two previous ones saddled on the Dominican Government, of which he says the services "including the provision for their amortization, are unusual and crushing," crippling the ordinary administration. * * *

Horace G. Knowles, formerly United States Minister to Santo Domingo, and counsel for the deposed Government before the Senate Committee, returned to New York, and on Dec. 30 issued a statement denouncing the report, the only base for which was a plea made by the Navy Department in attempted defense of its action. He says abuses, cruelties and murders were committed by the marines. An alleged bandit was invited to American headquarters on promise of a commission and assassinated on the way, after one officer, Captain Thomas E. Watson, had refused to do the killing because he "did not want nigger blood on his hands." Lieut. Commander Arthur H. Mayo had been elevated to Chief Financial Manager and brought the country to a state of bankruptcy. "Although last year's revenue had exceeded by \$4,000,000 the budget estimates, so much had been spent that, against the protests of the people, \$2,500,000 had been borrowed in New York on which the rate of interest was from 9.2 to 18.7 per cent."

SCOTLAND

Industry along the Clyde has suffered a stunning blow from the suspension of the huge contracts given to the shipyards for the construction of three great warships. The Washington disarmament plan means that for a long time to come there will be more workers than work on the Clyde. The three firms immediately affected had counted on earning their running expenses from the warships, which would enable them to make more favorable bids on merchant liners. Until the news of the suspension was received there had been a turn for the better, but, as one shipyard manager put it, the suspension will only darken the gloom and give a set-back to other possible contracts. It was estimated that the suspension of the warship contracts would have the effect of throwing between seven and ten thousand men back into the unemployed ranks, and blasting the hopes of other thousands who anticipated work in the near future.

SIBERIA

The already tangled situation in Siberia became still more complex at the end of December, through the capture of Khabarovsk by forces of the Vladivostok Government. This city, lying at the point where the Trans-Siberian Railroad crosses the Amur River and turns west into inner Siberia, has great strategical importance. It had been held by the Chita Government since October, when the Japanese evacuated. The capturing forces were made up largely of soldiers formerly of the Kappel, Semenov and Kalmykev armies controlled by Kolchak, and who have now allied themselves with the Vladivostok anti-Bolshevik régime, which is headed by Spiridon Merkulov. The attackers took advantage of the Japanese area extending some 120 miles north of Vladivostok and of the neutral zone twenty miles wide lying beyond and fixed by an agreement between Japan and Chita. Advancing under this double cover, they fell on the Chita garrison suddenly and overpowered it easily. The Chita army all told amounts only to some 50,000 soldiers, and the Khabarovsk position was weakly defended. The power of the Vladivostok Government was thus extended to the northern boundary of the Far Eastern Republic. The Chita delegation at the Washington Arms Conference, on the basis of its messages from home, charged the Japanese with engineering this assault in order to gain from the Vladivostok Government concessions which had been refused them by the Chita negotiators at the Dairen Conference, their alleged purpose being to find new pretexts for not withdrawing their military forces from Siberia. The leaders of the Japanese delegation at Washington denied this. The Chita representatives also charged the Japanese with maintaining an oppressive military rule in the Maritime Province and at Nikolaevsk, basing their charges on proclamations issued by the Japanese military commanders there. * * *

The Dairen Conference, which has continued with interruptions since last May, has made but little progress. The

latest demands made by the Japanese, which the Chita officials declared were equivalent to making the Far Eastern Republic a Japanese colony, were these:

(1) That Japanese subjects receive equal rights and privileges with citizens of the Far Eastern Republic. (2) Abolition of all laws limiting the rights of Japanese subjects. (3) Destruction of fortifications in Vladivostok and in the Maritime Province. (4) The recognition of the right of Japan to maintain military guards in the Far Eastern Republic.

Officially the attitude of the Japanese Government remained the same: Japan would withdraw her forces from Siberia when she received assurance that a stable Russian rule existed there and that the lives and property of Japanese subjects would be secure. There are some 8,000 Japanese nationals in Vladivostok alone. The official representatives of the new Vladivostok régime, on their arrival in Washington, issued statements in which they denied that they were controlled by or in complicity with the Japanese, and asserted that they were the standard bearers of the sane Russian element unalterably opposed to the Bolshevik régime, of which they declared Chita, despite all camouflage, to be a part. Nikolai Matveev is now the President of the Far Eastern Republic.

SPAIN

The Spanish military successes in Morocco continued through December, both in the western and the eastern sections of the war zone. The Spanish forces had been increased by approximately 20,000 men under High Commissioner Berenguer as Chief of Command. Spanish prisoners taken by the Moors were being ransomed on the payment of sums averaging from 4,000 to 5,000 pesetas. More than a score of these prisoners who escaped early in December were recaptured and severely punished. * * * The debate on the Morocco campaign which had occupied the Spanish Parliament for forty days continued with little practical result. The general sentiment expressed was that this campaign, which had cost so much in blood and treasure, as well as national prestige, should be ended speedily. Señor Martínez Campos, a staff officer in Melilla, drew a deplorable picture of the disorganization existing in every branch of the service in Morocco, and General Primo de Rivera advocated withdrawal. To this disorganization, attested by Spanish authorities, the Madrid correspondent of *The London Times* attributed the grievances of the British volunteers who quit the Spanish service and returned to England. * * * The dispute between Juan de la Cierva, the civilian Minister of War, and the army officers' juntas or committees was reaching a crisis in the first ten days of January. The efforts of this Minister to reform the Morocco maladministration are said to have been the cause of the committees' hostility. Clashes of the juntas with the Morocco commanders over the appointment of junta officers on the new General Staff were recorded in the January issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. Feeling was high over the resignation of the octogenarian General

Valeriano Weyler, Chief of Staff, following censure from Minister de la Cierva. * * * The preferential tariff régime in force between France and Spain since 1906 ended on Dec. 10, and what was described as a tariff war began on that date. The main cause of this rupture was Spain's surcharges for depreciated currency. * * * The Madrid Government received notice on Nov. 15 that the Spanish-American Postal Convention drawn up in Madrid last year had been ratified by the Governments of Cuba, Colombia, Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia, Peru and Santo Domingo.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Federal Assembly has elected M. Robert Haab President of the Confederation, with 154 votes out of 163. M. Haab is a lawyer and railway expert. He was born at Zurich in 1865. He had held the position of Minister to Berlin, and since 1917 has had charge of the Department of Posts and Communications, which he will retain during his Presidency. The President whose term has just expired, M. Motta, will retain charge of the Political Department, which is the Foreign Office of the Federal Council. M. Scheurer of Berne, head of the Military Department, was elected Vice President. * * * Construction of the second Simplon tunnel, started in 1912, has been finished. * * * The electric industry of Switzerland is seriously crippled by the drought which lasted all last Summer and Fall, and has left generating stations in the Alps without adequate supply of water. * * * The Federal Council has ratified, by 7 votes against 2, the convention with France concerning the free border zones, as provided by the Treaty of Versailles. * * * Ex-Empress Zita of Austria-Hungary arrived in Switzerland to attend the operation on her son, the Archduke Robert, for appendicitis. She was given special permission to do so by the Swiss Government, as the imperial couple have been barred forever from Swiss territory. The permit was valid for two weeks only.

SWEDEN

The stabilization of exchange rates in Sweden, bringing Swedish money almost on a par with the American dollar and thus reviving foreign trade, has raised hopes of early business improvement in all Scandinavian countries. Sweden's trade with the United States, after two years of suffering from the high cost of American dollars, can now go on as formerly, according to Stockholm bankers. The Swedish Government, in December, prolonged the Riksbank's dispensation from the redemption of bank notes in gold until March 31, 1922. Consignments of Soviet gold to Sweden are declared to amount, all told, to something between 500,000,000 and 600,000,000 kroner, according to investigations of the Svensk Handelstidning. Of this amount, Swedish mints have melted down gold valued at \$31,200,000. Trade with Russia and the Baltic States is slack. Trade negotiations with the Soviet proceed very slowly and with remote prospects of settlement. A Swedish communist delegation to Moscow had to re-

port there that, in spite of growing unemployment and stringent money conditions, Sweden was not revolutionary. So, with no prospect of civil war, the Swedish Communist Party decided to support Branting's Socialist Government.

* * * On Jan. 6, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapfro, the anarchist deportees from America, arrived in Stockholm from Soviet Russia. The Swedish authorities gave the trio permission to remain in Sweden a month, granting also guarantees that they might return by way of Sweden to Soviet Russia. * * * While Premier Hjalmar Branting and the Swedish press praise the progress of the Washington Conference as beginning a new phase in relations among the great powers which will proportionately benefit the smaller nations, "Sweden could not accept the banning of the submarine, which is the most efficient weapon of defense for small nations," according to Captain Gisiko, chief of the submarine department of the Swedish Navy. Unable to build battleships and cruisers comparable to those of the great powers, Sweden is to base her naval defense on submarines, destroyers and airplanes.

TURKEY

The snarl of complications created in the Turkish situation by France's separate treaty with Kemal's Nationalist Government at Angora (see text of same in January CURRENT HISTORY) was aggravated by the resignation of Premier Briand, and the immediate succession of ex-President Raymond Poincaré, M. Briand's opponent, to the Premiership. M. Poincaré had been carrying on a press campaign to secure a modification of the Treaty of Angora, largely agreeing with British criticisms of it, that it dangerously divided allied policy, and strained relations between France and Britain, and that France did wrong in conceding territories to the Kemalists over which she had only mandates.

The terrible plight the Treaty of Angora created for Christian minorities in Cilicia became apparent from the moment the withdrawal of French troops began, Nov. 28. Thousands of Armenians and Greeks had begun to migrate as soon as the French withdrawal was assured. The Kemalists, rushing into the vacated territory, began such a series of atrocities and outrages that the remaining Armenians sent appeals to the British Government, to the French Government, and to the League of Nations both for relief from famine and for transportation of their entire population to some foreign country. Britain replied that she was

unable to give either. On Jan. 5 the evacuation of 49,884 Christians, mostly Armenians, from Cilicia into Syria under the protection of the French Army was completed. According to the French official announcement, 3,985 Christians remained in Cilicia of their own free will.

On Jan. 6 the French Government issued an official paper indicating that the Angora agreement is not regarded as a treaty of peace and implies no recognition, *de facto* or *de jure*, of the Angora Government. It indicates further that the rights of Great Britain and Italy, recognized in the tripartite agreement, are in no way affected by the Angora agreement, and that France admits the principle of adjusting in a final peace treaty all outstanding problems.

Meanwhile the continued state of war between Greece and the Angora Turks and the menace of the Bolshevik machinations in the Kemalists' rear create a dilemma. The Kurds were kept supplied with arms from Russia, and they kept passing the arms exported to them from Russia on to Enver Pasha, who, at last advices, was in Batum, creating a new State—Ajaristan—under his rule on the Black Sea. This unfriendly activity of the Bolsheviks resulted from Kemal's transference of economic concessions already granted the Soviets to France, in the Angora agreement. This estranged the Russians, though Kemal continued to profess loyalty to his alliance with them. Moscow's continued efforts to stir up unrest in the East to prevent peace between Turkey and the Western nations are in contrast to her efforts for Western recognition. It was indicated in London that a joint offer of reasonably acceptable peace terms to Kemal by the Allies, as a solution of the Near Eastern deadlock, was contemplated by the Supreme Council before its final adjournment. Franklin-Bouillon, the French negotiator of the Angora Treaty, had been called to the Cannes Conference about a week before its adjournment. A British mission to Ineboli under Major Henry meanwhile had done much toward securing for Great Britain an agreement favorable to British interests in Turkey.

UNITED STATES

The chief interest continued to centre about the Arms Conference at Washington, a full report of which will be found at the beginning of this magazine. Other American developments are recorded under the heading, "The Month in the United States."

THE CANNES CONFERENCE

What the Supreme Council accomplished in the sessions that inadvertently overthrew the Briand Government—Call to the Genoa Conference—New German reparation terms—Franco-British treaty of alliance

A CONFERENCE was held at London on Dec. 21 and 22, 1921, between Premiers Lloyd George and Aristide Briand, at which the whole question of disarmament, reparations and economic restoration of Europe was discussed. As a result, a call was issued for a meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes, France. Preliminary to the Cannes Conference, a meeting was held at Paris Dec. 29 by French and British financiers under the leadership of Laming Worthington Evans, the British Secretary of State for War, and Louis Loucheur, French Minister of Reconstruction. It was at this meeting that plans were formulated for organizing a national corporation to finance the restoration of Europe, with a capital of \$100,000,000, to be shared equally by Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States—if the United States so desired.

The allied Supreme Council met at Cannes on Jan. 6, with the Premiers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the Japanese Ambassador at Paris in attendance. Ambassador Harvey was present as an observer, but did not participate in the proceedings. The Allied Reparation Commission was also in attendance, and large official delegations from the allied countries. The Supreme Council held two sessions the first day and unanimously passed a resolution calling for a conference of all the European States to meet at Genoa, Italy, March 8. The resolution was as follows:

The allied powers, met in conference, are unanimously of the opinion that a conference of an economic and financial nature should be called during the first weeks of March, to which all the European powers, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia included, should be invited to send representatives. They consider that such a conference constitutes an urgent and essential step toward the economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. They are of the firm opinion that the Prime Ministers of each nation ought, if possible, to take part themselves at this conference, so that the recommendations can be acted on as quickly as possible.

The allied powers consider that the restoration

of the international commerce of Europe, as well as the development of the resources of all countries, is necessary to increase the amount of productive labor and lessen the suffering endured by the European peoples.

A common effort by the most powerful States is necessary to render to the European system its vitality, which is now paralyzed.

This effort ought to be applied to the suppression of all obstacles in the way of commerce. It ought to be applied also to granting large credits to the most feeble countries and to the co-operation of all for the restoration of normal production.

The allied powers consider that the fundamental and indispensable conditions for the realization of an efficacious effort are capable of being defined in general terms as follows:

1. The nations cannot claim the right to dictate to each other the principles according to which they must organize within their frontiers, their régime of property, their economy and their Government. It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers.

2. Nevertheless, it is not possible to place foreign capital in order to help a country unless the foreigners who provide the capital have a certitude that their property and their rights will be respected, and that the fruits of their enterprise will be assured.

3. This feeling of security cannot be re-established unless nations or their Governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage: (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations which have been contracted, or will be contracted or guaranteed by States, municipalities, or other public organizations, and to recognize also obligation to restore or, in case of default, to indemnify all foreign interests for loss or damage which has been caused by the confiscation or sequestration of property; (b) to establish legal and juristic punishment and assure the impartial execution of all commercial or other contracts.

4. The nations ought to have available convenient means of exchange; in general, financial and monetary conditions ought to exist which offer sufficient guarantees.

5. All nations ought to engage to abstain from all propaganda which is subversive of the political system established in other countries.

6. All nations ought to take a common engagement to abstain from all aggression on their neighbors.

If, with a view to assuring the necessary conditions for the development of the commerce of Russia, the Russian Government claims official recognition, the allied Governments cannot ac-

cord this recognition unless the Russian Government accepts the preceding conditions.

Premier Lloyd George took the leading part in the deliberations. He delivered a long address in which he reviewed the situation in Europe, urging the utmost frankness between delegates, and dwelling particularly upon the importance of all the nations being invited.

The meeting of the council on Jan. 7 was devoted to discussion of reparations, and it was finally determined to summon German representatives to Paris, whence, if necessary, they could be called later to Cannes. Meanwhile, however, conversations were in progress between Premier Lloyd George and Premier Briand with relation to a treaty of alliance between France and Great Britain. The Supreme Council on Jan. 10 approved the plan for the formation of an international finance corporation and appointed a committee, composed of two British, two French, one Italian, one Belgian and one Japanese representative, to organize a corporation. The Governments represented at the Cannes Council undertook to furnish £10,000 for the organizing expenses. It is to be called the Central International Corporation, and will have its principal offices in London. The corporation will consist of representatives of the national corporations to be formed in England, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan, and, if willing, the United States. Germany is not invited, but is desired in the corporation, though it is stipulated that one-half of the profits accrued on the shares of the German National Corporation will be paid to the Reparation Commission. The first meeting of the committee was called for Jan. 25 at London.

At the meeting of the council on Jan. 10 it was announced that the text of the Anglo-French Treaty of Alliance was agreed upon. Meanwhile reports from Paris of the great opposition to the course of Premier Briand convinced him that it was necessary that he consult at Paris before proceeding further in the deliberations. The Council was suspended until he could go to Paris for this purpose. The next day the world was startled by Briand's resignation and the creation of a new French Ministry. [See "France" in News of the Nations.]

At the final session of the council formal invitations were issued summoning the na-

tions to the Genoa Conference, regardless of what happened at Paris. The most important countries were asked to send at least three delegates, and not over five, and the other nations two delegates each.

The Reparation Commission at this same meeting made its final report of an adjustment of the German payments. The decision stated that the Reparation Commission had decided to grant the German Government a provisional delay for payment of the sums due Jan. 15 and Feb. 15, so far as these payments were not covered by payments in cash or in kind, on certain conditions. These conditions are:

First—During the period of provisional delay Germany must pay in approved foreign securities 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days, the first payment to be Jan. 16.

Second—Germany, within a fortnight, must submit to the commission a plan for reforms or appropriate guarantees for its budget and paper currency, and also a program for reparation payments in cash and in kind for 1922.

Third—The period of provisional delay shall end when the commission or the allied Governments have reached a decision in regard to the plan and program mentioned in the second condition, the balance due becoming payable a fortnight after the commission or the Allies have reached a decision.

The 31,000,000 gold marks which Germany is called on to pay every ten days during the period of provisional delay is just about equal to 25 per cent. on German exports. It is made clear in the conditions that the arrangement is only temporary, to be superseded by any definite arrangement the Allies may make hereafter in regard to reparations. The expectation in Council circles is that by the time the Germans reply to the demand of the commission for reforms, which include the suppression of subsidies and an increased price for coal, the French Government will be ready to resume consideration of the whole reparation question.

Dr. Walter Rathenau, head of the German delegation, took note of the decision in the name of his Government. He added that Germany had not defaulted in her payments, because negotiations had been taken up regarding the payments due Jan. 15. He also took note of the invitation to Germany to take part in the Genoa Conference.

Dr. Rathenau, in his speech before the commission on the day preceeding, had said that Germany was able to meet the London terms of 500,000,000 gold marks in cash and

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

THE GERMAN REPARATIONS

JOHN BULL: "No! Don't kill it, Marianne. Let's fatten it"

1,000,000,000 gold marks in kind annually, but could not go beyond those figures. He explained that Germany's inability to pay was due to the disastrous exchange, which had made it necessary for Germany to use marks to buy foreign currency, until the mark was a drug on the market. Germany's exportations amounted in the last year to only one-fourth of the exports in 1914, and the balance of trade against her amounted to 2,500,000,000 gold marks. This could not be offset by decreasing imports, because Germany was now buying abroad only food and necessary raw materials.

In connection with the reparation report the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following figures of the relative financial condition of France and Germany:

The German foreign debt is \$787,250,000; interior funded debt, \$850,250,000; interior floating debt, \$2,111,110,000, whereas France's foreign debt is \$6,856,000,000; interior funded debt, \$10,171,000,000, and interior floating debt, \$7,199,000,000.

To meet the financial obligations of the Treaty of Versailles Germany has designated

for the budget \$787,000,000, whereas France to meet reconstruction of the devastated regions has designated a budget of \$1,570,000,000.

According to the tables the German budget makes the tax per person \$13.88. At the same time the French tax per head is \$45.22. The German fiscal year is May 1 to April 3 and the French Jan. 1 to Dec. 3. A kilogram of bread in Germany is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, in France 8.22 cents. In Germany a ton of coal costs \$2.05, in France \$9.56. Transportation of a ten-ton railway car 1,000 kilometers: Germany, \$60, and France, \$178.50.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH TREATY

Following is the text of the proposed Treaty of Alliance between France and Great Britain as finally presented to the respective Governments for ratification:

CONSIDERING that the territory of France has been twice invaded by Germany within the memory of living men and that the country still profoundly suffers from the devastation inflicted by the enemy;

CONSIDERING that the peoples of both France and the British Empire paid a heavy tribute in human lives and riches to repulse the invasion of the German armies;

CONSIDERING that the prosperity of European peoples and the economic organizations of the world have been profoundly troubled by the

trial of prolonged war through which they have just passed;

CONSIDERING that guarantees for the security of France against future invasions by Germany are indispensable for the restoration of the stability of Europe, the security of Great Britain and the peace of the world;

CONSIDERING that the following measures for security contained in the Versailles Treaty—

Article 42—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

Article 43—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

Article 44—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

—may not provide sufficiently for the defense of the common interest essential to both high contracting parties, as well as to the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe,

His Britannic Majesty and the President of the French Republic have agreed upon the following dispositions:

ARTICLE I. In case of direct and unprovoked aggression against the territory of France by Germany, Great Britain will place herself immediately at the side of France with her naval, military and aerial forces.

ARTICLE II. The high contracting parties again affirm the common interest which Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles have for them, and they will act in concert if there arises any menace of violation to any one of said articles, or if any doubt arises as to their interpretation.

ARTICLE III. The high contracting parties also undertake to act in concert in case of Germany taking any military, naval or aerial measures whatever incompatible with the Treaty of Versailles.

ARTICLE IV. The present treaty imposes no obligation whatsoever on any dominions of the British Empire, unless or until approved by the dominion which is interested.

ARTICLE V. The present treaty will remain in vigor for a period of ten years, and will, by common accord, be renewable at the end of that period.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE

The Genoa Conference was expected to be the most important gathering since the Versailles Peace Congress. Up to the time of going to press the United States Government had made no announcement as to whether or not it would officially participate. The Soviet Government accepted with alacrity, even before the official invitations were issued. The following wireless communication was sent by Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 8:

The Russian Government accepts with satisfaction the invitation to the European conference called for March next. An extraordinary session of the Central Executive Committee will proceed to select the Russian delegation and will confer on it the most extended powers.

Even if President of the Council of the People's Commissaries Lenin is prevented by his multiple tasks, particularly in connection with the famine, from leaving Russia, in any case the composition of the delegation, as well as the extent of its powers, would give it the same authority as if Citizen Lenin were in it. Nothing, then, will hinder in any case on the part of Russia the rapid progress of the conference.

Deep satisfaction was expressed in German official circles over the conference, and the German Government announced that it would be represented.

AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

BY HELEN LESCHORN*

IT was my good fortune to be in Santo Domingo City, the capital of the Dominican Republic, some time prior to and at the time of the hearings held by the Special Committee of the United States

Senate to Investigate the Occupation and Administration of the Dominican Republic by the United States. It looked at first as if there were to be no hearings. When the Dominicans learned that the impresario had staged the investigation in the palace of the Military Governor, in a room adjoining his private office, and that the place

*The writer, an American, was for six years private secretary to the Attorney General of Porto Rico, and for the last three years has been a resident of Santo Domingo.

was to have armed marines posted everywhere, even close to the table where the Senators would sit, they indignantly decided to have nothing to do with the investigation, declaring that such display of armed marines would make it appear that in no other way could the investigation be conducted in an orderly manner and with safety to the Senators, and would prejudice the minds of the Senators at the very outset against the Dominicans. Counsel for the Dominicans was not able to persuade his first witnesses and a few spectators to attend until the second day.

The hearings extended over a period of five days, and in all my experience attending court and judicial proceedings I have never heard and witnessed anything so intensely interesting, so amazing, and at times so horrifying. As an American citizen, devoted to the honor of our flag, my emotions were kept at the breaking point practically every moment of the time the committee held its sessions. Crimson with shame must have been my face most of the time, as witness after witness, men of high character and lofty ideals, ability and commanding patriotism, gave their accusing and incontrovertible testimony against our Government.

The claims of the Dominican people as to the illegality of the invasion and occupation of their country were supported by a number of unimpeachable witnesses. Their testimony and the sworn declarations of Senators, Congressmen and Ministers of State went much further and charged the United States with (1) either having originated or being implicated in a plot to foment a revolution; (2) interfering with the Dominican Congress when it was proceeding according to the Constitution and endeavoring to elect a President of the country; (3) using the American Legation to effect a corrupt deal whereby a certain man, apparently desired by Washington, was to be elected President of the Dominican Republic; (4) using armed force and imprisoning members of Congress in an attempt to elect that man President; (5) seeking to overthrow the Constitutional Government of the island republic. All the witnesses, without a single exception, declared that the reasons stated by the Navy Department as the cause for the intervention were based on false information.

Then came the accounts given under oath, many by men who had been victims, bearing horrible and ineffaceable wounds made by keen-edged steel and red-hot irons, of torture committed by United States marines, both officers and men. When details of some of the countless atrocities inflicted upon the previously disarmed, helpless, defenseless and unoffending Dominican people were given, the effect on me and, I believe, on every one in that audience room, including the Senators, was sickening, as pallid faces plainly indicated. At one stage I recall that Chairman McCormick, showing rare judgment and caution, indicated to the counsel of the Dominicans that it would be just as well if no more of that accusing evidence were given. Already an alarming effect of the at times unlistenable testimony of maimed natives on the Dominican auditors was noticeable to keen-eyed observers. The committee ended the hearings with astounding suddenness and left Santo Domingo City three days earlier than the time that had been announced.

The American people can prepare themselves for hearing one of the worst trans-actions in which our Government has ever been concerned. The evidence already in the record of this case puts Uncle Sam, probably for the first time in our history, on the defensive in a matter of our international relations and involving our integrity, and apparently the four members of the Senatorial committee realized that this investigation was developing in such a way that our country's honor was at stake. So far as the Dominicans are concerned, they tell me that the case has just been opened, and that when hearings are resumed in Washington there will be presented to the investigation committee evidence of wrongdoing on the part of representatives of the United States Government, and of atrocities and brutalities inflicted by the unformed men of the United States upon a defenseless and unoffending people, that will shock and arouse every good citizen of our country.

Let the truth be told. It is far better for the American people to learn about this unfortunate affair now, and to end it in an honorable way, than to have such a black chapter go in our history for future generations and other nations of the world to read.

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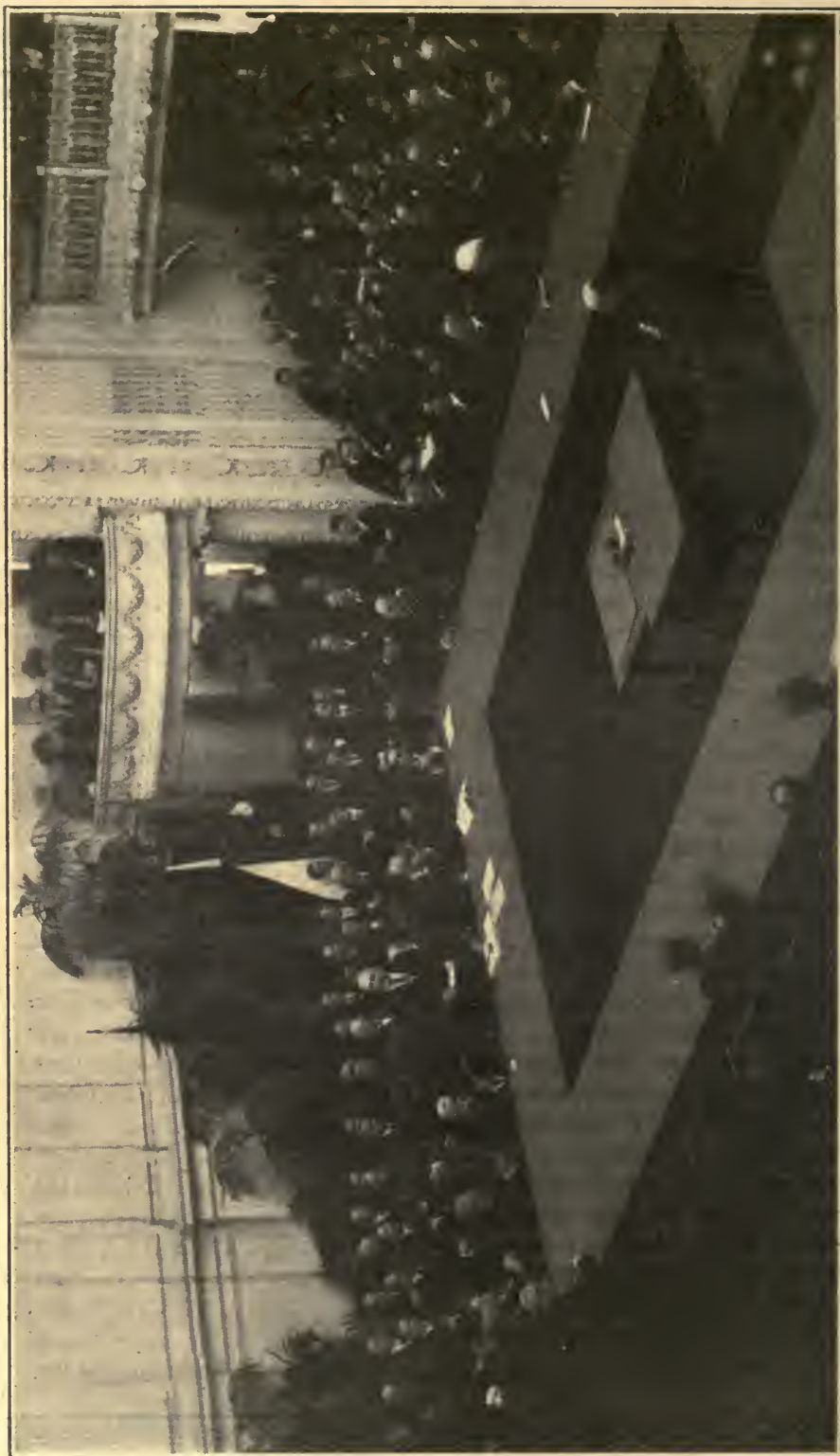
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President Harding reading his farewell message to the Arms Conference. Among the delegates seated at the table (reading left to right) these are recognizable: Senator Underwood, Ellhu Root, Senator Lodge (President Harding), Lord Balfour and Lord Lee of Fareham. Back of the President is Mr. Gompers. General Pershing stands near.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

CONQUEST OF HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

BY ERNEST H. GRUENING

Managing Editor of The Nation, New York

A documented narrative of the United States Government's seizure of political and military control in the two island republics—Ruthless destruction of Dominican self-government—"The gravest breach of fundamental American traditions in our history"

HISPANIOLA, or Haiti, is the second largest island in the Antilles. It lies between Cuba and Porto Rico. It was discovered by Columbus, and the earliest Caucasian civilization in this hemisphere took root there. The tomb supposed to hold Columbus's ashes is in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. The eastern two-thirds of the island is occupied by the Dominican Republic, the western one-third by the Republic of Haiti. The island was a French colony till 1804, although the French claims were frequently disputed by the Spaniards, who at various times established themselves in the eastern part, where language and culture remain Spanish. Following nearly fifteen years of struggle, which began when the Bastille fell, the natives achieved their independence. The revolution was unique in that the revolutionaries, who had formerly been slaves, secured the political independence of their country and their personal freedom as well. The Republic of Haiti was established on Jan. 1, 1804, the second republic in this hemisphere. In 1844 the eastern two-thirds of the island seceded and set up the Dominican Republic.

The Republic of Haiti continued free and independent until 1915. During that 111 years it had troublous history. For many years recognition of this little State was refused by other world powers, who

feared the effect on their own slaves. The French, under the constant threat of reinvasion, succeeded in exacting a 90,000,000-franc indemnity for the property of Frenchmen ousted in Haiti's war of independence. Charles X. of France then recognized the republic. American recognition did not come until the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln. The relations with the United States from then on until 1915 amounted chiefly to negotiations and efforts to secure the cession of Mole St. Nicholas, a harbor at the northwestern extremity of the island. It controls the Windward Passage, and the United States desired it for a naval base. All these efforts failed. The Haitians adhered firmly to the constitutional provision, which forbade the cession of territory. During 1914 and 1915 the United States began overtures to Haiti of a different character. A treaty giving Americans control of the customs and finances was proposed. The cession of Mole St. Nicholas appears also in the earlier exchanges. In October, 1914, Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, wrote to President Wilson, urging the immediate increase of our naval forces in Haitian waters, "not only for the purpose of protecting foreign interests, but also as an evidence of the earnest intention of this Government to settle the unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists." More naval vessels

were sent. At the same time the United States offered to assist the President of Haiti to put down certain threatened revolutionary disturbances. Certain conditions were attached to this assistance, and it was refused. In November and December modifications of previous treaty drafts were again submitted. They proposed the control and administration of the Haitian customs by the United States, and were again refused.

On Dec. 13, 1914, without warning to the Haitian Government, American marines landed in the Haitian capital from the U. S. S. *Machias*. They went to the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti and carried away \$500,000 in gold, the property of the Haitian National Government, on deposit in the bank for the redemption of paper money. This procedure had been arranged between the Secretary of State and the American Director of the National Bank of Haiti, who had been in charge since the control was secured by the National City Bank of New York in 1911. The reason assigned for the removal of the gold was that the bank feared revolutionary activities. The Haitian Government protested to Washington against this violation of its sovereignty, but no explanation was ever given.

LANDING OF MARINES

Subsequent negotiations brought about successive modifications, in Haiti's favor, of the proposed convention. The Haitians indicated willingness to secure American financial aid and friendly co-operation, but would not consent to any abdication of their sovereign rights, and so all negotiations came to naught. On July 1, 1915, the U. S. S. *Washington*, with Rear Admiral Caperton on board, arrived at Cape Haitien, on the north of the island. He established a field radio station ashore on July 3, and on the 9th landed marines from the *Washington* and bluejackets from the *Eagle*. On the 27th a revo-

lution broke out in the capital. The President, Vilbrun Guillaume, seized some two hundred Haitians of the better class and threw them into prison. During the night, either at his order or that of the military commander of the capital, General Oscar, these political prisoners were massacred. The next morning a mob of friends and relatives of the victims marched to the Presidential Palace. The President fled to the French Legation. The mob pursued him there, dragged him and General Oscar out and cut them to pieces. Quiet was immediately restored. There was no looting and no other violence. A committee of safety took charge.

The same day, July 28, a regiment of marines was landed south of the capital. They took possession of all strategic points and disarmed the inhabitants. There was virtually no resistance. On Aug. 10 Admiral Caperton issued the following proclamation:

I am directed by the United States Government to assure the Haitian people that the United States has no object in view except to insure, establish and help maintain Haitian independence and the establishment of a stable and firm government by the Haitian people. Every assistance will be given to the Haitian people in their attempt to secure these ends. *It is the intention to retain United States forces in Haiti only so long as will be necessary for this purpose.*

Meantime the election of the President by the Legislative Chambers was twice delayed at the request of Admiral Caperton, who was acting under orders from the State Department. Secretary Lansing's orders to the American Minister were, in part, as follows:

In order that no misunderstanding can possibly occur after election, it should be made perfectly clear to candidates, as soon as possible, and in advance of election, that the United States expects to be entrusted with the practical control of the customs and such financial control over the affairs of the Republic of Haiti as the United States may deem necessary for efficient administration.

*The Government of the United States considers it a duty to support a constitutional Government. * * * It has no de-*

sign upon the political and territorial integrity of Haiti.

FORCIBLE INTERVENTION

In the interval granted, American naval officers in the capital sought a candidate who would agree in advance to sign and support any treaty which the United States would submit. Several thus approached refused. Among them was the Hon. J. N. Léger, for many years Haitian Minister at Washington, characterized by Lord Pauncefoot as "the ablest diplomat I have ever known." He could not agree to such conditions, he said; he was "for Haiti, not for the United States." Finally, Philip Sudre Dartiguenave, President of the Senate, appeared as a candidate and offered, if elected, to accede to any terms the United States desired, including customs control and cession of Môle St. Nicholas. Upon being apprised of this fact, the Navy Department notified Admiral Caperton that it preferred the election of Dartiguenave. Under American supervision, he was elected on Aug. 12.

Two days later, Aug. 14, a draft of

a treaty was presented. It contained all the clauses which the Haitians had rejected in previous peaceful negotiations—and further conditions. The American Legation was instructed to advise the Haitian President that "the Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude, *without modification*, the treaty submitted by you." The legation transmitted the message. Negotiations for the acceptance of the treaty were thenceforth carried on by Admiral Caperton and his naval officers, acting jointly with the legation. On Aug. 19 Secretary Daniels ordered the seizure of the Haitian custom houses, adding: "Confer for purpose of having Dartiguenave solicit above action. Whether President requests or not, proceed." By Sept. 2 the ten principal Custom Houses had been taken over. The Haitian Government protested in the strongest terms in a series of notes, but in vain. Meanwhile strong opposition was evidenced in the Haitian Cabinet and Congress against ratifying the treaty. On Sept. 3 Admiral



Map of Haiti and Santo Domingo, showing the geographical relation of the two republics to each other, and the location of the island

Caperton proclaimed martial law in the capital, and on Sept. 8 sent the following message to Captain Durell, commanding the Connecticut at Cape Haitien:

Successful negotiation of treaty is pre-dominant part of present mission. After encountering many difficulties, treaty situation at present looks more favorable than usual. This has been effected by the exercising of military pressure at propitious moment in negotiations. Yesterday two members of Cabinet who had blocked negotiations resigned. President himself believed to be anxious to conclude treaty. At present am holding up offensive operations and allowing President time to complete Cabinet and try again. Am therefore not yet ready to begin offensive operations at Cape Haitien, but will hold them in abeyance as additional pressure.

Meanwhile the customs receipts, virtually the sole revenue of the Republic, were held up by Admiral Caperton, so that there were no funds for the payment of Government salaries and other current expenses. On Oct. 2 Admiral Caperton informed the President that "funds will be immediately available upon ratification of the treaty." The President replied that if funds were further withheld he could not face the growing opposition of the Senate, especially in view of the steadily increasing subjugation of the country by American naval forces, but would have to resign. Upon transmission of these facts to the Navy Department, the latter authorized the allowance of a certain weekly amount to the Haitian Government to meet current expenses, saying also: "The question of payment of back salary will be settled by the department immediately after the ratification of the treaty." The Haitian Cabinet had ratified on Sept. 16. The Chamber of Deputies followed suit on Oct. 6. During these weeks several messages from the Navy Department demanded to know the cause of the delay in securing ratification. On Nov. 3 Admiral Caperton, in a statement to the President, said in part:

I have given Captain Edward L. Beach, who is my senior Captain, orders to do everything in his power to get the treaty ratified. Accordingly, he has repeatedly

seen different members of the Senate Treaty Committee, as well as other prominent and influential Haitians, and has earnestly and forcefully presented to these members my reasons why the Senate committee should reconsider the report it has determined upon, and should recommend immediate ratification by the Senate of the



(© Harris & Ewing)

SENATOR MEDILL McCORMICK
Chairman of the Senatorial Commission of
Inquiry in Haiti

treaty as it has passed the House. Captain Beach will continue to work for this ratification. * * * The only objections are unimportant technical points and abstract principles. These and other details can be arranged later.

On Nov. 5 the Senate presented its objections to the treaty and demanded certain modifications. On Nov. 7, following the election—to fill a vacancy—of a new Senator known to be favorable to the treaty, Admiral Caperton sent the U. S. S. Hector to transport him from Cape Haitien to Port-au-Prince. On Nov. 10 Secretary Daniels sent the following message to Admiral Caperton:

* * * Arrange with President Dartiguenave that he call a Cabinet meeting be-

fore the session of Senate which will pass upon ratification of treaty and request that you be permitted to appear before that meeting to make a statement to the President and to members of the Cabinet. On your own authority state the following before these officers: "I have the honor to inform the President of Haiti and the

sition and to secure immediate ratification."

The Admiral carried out these instructions and the next day, Nov. 11, the treaty was ratified by the Haitian Senate. It was ratified by the Senate of the United States the following May (1916).

FORCED LABOR INSTITUTED

Since that episode, the history of Haiti under the American occupation has been, in the words of Admiral Caperton, written at that time, "purely one of military control." Operations were conducted into the hills, particularly against all who offended against the existing régime. The military operations were, however, of minor consequence. The Haitians had no modern weapons. The annual report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1920 gives the Haitian killed for the ensuing years as follows:

1915.....	212	1918.....	35
1916.....	50	1919.....	1,861
1917.....	2	1920.....	90

During the same period one marine officer and twelve enlisted men were killed in action or died of wounds.

The tremendous rise in Haitian casualties in 1919 was due to the following conditions:

While determined opposition existed against the coming of the Americans, the Haitians are a naturally peaceful people. Almost without exception, they expected the American military occupation to be of short duration. (The categorical promises in the American proclamation confirmed that belief.) There had been little resistance. In 1917 the country was absolutely at peace. In 1918, however, the American military forces resurrected the old Haitian law of *corvée*. This law required Haitians to work a few days each year on the roads in their immediate community to keep the highways in repair. The occupation determined to build a military highway running from north to south through the island, and other roads, by forced labor. Even the moderate Haitian law



(© Marceau, New York)

REAR ADMIRAL W. B. CAPERTON

Naval officer under whose command American marines first occupied Haiti in 1915

members of his Cabinet that I am personally gratified that public sentiment continues favorable to the treaty; that there is a strong demand from all classes for immediate ratification, and that the treaty will be ratified Thursday. I am sure that you gentlemen will understand my sentiment in this matter, and I am confident if the treaty fails of ratification that my Government has intention to retain control in Haiti until the desired end is accomplished, and that it will forthwith proceed to the complete pacification of Haiti so as to insure internal tranquillity necessary to such development of country and its industry as will afford relief to the starving populace now unemployed. * * *

The message ended with the confidential memorandum, "It is expected that you will be able to make this sufficiently clear to remove all oppo-

had been in disuse for a long time. Testimony varies as to the extent of the abuses committed under the *corvée*, but it seems to be clearly proved that Haitians were (a) seized wherever they could be found; (b) transported to other parts of the island; (c) compelled to work under guard, often for weeks; (d) placed under guard at night to prevent their escape; (e) subjected to physical violence if they resisted; (f) shot if they attempted to escape. Navy Department testimony admits that at least a hundred were thus killed. Haitian figures are very much higher. It is also proved that the *corvée* continued in certain sections after it had been ordered discontinued by brigade headquarters.

In consequence of these repressive measures, a widespread revolt broke out against the American military forces. This was headed by Charlemagne Peralte, a formerly wealthy landowner of the town of Hinche and a former *chef d'arrondissement*. He was arrested, charged with revolutionary activities and sentenced by court-martial to a long term of imprisonment. He was subjected to ill treatment and forced to labor on the public streets in prison garb. He escaped and became the leader of the rapidly growing revolutionary forces. For many months he defied all efforts of the American troops, until finally he was captured and killed with the aid of treacherous natives and his body exposed in the market place at Cape Haitien. His followers were then rapidly exterminated.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

In the Spring of 1917 the draft of a new Constitution was submitted to the Haitian Congress by the American officials. The chief provision of the new Constitution was that it permitted foreigners to acquire land. Haitians had always considered that their greatest safety lay in their constitutional provision which had hitherto forbidden this. The new Constitution centred unheard-of powers in

the executive, enabling him, at his pleasure, to hold or postpone elections! Moreover, this Haitian Constitution contained clauses ratifying all acts of the occupation, providing that no Haitian could be prosecuted either

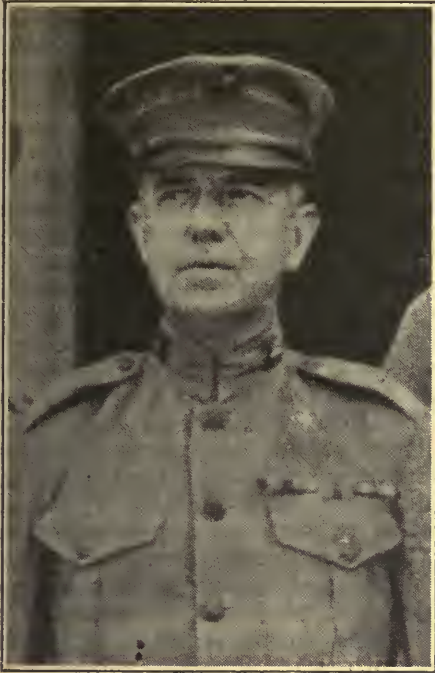


PHILIP SUDRE DARTIGUENAVE
*President of Haiti, elected under American
auspices soon after landing of marines*

civily or criminally for any act executed by order of the occupation, and that the courts-martial of the occupation were the supreme law of the land. The Legislative Assembly refused to ratify. It proposed instead to pass the Constitution without the most objectionable provisions. On June 17 General Eli K. Cole, U. S. M. C., chief of the Occupation, sent the following message to the Secretary of the Navy:

Antagonism National Assembly to foreign ownership land such that no endeavor short of dissolution will prevent passage Constitution along lines reported my 13107. Have discussed matters fully with Minister and General Butler. Suggest Minister notify Haitian Government that, in opinion our Government, Constitution prepared Assembly will make impossible to bring about

results contemplated Articles 1 and 14 of treaty, and consequently our Government cannot accept such Constitution. If Assembly refuses heed such warning, it will be necessary to dissolve Assembly to prevent such passage. The number marines in Haiti should be increased by at least



BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN H. RUSSELL
Marine Corps Commander named by President
Harding to investigate conditions in Haiti

eight full companies to prevent disorders that may follow dissolution Assembly.

On June 18 General Cole notified Washington, "unless contrary instructions received, if necessary to prevent passage proposed Constitution, I intend dissolve National Assembly, through President, if possible, otherwise direct." In reply the Navy Department vested General Cole "with full discretionary power." The next day General Butler, acting under instructions from General Cole, dissolved the Assembly. The Haitian newspapers were ordered by General Cole to omit all comment on this action.

So universally hostile was public sentiment to the proposed Constitution that it was evident that no Hai-

tian Legislature could be elected that would vote for it. No authority existed in consequence to pass such a Constitution. But in the course of the following twelve months the occupation decided to arrange a plebiscite for that purpose. For such a plebiscite neither precedent nor authority existed in Haiti. The following is a specimen order indicating the manner in which this plebiscite was conducted:

Republic of Haiti,
Port-de-Paix, June 11, 1918.

In accordance with the decree of his Excellency the President of the Republic, published in The Monitor of May 8 last, all the citizens of this commune of Port-de-Paix are asked to be present tomorrow at the Hotel Communal to vote on the new Constitution, published in The Monitor of the same date. Any abstention from such a solemn occasion will be considered an unpatriotic—that is, an anti-American occupation—act. Maintenance of order will be assured by the gendarmerie [under chief, General Williams, American marine officer], and the ballots will be distributed by a member of the Administration of Finances [an American marine officer] opposite the voting offices, &c.

The voting is described by a Baptist missionary, the Rev. L. Ton Evans. (Page 191 *et seq.*, Official Record, Senate Resolution 112, Inquiry Into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo.) He states that "the natives were terror-stricken." Further, all the pink slips marked *non* (no) were tied up and only the white slips with *oui* (yes) were handled on the table before which the so-called voters were driven in.

The following passages are taken from the record:

Senator POMERENE—What was the vote at St. Marc? What was the result there?

Mr. EVANS—There was no means of knowing. The natives felt no interest whatever, as it was known from announcement by the occupation (through Dartiguenave), that whatever the American marines did no one dared to oppose or even question. All slips were taken to Port-au-Prince and published there. It was looked upon as a mere farce, and lowered the prestige of the United States among Haitians who seriously think, and even Europeans, and, indeed, Americans, who felt that the American occupation had gone the limit, and made itself a laughing stock and looked contemptible. No votes were reckoned to my knowledge at either town, but all taken in charge of American marines to Port-au-Prince.

Senator POMERENE—No, no; when the votes were counted, what was the result of the election at that place?

Mr. EVANS—All were taken to Port-au-Prince and published there, but whether they gave numbers supposed to be cast at each town, I know not, and, like others, cared little, as I became disgusted and felt disgraced that such was possible in the name of the United States and by any one who called himself an American!

Senator KING—Sixty-three thousand for, and two or three hundred against in all the island.*

Mr. EVANS—You mean the republic, Senator. They might have published the vote as 1,000,000, or as 63,000; there is no one to contradict or to explain, for the American marines managed the whole business. I do not believe that any slips were put in by Haitians, and that out of shame certain marines cast in a couple of hundreds. This is the belief in Haiti. I denounced it then, and denounce it more still today, as the greatest mockery I ever saw in my life, and never thought we had Americans and marine officers that could sink so low before these gendarmes and poor Haitians, whose respect, implicit confidence and highest admiration should be the aim of every military officer and true American, who despises anything like hypocrisy and scorns deceit and fraud.

Senator POMERENE—What part did these educated Haitians take in the election?

Mr. EVANS—The great majority—apart from those who happened, as stated, to be officially and financially connected with the occupation, so-called Haitian Government, sugar and castor-oil corporations, schools, courts, prisons, customs, railroads, &c.—abstained and kept clear of the voting places, though in so doing they ran the risk of being blacklisted, run into prison on slightest suspicion or provocation, &c.

Had they gone they would have asked for the pink slip with *non*, which would have decided their lot with the occupation. It was a hard and trying situation, but many were heroic enough to stand the test, whatever have been the consequences since.

This testimony has remained uncontradicted, although virtually every high marine officer who served in Haiti testified subsequently, viz., General Butler, General Waller, General Cole, General Catlin, Colonel Williams (the General Williams of the Gendarmerie d'Haiti mentioned in the above plebiscite order), as well as Admiral Caperton and General Barnett, who was Commandant of the Marine Corps from 1914 to 1920.

THE HAITIAN MEMORIAL

Today Haiti remains under martial

law, but recently the situation there began to attract attention in the United States and elsewhere. In the Summer of 1920, following the publication of articles in *The Nation*, President Harding made of the Haitian and Dominican situations a campaign issue. Secretary Daniels denied the accusation of wrong-doing by the Democratic Administration, but sent a Naval Commission to investigate. This commission found nothing materially discreditable to report. On Oct. 2, 1920, Major Gen. Barnett, Commandant of the Marine Corps, expressed himself as shocked by "the indiscriminate killings in Haiti." Another Naval Commission was sent to investigate, and it reported approximately as had the first. Shortly afterward a delegation of representative Haitian citizens came to the United States, representing the Haitian people, and particularly the popular organization known as the Union Patriotique d'Haiti. These delegates, refused an audience by the State Department, composed a detailed memorial—with documents—which was sent to the Secretary of State and to the Chairman of the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Senate and House. It was also read into the official record last August of the Senatorial Commission of Inquiry, of which Senator Medill McCormick was Chairman. This memorial makes charges of administrative incompetence and malfeasance by the civilian officials. It lists twenty-five specimen atrocities which, it charges, were committed by the American military and were vainly called to the attention of the Naval Commission of Inquiry headed by Admiral Mayo. The memorial makes the following conclusion (pp. 32 and 33 of the record of the Senatorial Commission of Inquiry):

The Haitian Republic was the second nation of the New World—second only to the United States—to conquer its national independence. We have our own history, our own traditions, customs and national spirit, our own institutions, laws and social and political organization, our own culture, our own literature (French language), and our

*The official figures as published at the beginning of the new Constitution are 98,294, yes; 769, no.

own religion. For 111 years the little Haitian Nation has managed its own affairs; for 111 years it has made the necessary effort for its material, intellectual and moral development as well as any other nation—better than any other nation, because it has been from the start absolutely alone in its difficult task, without any aid from the outside bearing with it along the harsh road of civilization the glorious misery of its beginning. And then, one fine day, under the merest pretext, without any possible explanation or justification on the grounds of violation of any American right or interest, American forces landed on our national territory and actually abolished the sovereignty and independence of the Haitian Republic.

We have just given an account of the chief aspects of the American military occupation of our country since July 28, 1915.

It is the most terrible régime of military autocracy which has ever been carried on in the name of the great American democracy.

The Haitian people, during these last five years, have passed through such sacrifices, tortures, destructions, humiliations and misery as have never before been known in the course of their unhappy history.

The American Government, in spite of the attitude of wisdom, moderation, and even submission, which it has always found in dealing with the Haitian Government, has never lived up to any of the agreements which it solemnly entered into with regard to the Haitian people.

The Haitian people are entitled to reparations for the wrongs and injuries committed against them.

The great American people can only honor themselves and rise in universal esteem by hastening the restoration of justice—of all the justice due a weak and friendly nation which the agents of its Government have systematically abused.

Reparations are due for the human lives that have been taken and for the property that has been destroyed or abstracted. An impartial investigation will provide the necessary statements and supply the basis for the estimates to be determined.

The present political aspirations of the Haitian Nation have been formulated by the Union Patriotique, a comprehensive national association which, through its numerous branches throughout the country and in all levels of society, includes virtually all the Haitian people. The undersigned have been sent to the United States by this association to make the will of the country clearly known.

The Haitian people are filled with peaceful sentiments, but there is no doubt that they intend to recover definitely the administration of their own affairs and to resume under their own responsibility the entire life of the country, with full sovereignty and independence. They will never rest until they have obtained them.

The salient aspirations of the Haitian people are summarized as follows:

1. Immediate abolition of martial law and courts-martial.

2. Immediate reorganization of the Haitian police and military forces, and withdrawal within a short period of the United States military occupation.

3. Abrogation of the convention of 1915.

4. Convocation, within a short period, of a Constituent Assembly, with all the guarantees of electoral liberty.

But the Haitian people desire too strongly the friendship of the great American people, and are too anxious for their own material, intellectual and moral development, not to wish and bespeak for themselves the impartial and altruistic aid of the United States Government. They have urgent needs, vital to the development of the natural resources of the country and essential to the full expansion of its agricultural, industrial and commercial activity. The satisfying of these needs is absolutely necessary for the continued progress of the Haitian community.

Nothing would serve better to bring about the speedy re-establishment of normal relations between the two countries than the friendly aid of the United States Government in the economic prosperity and social progress of the Haitian Republic.

SITUATION IN SANTO DOMINGO

The Dominican situation may be said to have begun on Nov. 19, 1915. On that date, one week after the final ratification by Haiti of the treaty giving the United States military and financial control, a virtually similar draft was presented to President Jimenez of the Dominican Republic. It was promptly and emphatically rejected. The following April, after a disagreement between President Jimenez and his Minister of War, Desiderio Arias, impeachment proceedings were entered upon against the President in the Dominican Congress. On May 4, 1916, during some revolutionary disturbance, and without warning to the Dominican Government, American marines were landed near Santo Domingo. The American Minister at that time gave assurance to the Dominican Government that these forces were solely for the purpose of protecting the American Legation. On May 7 these forces had increased so greatly that it appeared evident to President Jimenez that they were there for another pur-

pose, and he resigned in protest against this violation of Dominican sovereignty.

The next day, General Arias, the Minister of War, was invited and escorted personally by the American Minister to the American Legation, where he was induced to enter a conference with Federico Velasquez. It was proposed to Arias that, in return for certain favors and remunerations, he would use his influence and the military under his command to aid the election of Velasquez. Arias refused, declining to abet the scheme to foist illegally and by force majeure an undesired candidate on the Dominican people. On May 11 Federico Henriquez y Carvajal was nominated for president of the Republic in the Chamber of Deputies and confirmed by the Senate on May 23. On May 13 the American Minister formally notified the Dominican Government of the intention of the United States Government to land a large armed force and to occupy the capital, and threatening bombardment of the city and unrestricted firing upon the natives if in any way they interfered with the landing of the American forces. The next day, May 18, the American Minister notified the Dominican Congress that Federico Henriquez y Carvajal was not acceptable to the United States as President.

On June 5 the American Minister gave formal notice to the Dominican Government that the Receiver General of Customs would take charge of all the finances and funds of the Government. Under the treaty of 1907 with the United States, an American appointed by the United States Government was in charge of the collection of customs of the Dominican Republic. It was his duty under this treaty to turn in all but the sum of \$100,000 monthly to the Dominican Government. All above this \$100,000 was to go, one half to the Dominican Government for its own uses, the other half to the sinking fund of the loan contracted under the treaty. The Dominican Government instantly and

vigorously protested against this procedure. On June 11 Federico Henriquez y Carvajal, bowing to the expressed opposition of the United States, declined election to the Presidency. His resignation was accepted by the Dominican Congress, which then decided to elect as President a man who had had no affiliations with any of the existing political parties, namely, Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, who had been practicing medicine in Santiago de Cuba for the previous twelve years. On June 16, following orders from Washington, the Receiver General of Customs took charge of all revenues—internal, as well as the customs revenues which alone were stipulated in the treaty of 1907—and set himself up as disbursing agent of the republic. Dominicans made vigorous protest, pointing out that this action was in violation of the treaty of 1907.

The Receiver General admitted his inability to conform to the wishes of the Dominican Government, stating that his orders were received directly from the State Department of the United States, and that he had but to obey. On July 31 Dr. Henriquez was inaugurated as President. No objection was raised by the United States to his election. On Aug. 18 notice was sent to the Dominican Government by the American authorities that no money coming into the hands of the Receiver General would be paid to the Dominican Government. On Aug. 23 the American Minister presented a note demanding the acquiescence of the Dominican Government to the conditions rejected Nov. 19 of the preceding year by President Jimenez—virtually the same treaty then in effect in Haiti. The Dominican Government refused. On Oct. 17, following instructions from Washington, the Receiver General formally refused recognition to the Dominican Budget to pay the salaries of its officials and employes and the pensions of its widows and orphans. On Nov. 29, 1916, a "proclamation of occupation" was made by the United States. It was issued over

the signature of Captain H. S. Knapp, U. S. N., who subsequently declared himself to be "supreme legislator, supreme judge, supreme executor."

HELD IN IRON BONDAGE

For five years Americans held Santo Domingo in the iron bondage of martial law. Public meetings were forbidden, the press censored, protestors court-martialed. Every governmental function was taken over by American marines. During this period, also, the occupation built excellent highways, cleaned up towns, and greatly improved the school system, using Dominican funds for these ends. Many Dominicans were also killed in action. The occupation holds all Dominicans killed in action to be bandits; the Dominicans consider them patriots. The Dominicans have never ceased to protest before the world against the occupation of their country. The sentence of imprisonment and fine of the poet, Fabio Fiallo, because of his article of protest against the invasion of his country, attracted wide attention in Latin America.

A plan for withdrawal was proposed by the Wilson Administration in December, 1920. A similar plan was proposed by the Harding Administration through the proclamation issued by the Military Governor on June 14, 1921. The plan set a date eight months ahead for the withdrawal of the American forces and the restoration of the national Dominican Government. It constituted the Military Governor the provisional Dominican Executive, gave him the power to promulgate an electoral law and to convene the people to the elections. It also gave him the power to name the Dominicans who, together with representatives of the American Government, would agree: (1) to ratify all acts of the military Government; (2) to entrust the command and organization of the Dominican forces to American officials.

This plan aroused the unanimous resentment of the Dominican people.

They protested solemnly that they desired their freedom without qualifications. They refused to ratify the acts of the military Government, which included a loan that carried interest varying from 9 to 19 per cent. As the co-operation of the Dominicans was necessary, the plan went by the board.

That is the status of the Dominican Republic to date. It asks its unconditional sovereignty as an absolute right. It desires that the Americans retire and leave them in peace.

The contentions of the American Government, justifying its occupation of the Dominican Republic, are vigorously denied by the Dominicans. They assert, first, that they have not violated the treaty of 1907 by increasing the public debt, and that the indebtedness to the United States has been paid far in excess of requirements (they present the official figures to prove these assertions); second, that the revolutionary disturbances were of a purely political and minor character, which in no sense affected American lives or property, or the execution of the treaty of 1907; third, that granting a difference of interpretation of these two preceding issues, nothing in law or morality justified the aggression and conquest practiced by the United States.

SUMMARY AND INDICTMENT

To sum up: The cases of Haiti and Santo Domingo are closely analogous. In both instances the United States clearly desired to gain control of these republics. In both instances, when attempts to secure this by peaceable means failed, advantage was taken of internal disorder to land forces. Then what could not be obtained by peaceable means was sought by military pressure. In Haiti the United States was able to force through a treaty, and today this treaty is held up as the sanction for all America's acts in that republic since. In Santo Domingo the treaty could not be forced

through, and a ruthless destruction of all forms of Dominican self-government followed. These acts are indisputably proved by the record. They comprise the gravest breach of fundamental American traditions in our history. They violate international law. They violate the Constitution of the United States. They violate every treaty involved. They constitute essentially the same kind of aggression as that which Germany practiced against Belgium in 1914—and without even the invalid excuse of "military necessity." While we were preparing to enter the struggle against Germany to oppose ruthless military conquest we were secretly practicing it.

The activities in Haiti and Santo Domingo were guarded by a rigid military censorship and were practically unknown in the United States

until 1920. They are not widely known today.

The people of both these countries are clamoring for their independence. The Haitians demand the abrogation of the convention of 1915, imposed upon them by force, and the withdrawal of the occupation. In the next few weeks the Senate of the United States will have the opportunity to decide whether or not the nation will adhere to the traditions in which it was conceived and grew to greatness. The issue is far larger than Haiti and Santo Domingo. Shall the United States follow the course of Japan in Korea, of England in Egypt, of Germany in Belgium? Or shall it follow the path of honor, justice, fair-dealing and common decency to weak and friendly neighbor States? We are at the parting of the ways. Haiti and Santo Domingo are the acid test.

THE EX-KAISER'S "HISTORICAL TABLES"

THERE was published in Leipzig early in January a book by the ex-Kaiser, entitled "Comparative Historical Tables From 1878 to the Outbreak of War, 1914." We find here what may be called a skeleton of history for the thirty-six years concerned, with the essential dates, the treaties, the wars, and the conferences of Kings and Emperors. Though the compiler was one of the principal actors in these events, there is practically no information given which has not been made known by the usual agencies of publicity. There are two exceptions to this, however; one is the statement that in 1900 the Czar surprised Chancellor von Bülow and Wilhelm himself by informing them that he intended to go to war with Japan as soon as possible; the other is that King Edward in 1909 told the Emperor that the excitement in England over the growth of the German fleet was ludicrous.

Considerable space is devoted to foreign comment, much of which has been already used by the Germans as propaganda to prove that Germany was not to blame for

the war. Many of the obscurer diplomats of the minor powers are quoted; there are unsigned articles from Russian and German papers, as well as cuttings even from the British press; one record placed in evidence gives what Frank Harris, sometime London editor, wrote in 1887. As to what the Kaiser thought, what really went on behind the coulisses—silence. The events based on the critical date, July 5, 1914, fail completely to coincide with what is now definitely known of the events leading directly to the war. All the Kaiser says is this: "The German Government considers the clearing up of the relations with Serbia is an Austrian affair, in which Germany will not interfere." From other sources we know that the Austrian Emperor sent a letter to the Kaiser, and that the Kaiser personally guaranteed to the Austrian envoy his full support of the proposed Austrian action. The growth of the German fleet is put in the background. The challenge by Germany to the world is completely ignored.

THE LYNCHING INFAMY

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Plain facts about the frequent exhibitions of mob savagery that disgrace the United States among civilized nations—Record of each State for the last thirty-five years—Penalties imposed by the Anti-Lynching bill passed by the House of Representatives

BURNING human beings alive by slow fire so that the spectators, men, women and children, may be edified by the agonies of the victims as long as possible—it is recorded that one such spectacle lasted 59 minutes before the victim became unconscious—is likely to lose something of its popularity if a bill which passed the House Jan. 26, by a vote of 230 to 119, becomes a law. The purpose of this bill (H. R. 13) is "To assure persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching."

Briefly stated, the bill is drawn on the theory that if a State or a governmental subdivision thereof fails or refuses to protect the lives of persons against a mob (three or more persons may constitute a mob), it may be deemed to have denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution; and the Federal Government may, therefore, intervene to punish the State officers for their dereliction. The bill provides that any local official who is charged with the duty of protecting a prisoner, and who fails, neglects or refuses to make all reasonable efforts to protect him, or any officer who fails to make all reasonable efforts to apprehend or prosecute all persons composing the mob, shall be deemed guilty of a felony punishable by imprisonment not exceeding five years or a fine of \$5,000 or both. Action is to be brought in the United States District Courts, so that local feeling may not interfere with justice. Participation in a lynching is defined as a

felony punishable by imprisonment for a term varying from five years to life.

Any county in which a lynching takes place is to forfeit \$10,000 to the family of the victim; or, if he has no family, the money is to be for the use of the United States. It is made mandatory upon the Federal courts to see that the money is collected—by execution against any property of the county or by the levy and collection of a tax if it is not paid voluntarily.

LYNCHING BILL CONSTITUTIONAL

This anti-lynching bill, introduced by Representative Leonidas C. Dyer of the Twelfth Missouri district, and amended by the Committee on the Judiciary, was strongly contested by some Southern Representatives, who, if it is permissible to judge by their reported expressions, saw in any reference to the subject of lynching a studied insult to the South. It is also opposed on the ground that it is an invasion of the rights of the States. All Democratic Congressmen voted against it except eight. Advocates of the bill maintain that the power of the Federal Government to intervene, when a State fails to accord protection guaranteed by the Constitution to all persons within its jurisdiction, is amply conferred by the Fourteenth Amendment, by Section 31 of the Judiciary act and by decisions of the Supreme Court thereunder.

Assistant Attorney General Goff, who examined the bill on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, pronounced it constitutional in every

particular. In fact, every provision in the bill is now in force in some of the States. The sections penalizing communities for permitting lynching are based on South Carolina and Ohio laws which have been held constitutional in both States by their respective Supreme Courts. A West Virginia law recently enacted provides that the representative of a mob victim may recover \$5,000 from the county, the action to be brought in a State court. If the amount is not paid, a tax may be levied against the county for its collection. The county may recover on the official bond of any officer responsible for the protection of the victim, when proved guilty of negligence. Every person participating in a riotous assemblage which puts another person to death is declared guilty of murder. If only damage to property or injury to persons, not resulting in death, are inflicted by the mob, members thereof are liable to a penitentiary sentence of from one to ten years.

One argument in behalf of a Federal anti-lynching law is the fear, expressed by more than one member of Congress, that a California mob by some outrage against Japanese residents of the State may embroil us with Japan. From that standpoint legislation is declared to be of immediate urgency. The country has reason to know the danger that may arise from lynching citizens of foreign Governments, for Congress has had to appropriate nearly eight hundred thousand dollars for payment to foreign Governments for the murder of their citizens by American mobs.

WHY THE BILL IS NECESSARY

Obviously the paramount reason for a Federal anti-lynching law is that the States in which lynching is

prevalent seem wholly incapable of dealing with the matter, however sincere and courageous some State officials have shown themselves to be.

Kentucky has a law providing for the automatic removal of officials who fail to do their duty in dealing with mobs, yet lynching goes on as if no such law had ever been heard of.

Governor Cooper of South Carolina attracted national attention by using the National Guard to prevent a lynching; yet South Carolina ranks tenth among the States in the frequency of lynchings.

Governor Bickett made possible the defense of the Goldsboro (N. C.) Court House against a mob bent on lynching, yet North Carolina ranks fourteenth in the frequency of lynchings.

Governor Dorsey of Georgia, the State with the worst lynching record of all, organized a movement to check such crimes, and for a time the country apparently did not know whether

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

IT LOOKS AS THOUGH SOME ONE NEEDED A
LITTLE HELP

to expect his impeachment or his lynching.

Governor Hobby of Texas, aided by State Attorney General Cureton, proceeded against a lynching mob in Hill County, but the case was never called up from the docket. Two years later two members of a lynching mob in East Texas were tried on reduced charges, and sentence was suspended.

The Mayor of Omaha attempted to check a mob which was wrecking the Court House to carry out a lynching in September, 1919, and was himself strung up. He was rescued barely in time to save his life.

Lynching appears to be decreasing somewhat, according to such statistics as are available. Sixty-three lynchings were reported in 1921, as

compared with sixty-five in 1920 and eighty-three in 1919. While there are fluctuations in the number of these outrages from year to year, there has been an almost steady decrease in lynchings for the last thirty years from the high-water mark of 208 in 1892. In no year of the decade ending with 1901 did the number of lynchings drop below 100, the total for the ten years being 1,460. In the next decade only once, in 1903, when the figure was 102, did the annual total reach 100. The total for the period was 782. For the ten years ending with 1921 the total was 604. This shows a decrease of 678, or 46.5 per cent., in the second decade, as compared with the first, and a decrease of 178 in the third decade, as compared with the second, and a decrease of 58.6 per cent. from the decade ending with 1901 to that ending with 1921. The annual average number of lynchings during the whole period of thirty-six years for which any statistics are available was 94, as compared with 63 in 1921.

In all but the ten States in which the crime has always been at its worst, lynching is decreasing. The highest number of lynchings in any year in Georgia, foremost of the lynching States, was 21 in 1911 and again in 1919. If the ratio of lynchings to population had been the same throughout the United States as it was in Georgia, the 1919 total would have been 766 instead of 83, which was the highest for twelve years. To put it another way, Georgia in 1919 had 9.1 times as many lynchings in proportion to population as all the rest of the country.

If the Mississippi lynching rate in the first half

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

TRYING TO EXTINGUISH IT

of 1921 had been maintained throughout the United States for the entire year, there would have been 1,180 such crimes. That is to say, the lynching rate in Mississippi was eighteen times what it was in the rest of the country, including neighboring States in which lynchings are not rare.

It should not be surprising to find other forms of murder more frequent where lynching is so common. Statistics show that in 1920 there were 63.4 murders per 100,000 population in Memphis, Tenn. In Savannah, Ga., there were 44 murders, and in Atlanta, Ga., 40.9 murders per 100,000 population. In Charleston, S. C., the murder rate is 36.5, in New Orleans 16.9, and in Nashville 16 per 100,000 population. All these cities are in the leading ten lynching States. Compare the murder rates there with the corresponding rates of 1.3 per 100,000 in Rochester, N. Y., 2.9 in Providence, 3.4 in Newark, 4.1 in Buffalo, 4.3 in Hartford, or even 5.9 in New York City.

Neither should it be deemed surprising to find illiteracy high among the native white population of the lynching States. As shown in the table, page 901, there has been only one lynching in New England in the whole period of thirty-five years, and that was in Connecticut in 1886. Illiteracy among the native white population in these six States, according to the census bureau, was but seven-tenths of 1 per cent. in 1920. Utah has never had a lynching. There the illiteracy among the native white population is but three-tenths of 1 per cent. The average illiteracy among native whites for the whole United States is 2 per cent.

In Georgia, the leading lynching State, 5.4 per cent. of the native white population is illiterate. For the leading ten lynching States the percentage of illiteracy among native whites is 5.66. Ignorance, murder and lynching seem to go together.

Whenever lynching is referred to, particularly in the South, it is always

pleaded in extenuation that no other form of punishment is swift and terrible enough to be effective as a deterrent from crimes against white women, the impression conveyed being that only black men are lynched, and only for this particularly revolting crime. But, according to figures prepared by the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, only 20 per cent. of all the lynchings from 1885 to 1921 were for this cause. In the five-year period ending with 1918, 264 negroes were lynched. Crimes against white women were alleged in twenty-eight of the cases, or a little more than 10 per cent. of the total. The remainder included white men as well as black, women and even girls. Included in the wide range of causes deemed serious enough to warrant lynching, according to this authority, are 53 for "insults to whites;" 237 paid with their lives for thefts of various kinds; 189 were shot, burned or hanged for felonious assaults not connected with white women.

In 1918, six women were done to death by mobs. The crime for which Sarah Cabiness atoned with her life at Huntsville, Texas, on June 4, 1918, was attempting to drag the bodies of her four sons from their burning home after they had been murdered by a mob. She was shot and her body was tossed into the burning house to be cremated along with those of her sons. Her daughter Bessie was also shot and burned on the common pyre. The four sons who were the unwitting cause of their mother's death had committed no crime against white women. In fact, they had committed no crime at all. Their lynching was merely by way of precaution. A fifth brother had been killed by officers who had come to arrest him on the charge of trying to evade the draft law. Under these circumstances the surviving four brothers conspired, or at least they might have conspired if they had thought of it, to avenge his death.

June 4, 1918, seems to have been a good day for lynching, for there were no fewer than three such af-

fairs in Texas on that date, the total score being eight victims, one of whom was a white man.

Three negroes were lynched at Rayville, La., Feb. 26, 1918, two being hanged and the other shot, for stealing hogs, number not specified. In this affair one member of the mob was killed. A fourth negro also was killed, but that was accidental. If the total number of hogs stolen equaled the number of negroes killed, this would establish the value of a negro's life in Louisiana at one hog. The prevailing quotation in Georgia is somewhat higher; for there two negroes were lynched for killing a mule, which establishes a valuation of half a mule per negro.

Spencer Evans was convicted by a court at Crawfordsville, Ga., March 22, 1918, of attacking, not a white, but a colored woman, and sentenced to be hanged. Not to be cheated of its favorite diversion by any such legal subterfuge as a death sentence, a mob took Evans from the jail and hanged him the same day.

William Bird was hanged by a mob at Sheffield, Ala., Nov. 11, 1918, for creating a disturbance! Three days later Charles Shipman was lynched in Fort Bend County, Texas, because he disagreed with a landowner. Of the total of sixty-four lynchings in 1918, fifteen were for crimes or attempted crimes against white women.

In this connection an incident related to the House by Representative Dyer last January may be interesting. It appears that a Mississippi gentleman had repeatedly attacked two negro girls, one 18, the other 16

LYNCHING RECORD BY STATES

More than 78 per cent. of all lynchings from 1885 to 1920 took place in ten Southern States. Here is the record:

State.	Lynchings.	State.	Lynchings.
Georgia	528	Arkansas	219
Mississippi	400	Tennessee	198
Texas	304	Florida	180
Louisiana	289	Kentucky	167
Alabama	260	So. Carolina	121

Total 2,666

The lynching record for the other States for the period from 1885 to 1920, both inclusive, follows:

State.	Lynchings.	State.	Lynchings.
Missouri	85	Idaho	8
Oklahoma	84	Iowa	19
Virginia	76	Oregon	10
No. Carolina	71	Minnesota	6
Kansas	37	Nevada	6
West Virginia	37	Pennsylvania	6
California	33	Michigan	3
Indiana	31	Wisconsin	5
Nebraska	30	No. Dakota	3
Illinois	26	New York	2
Colorado	25	Connecticut	1
Maryland	23	Delaware	1
Montana	21	New Jersey	1
Ohio	20	Maine	0
Wyoming	17	Massachusetts	0
New Mexico	16	N. Hampshire	0
So. Dakota	14	Rhode Island	0
Washington	14	Utah	0
Arizona	12	Vermont	0

Total 737

years old. Finally a negro youth aged 20 killed the white man as the most effective way of stopping the attacks. A mob promptly assembled and hanged the youth, another boy of 17 and the two girls from the same tree.

In a total of eighty-three lynchings in 1919 the victims were burned alive in eleven cases; one was cut to pieces, one was drowned and one was beaten to death. Thirty-one were shot and twenty-four were hanged. The manner of death in the remaining cases is not recorded.

Offenses alleged included 27 crimes, or attempted crimes, against white women; 27 murders; 7 white men shot but not killed; assaulting a

white man, 1; altercation with a white man, 1; not turning out of the road for a white boy in an auto, 1; talking about the Chicago riot, 1; for being a member of the Non-Partisan League, 1. Four of the victims were white men, two were Mexicans, one was a woman, ten were soldiers, three of whom were lynched in Georgia, three in Mississippi, two in Arkansas, and one each in Alabama and Florida.

Eight of the sixty-five persons lynched in 1920 were burned alive, one was flogged to death, two were drowned, fifteen were shot and thirty-one were hanged. The manner of death in eight cases is not known. One of the victims was charged with the crime of jumping a labor contract. Another was lynched because he was insane, another because he was a moonshiner, while six paid with their lives for creating a disturbance on election day.

THE FRANK CASE

The State of Georgia has one absolutely unique lynching on its record: A Georgian mob actually entered a Georgia penitentiary and broke into the prison hospital, where was confined a white man named Frank, who had been committed to prison on the charge of assaulting and killing a girl in his employ. The conviction was based on the testimony of a negro drunkard and ex-convict. Frank, while in the penitentiary, had been attacked by a fellow-prisoner with a butcher's knife and frightfully lacerated, his throat being cut almost from ear to ear; this convict acknowledged that his "sense of honor" prompted him to try to lynch his fellow-prisoner. Frank, suffering from ghastly wounds, was dragged from the Georgia penitentiary by the Georgia mob and conveyed nearly 100 miles to Marietta, Ga.; there he was lynched by hanging, his body riddled with bullets, the corpse being afterward set upon by the lynchers and kicked and mangled to an almost unrecognizable pulp. Though many of the lynchers were well known, not one was punished, but the man who convicted Frank (believed by many to have been entirely innocent) was rewarded by being made Governor of the State.

A mob, which included women and children, burned a negro alive near Hubbard, Texas, in September, 1921. While the victim was slowly roasting, various members of the mob amused themselves and entertained the rest by jabbing sticks into his mouth, nose and eyes. Not even the Sioux, reputed to be the cruelest of all Indians half a century ago, ever surpassed this achievement of a Texas mob.

In too many cases officers of the law do not make so much as a pretense of protecting prisoners. An example of flagrant dereliction occurred in Missouri early in the Sum-

mer of 1921. A negro youth had been arraigned in court, had pleaded guilty, and had been sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. His offense could not have been against a white woman, for Missouri provides the death penalty for such crimes. That night a mob went to the jail and asked for the prisoner. The officer in charge complied with all the ready courtesy with which he might have granted a request for a match, whereupon the mob proceeded to lynch the youth. No attempt whatever was made to protect a prisoner who had been duly condemned by law to a punishment which a Judge had deemed adequate. Indeed, it is no rare thing for a mob to lynch a man after he has been tried in court, found guilty and sentenced to death. This would seem to dispose of the plea often advanced in extenuation of mob rule, that the courts cannot be depended upon to administer justice.

One specific case in which law-abiding citizens proved that they could deal with a mob when they wanted to do so, and that the courts were equally capable of dealing with crime, occurred in Indianapolis in June, 1920. A negro attacked a white child. He was promptly arrested. A mob of 3,000, chiefly composed of boys and tough characters, collected, demanding that the prisoner be turned over to them. But the police, reinforced by a number of Deputy Sheriffs hastily sworn in, including Representative Merrill Moores, dispersed the mob and protected the prisoner. Next day the Grand Jury was called, the negro was indicted in due form, tried, condemned and electrocuted within ten days after the crime.

More recently New Jersey has had occasion to deal with two similar crimes by white men against children, both the victims being murdered. The culprits were hunted down, tried and put out of the way promptly, without any degrading exhibitions of mob savagery.

THE REVOLUTION IN HOUSING

BY JACOB L. CRANE JR.

City Plan Engineer, Cambridge, Mass.

England's wonderful success in co-operative and community house building—Half a million new, comfortable and sanitary homes under construction by methods developed since the war

FOR twenty years it has been evident that the cities of Europe and America are degenerating from the effects of insanitary living conditions—poor housing. The all too common overcrowding in dark, poorly ventilated tenements and houses is producing city populations with an increasing susceptibility to disease and demoralization. The inevitable result is decreased productive capacity and lowered social value for millions of the people on whom the cities must depend for their existence. The critical nature of this problem has been aggravated and forcibly brought to public attention by the vast housing shortages all over the world following the war, for, with the five-year cessation of building, overcrowding increased enormously and conditions of insanitation became much worse. A Government agency estimated that in this country four million families, or perhaps eighteen million people, were without adequate housing in 1921.

In England and on the Continent the situation has been even worse. Between four and five million people in England and Wales were until recently living two persons to a room! A tenement of kitchen and bedroom accomplished four persons in the bedroom, or two each in the kitchen and bedroom. As in America, the problem had become vital in the life of English cities.

The critical importance of this public emergency has finally set going in

Europe and America a virtual revolution in housing standards and methods. This revolution has passed through two phases. The first produced legislation requiring that only hygienic new houses be built and that old ones be maintained on sanitary principles. When it was found that new houses were not being built by private builders at the time of greatest pressure the second phase of the revolution developed—the construction of houses in large numbers as a community or Government enterprise.

In all Europe the movement is in full swing along these lines, but in America the second phase has not yet been reached. We are, however, approaching the point of community house building, and when we reach it the developments across the Atlantic will be of great use to us. By all odds, the most valuable developments are those in England. England offers, in the revolutionary housing schemes developed there in the last few years, a vital contribution to the solution of the housing problem in America. As pioneer she has made mistakes which we shall not need to copy, but she has also set the pace for original and very promising methods of getting adequate housing for city and suburban populations. Various reports are to be had on each phase of this English work, but I am here outlining together the most important movements.

The reaction against bad housing

in England began several decades ago, for, in contrast to the beautiful English country, the cities have for generations been ugly, unfit places for people to live in. The first rumblings of the housing revolution, as has been suggested, resulted in legislation to prohibit the unenlightened building operator and landlord from constructing or collecting rentals for rooms without light or ventilation, for insanitary basement dwellings, for tenements which endanger the lives of the occupants. In some places the worst slums were cleared out or rebuilt. All this was vitally important, for it defined public opinion in England on these two critical points: First, that insanitary slums are dangerous to the community and not to be tolerated, and, second, that decent housing could not be secured by antislum legislation alone, but only by the construction of new houses. The financing, then, of new building on a large scale became the engrossing problem. In fact, it became so acute with the aggravation of the housing shortage after the war that it might almost be said that the integrity of the British Nation depended upon its solution.

GOVERNMENT TAKES A HAND

No one knows just how near to violent revolution England came after the declaration of peace. At any rate, a few statesmen there realized that open revolt could not be averted unless houses were built for the five million English people existing without decent homes. Each year while house building was at a standstill this number was increased by hundreds of thousands. To house these people private individuals could not be counted upon to build at post-war prices, which would leave them losers when costs receded. Nor, on the other hand, could workmen pay full rental on houses built at three times pre-war cost. In particular, the millions of soldiers would not without active protest return to poor jobs or no jobs at all, and at the same time pay this full rental for new houses. It became plain, therefore, that newly built

homes would have to be let at rentals too small to pay a fair interest and maintenance on the investment—that there would be an annual deficit on each house. And, since there was no



Typical town plan of a London housing scheme, showing the improved arrangement of houses and streets

one else to pay and houses had to be built, it developed upon the nation, in order to get house building started, to make up the deficit between the economic rental and the rental which could be collected. So, on a great wave of popular clamor, the Government, through the Ministry of Health, undertook to subsidize and direct the work of municipal house building in every town in England.

The scheme was more enormous than anything of the sort ever attempted. To relieve the greatest pressure 500,000 houses would have to be built by 1926! This called for an outlay of \$2,000,000,000—in a country with several billion of war debts and disorganized industry and trade. But with a revolutionary outlook upon the question of housing and with untried methods the Government set about this unprecedented task. It granted a subsidy of about \$1,000 per house to private builders and public utility societies, which produced a few thousand houses; but these few counted for little in the tremendous demand; and the major part

of the construction was undertaken by municipalities. Each city issued housing bonds, organized building departments, operating under the general supervision of the National Ministry of Health, and set to work with great vigor.

As the houses were completed the municipalities rented them for as much as could reasonably be collected, applied a penny rate tax (a penny on the pound of the annual rental value of the property) to the deficit, and the Federal Government made up the rest. In a few cases the penny rate alone has paid the deficit, but usually the State has had to pay up to as much as two-thirds of the economic rental. If the program had been carried out to completion and 500,000 houses built on this plan, the National Treasury would have had to collect in taxes and pay as a deficit on the housing scheme \$100,000,000 a year for sixty years.

But there were many delays, costs

exceeded estimates, dissatisfaction was rampant—all of which was to be expected in such a project. It was a mistake to leave the ultimate deficit to the State, because this arrangement did not offer sufficient incentive for the municipalities to save on their construction. And finally, when it became clear that England's national debt was reaching an insupportable figure, the housing scheme, along with many other public projects, was curtailed. At that time and since then the whole scheme has been criticised on all hands and its failures have been ruthlessly advertised. Nevertheless, while other countries have had investigations by the dozen and houses at about the same rate, England has 200,000 homes under construction.

METHODS REVOLUTIONIZED

More important, the whole field of city housing has been revolutionized.



Beautiful new residences in Hampstead, a co-partnership suburb of London, owned and occupied by workers and middle-class families with no more income than that of the people who still live in the unsightly brick barracks in neighboring towns

From a haphazard business of "jerry builders" it has become a community affair in which the old standards have been relegated to the dust heap and replaced by sane ideas of hygiene, light and air, gardens, house location and site planning. Since the curtailment of the national scheme, individual communities are going forward without the Government sub-

learn from England's experience in this great project.

Smaller in the number of houses produced and people affected, but equally significant as the forerunners of the Government housing scheme and capable of higher development in the future, are the other three main subdivisions of the general better-housing movement: Industrial housing, supported or encouraged by employers; copartnership housing and the Garden City movement. These three overlap at certain points, and they have given inspiration and assistance to each other, but each has produced its own revolutionary results.

The two earliest and therefore most important examples of industrial housing on a large scale are Port Sunlight, near Liverpool, at the works of Lever Brothers, who make Sunlight Soap and Lux, and Bournville for the Cadbury Chocolate Works, in the suburbs of Birmingham. At Port Sunlight Lever Brothers built a village to house 6,000 employees, maintaining the property by company forces and renting the houses to workmen at rates which yield no interest whatever on the



One of the new Letchworth houses, built on the co-operative plan which is revolutionizing the housing situation in England

sidy, so that altogether at least half a million houses will be built as community enterprises under the inspiration of the new standards—a half million well-designed human habitations instead of the desolate old row houses. This practical application of new ideals on such a tremendous scale itself constitutes a revolution in English housing, which has begun the regeneration of English cities. And the world in its business of progress has much to



Model homes in the workmen's village of Earswick. The most valuable thing in the housing revolution in England is the new financing method which makes such ideal homes possible for ordinary wage workers



Before and after housing revolution near Liverpool, where the new workmen's village of Port Sunlight has been built. At the left is a street of the old houses, now demolished, and at the right a glimpse of the modern cottages now occupied by the same workmen

company's investment. The greatest care was given to the design of the village and of the individual house, to provision for gardens, playgrounds, libraries and schools. The result is a community of loyal workmen living in conditions almost undreamed of in old England. And Lever Brothers say it pays. Loyalty, good health, better production and a high advertising value are the results on which extensions are being planned as fast as they can be financed.

Although they were started at

about the same time, these two developments proceeded on different lines. In Port Sunlight only the employees of the company can live, but at Bournville a new plan for workmen's communities was introduced whereby any one can live in the village, which was built by a trust separate from the company and largely operated by the men, thus eliminating much of the element of paternalism. Bournville is a great success, one in which the Cadburys take the greatest pride as a high-class



The commons at Port Sunlight, the new and beautiful English village built by an industrial firm and occupied wholly by its employees and their families

community developed by the workmen themselves with the advice and support of the company. In contrast to the old Liverpool and Birmingham, these industrial villages are places of delight, which set the pace for a new era in the housing of employes in England. Following these two, other industries have developed similar communities on slightly different lines, but each with the principle of healthful, attractive housing. Two of the most notable instances are those of the Prince of Wales estate in Cornwall and Earswick of the Rountree Chocolate Company, near York. In the field of industrial housing these successful experiments, varying in their methods, but aiming at the same goal, will be landmarks for years.

PARTNERSHIP ENTERPRISES

Copartnership housing, which touches the field of housing for professional and clerical people, rather than that for industrial workers, has been growing up in England for a decade and before the war had produced several beautiful low-cost city and suburban communities. In the copartnership method an association, pooling the funds of individuals, buys land at agricultural value, and plans, builds and operates an entire community as a single enterprise. The results in view are lower costs and, particularly, pleasanter homes, with carefully planned streets and gardens. The most famous development is that at Hampstead, a suburb of London, where 6,000 houses have been built in a beautiful garden suburb reached by the bus lines and subways of the city. It is built around a great play field in a hollow, where, on Summer evenings, games of cricket, tennis, bowling and football are played in the wholesome English way. Along the streets the hedges and gardens are beautiful and the houses cozy and adapted to the best type of modern English life. It seems to me that Hampstead is the nearest to the ideal in community life that has been reached so far in the world. Since

the war not a great deal has been done in this type of housing, because of high prices; but altogether nearly ten thousand homes have been built by copartnership societies, so that in most of the great English cities you will find one or more little model communities within or adjoining the city area and contrasting strikingly with the pre-revolutionary housing.

Similar to copartnership housing in its co-operative aspect and, in fact, gathering together the best ideas of co-operative enterprise and of community planning, the Garden City movement fires the imagination of nearly every one who sees it in action. In 1898 a modest book entitled "Tomorrow," by Ebenezer Howard, first attracted an attention which increased when it was reissued under the more explanatory title of "Garden Cities of Tomorrow." Today, the Garden City of Letchworth, about forty miles from London, and the many garden suburbs in process of creation throughout the United Kingdom are monuments to the author's sound foresight as a social reformer. Mr. Howard desired to remedy two great evils—the migration of rural population into the towns and the congestion resulting in the industrial cities themselves, which causes bad health, inefficiency and degeneration; high rents, high tax rates and excessive competition in the labor market.

Attempts at remedy within the city seemed to Mr. Howard not to touch the root of the trouble. Gradually the Garden City idea formed in his mind—the relief of the situation in old cities by the establishment of new ones, smaller and better controlled. In brief, his scheme, which must not be confused with the "City Beautiful" or with the popular phrase "Garden City," was to purchase a freehold estate at its agricultural value, plan it with regard to the present and future needs of the population, provide ample open space, reserve to each inhabitant a plot of garden ground, and then by favorable land prices and tax rates attract industries and employers of labor to the

town. Around the Garden City, to be limited in size to about thirty thousand people, an agricultural belt is preserved to insure a local food supply and provide genuine rural environment for the town. The unearned increment of the land as it advanced in value from the establishment of the town was to be reserved to the community.

The astonishing thing is that this dream has come true. The Garden City is there, with its railroad station, its industries, Post Office, public services, churches and halls and schools and playgrounds and some four thousand homes. There are hundreds of humble houses, but each has its garden ablaze with flowers in Summer; they have served as models to housing experts from Europe and America. It is one of the healthiest towns of England.

Letchworth has grown to 15,000, and a new Garden City, Welwyn, has been started. The experience gained at the first Garden City has been of value in the second, and it looks now as if there would be several such

cities within the next twenty-five years. No one who has seen it can resist the inspiration of this practical realization of an ideal. It is the climax of the revolution in housing.

In Continental Europe these English schemes are being adapted to the critical housing problems. Municipal house building has been undertaken by every large city on the Continent. Co-operative suburbs have been completed in Germany, Austria and Italy. A most interesting example is the residential suburb at Milan, exclusively for journalists.

In America we have had some valuable anti-slum legislation, a few excellent industrial housing projects, many investigations and volumes of statistics on the housing deficiency and its grave consequences—and a total failure of any Government or community action to relieve the stringency as a whole. But sooner or later our communities will have to face the situation squarely, and then the good and bad examples of the English work will be more valuable to us than any other housing work in the world.

BELGIUM'S HOUSING METHODS

BY JULIAN PIERCE

THE National Low-Priced Housing Society is a Government institution authorized by the Belgian Parliament in October, 1909, as a form of Government assistance and co-operation to relieve the housing shortage. It was definitely established on April 15, 1920, by an agreement between the Belgian Government and the Governments of the nine provinces. Last Autumn it already had more than 5,000 houses completed or under construction.

This society is not empowered to construct houses for sale, or to acquire real estate. It is largely an association to stimulate the organization of local and regional building societies and to mobilize local and regional capital for housing projects.

It is authorized to make financial advances to approved societies, the Belgian Government having made an original deposit of 100,000,000 francs for this purpose. The society makes the loans at a low rate of interest fixed by Parliament. The present rate is 2 per cent. per annum. In addition, the Government has advanced to the society a special credit of 25,000,000 francs to enable it to subsidize building societies in certain cases, thus making up in part for the abnormal costs of construction. The society may also act as a general buying and selling agent of building material and supplies, and is empowered to perform a wide range of experimental work in housing construction. If emergency conditions render such

a venture imperative, it may also manufacture building supplies.

A. Van Billoen, Director General of the National Low-Priced Housing Society, gave an account of some of its methods and accomplishments in his first annual report:

During the middle of 1920 the National Society organized a veritable crusade throughout Belgium to establish local and regional building societies and give them the benefit of its advice and assistance. Our accomplishments in less than one year are highly gratifying. Up to May 15, 1921, sixty-three local or regional societies had been approved. A hundred others are in process of formation and will soon be regularly constituted.

Capital to the amount of 82,290,800 francs has been subscribed. Of this sum the Belgian Government contributed 15,231,000 francs, the provinces 14,273,400 francs, 141 Communes 34,413,100 francs, hospitals and charitable organizations 4,730,600 francs, industrial chiefs 7,157,800 francs, banks and individuals 2,157,800 francs, and certain building societies 4,329,000 francs.

Of the sixty-three approved societies, thirty-six have already begun building projects, including 5,383 houses, whose total cost is estimated to be 107,000,000 francs. This building program is extending every day. There are now [May, 1921] 2,775 houses completed or nearing completion.

One hundred and three of the approved local and regional building societies already organized or in process of organization have made public their first building projects. They include the construction of 11,000 houses at a cost of approximately 220,000,000 francs. A large part of the building program had been completed by the end of 1921. To these figures there must be added the projects of the building societies which have not as yet made their plans public.

Mr. Van Billoen declares that the results of the first year's work of the National Low-Priced Housing Society are such as to merit felicitation.

The task of the National Society [he says] is heavier because of the handicaps which confront it in the construction of so-called "low-priced" houses when the prices of both material and labor are at high levels. Happily, the recent labor adjustments have brought about important reductions in contractors' prices. A house that would have cost from 4,000 to 5,000 francs before the war can now be constructed for

from 16,000 to 17,000 francs, not including the site. At the prices prevailing at the beginning of 1921, the same house would have cost 20,000 francs.

All the new houses, several of which are already occupied, indicate a serious effort to react against the commonplaceness and lack of comfort which characterized workers' dwellings in pre-war times, when they were often but ugly copies on a small scale of the houses of the bourgeoisie. The architects have also endeavored to give the houses regional characteristics. In general the houses have at least three bedrooms in order to provide adequate accommodation for large families.

In May, 1921, the National Low-Priced Housing Society organized the National Material and Supply Office, a co-operative society. The capital of 800,000 francs was subscribed by the cities, communes, approved building societies and individuals. The principal function of the Material and Supply Office is to act as the central buying and selling agent for everything required by the building societies in the development of their projects. The office does not fix prices, but regulates them, and stimulates effective competition. Mr. Van Billoen says of it:

Thanks to wise technical supervision, bulk buying, and the judicious standardization of certain elements of construction, the National Material and Supply Office is even now able to furnish a large variety of building material of irreproachable quality at prices visibly lower than those obtaining in current commercial circles. The building societies make constant use of its good offices, as it responds to a real need. Many have realized important economies through its services.

In the attempt to reduce still further the cost of building, the Material and Supply Office is constructing sixty different types of houses in order to experiment with new materials and methods.

In concluding his report of the first year's operations, Director General Van Billoen declares that by the "energetic action which it uses, and with the sympathetic co-operation of the public powers and private initiative, the National Low-Priced Housing Society expects shortly to solve an important part of the serious housing shortage in Belgium."

WHAT GREECE HAS WON FROM THE TURK

BY DEMETRIOS P. GOUNARIS
Prime Minister of Greece

A clear and simple statement of Greek aims in Asia Minor, addressed especially to the American public by the head of the present Government—War of liberation against Mustapha Kemal

THE Hellenic people have been a good deal surprised and disappointed in the attitude of the people of the United States toward the war for the liberation of the Greek Christian population of Asia Minor, which has been going on now virtually since the Treaty of Sevres was signed. For a century there have been tens of thousands of people in America who have longed very ardently to see the Greeks, not only in Greece proper, but throughout the Near East, liberated from the yoke of the Turk, and who have expressed that hope in their prayers. We Greeks naturally expected that when the moment of the final struggle for that liberation came we should have with us the expressed sentiment of all those who had for so long prayed and hoped for what has now been accomplished.

But the late war confused many issues in people's minds, and the peace which followed the war was so complicated that there were many in every country who did not understand just what was being settled or how it was being settled. We Greeks believe that this must have been so in respect of the Near Eastern question, so far as the American people are concerned; otherwise, certainly, we should have had the whole sentiment of America with us in the struggle which we have been conducting against the Turks, instead of the uncertain, divided opinion which the

American press has reflected. We all feel that if the American people understood clearly what is at stake in the Near East in this struggle with the Turks there could be no question as to the whole-hearted support that America would give us. That is why I am going to try to set a few matters right as to our war, so that the misunderstanding may be dispelled and that those devoted people in America who for a century have remembered the Greeks under Turkish rule in their prayers—and they are numbered by the hundreds of thousands, we know—may be reassured in their faith in us.

In the first place, we have been charged with conducting a war of imperialism—seeking to conquer vast territories in Asia Minor which are not Greek, with a view to subjecting a Turkish majority to Hellenic rule. Nothing is further from the truth. God forbid that we, a small nation which for a century has struggled for its very existence, should now enter upon a course of imperialism! It is the thing furthest from our thoughts. For 468 years millions of Greeks knew what it was to live under the rule of conquerors. We know that it did not crush our spirit or our determination to be free. We know that it did not profit the world, advance civilization or better the state of the conquerors under whom the Greeks lived. It was a festering sore in the whole state of civilization, and no one knows

it better than we. Why, in God's name, should we now try to commit the same evil that for 468 years was committed against us?

The war which we have been conducting is a war of liberation, and nothing else. It began not in 1919 but in 1821. Piece by piece, almost foot by foot, during a century of struggle we conquered back from the Turk the freedom which had been Greece's for 3,000 years. Little by little we had achieved that freedom so far as Europe was concerned, save in Thrace. Then came the World War. For a while we kept apart from it, saving our strength for the great final struggle with the Turks, which every Greek knew was bound to come; King Constantine, who had led the Hellenic armies in the Balkan wars, knew it better, perhaps, than any one else. At last we joined the Allies; and with the final victory of the Allies received by the Treaty of Sevres a certain quasi-realization of that dream of the freedom of the Greeks which had been the ultimate aim of our whole history since the beginning of the Hellenic War of Independence in 1821.

But, unfortunately, the Treaty of Sèvres, which was to have settled once for all this whole mooted Near Eastern question, which had been the basis of so many wars, was not in effect really a settlement. It was rather in the nature of a compromise, in regard to what the Greeks had been working for and fighting for and giving their money and their lives for, for the last hundred years. The point is that it was not a solution. It was an arrangement—and the Greeks had been rearranging arrangements for a century, and were tired of it.

But the Treaty of Sèvres did one clear thing: It established the right of the Greeks to security in Asia Minor, and to that part not only the Greeks and the rest of Europe set their hands, but the Turks as well. Yet no sooner was this arrangement signed and sealed than it was called

into question—as every previous settlement of the Turkish problem had been called into question for the last hundred years. And to maintain what they had gained and what had been officially recognized as theirs, the Greeks were called upon once more to take up arms and to fight.

It is important to recall that it was not the present régime in Greece which began that fight, but the previous régime, the very one which had negotiated and signed the Treaty of Sèvres. Thus it is plain that there was no change in policy with the coming of the present régime; it was all an expression of the will of the whole Hellenic people. An entire nation does not give over what it has been struggling for for a century, for nothing; nor did the Greeks in this instance.

And now comes the second important factor in the situation, which does not seem to be well understood in the United States. The elements in Turkey which were opposed to the execution of the Treaty of Sèvres were not the Government of Turkey. The Government of Turkey—the only one recognized by any other Government in the world—had signed the Treaty of Sèvres and agreed to abide by its terms. The Government of Turkey was under the surveillance of the Allies, because Turkey had been one of the defeated enemies during the war; and the Government of Turkey was held by the Allies to carry out the terms of the treaty which it had signed.

But at that moment there came into being a rebel force—that of Mustapha Kemal Pasha—unrecognized by any one as having either rights or responsibilities. And this rebel force said in effect: "We shall not carry out the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres."

So far as our allies in the World War were concerned, all was well so long as the Government of Turkey declared its willingness to carry out the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. The Allies were not directly con-



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DEMETRIOS P. GOUNARIS

Premier of Greece, who succeeded Venizelos after the return of King Constantine

cerned in what Mustapha Kemal and his rebel army said. But the Greeks were, because that part of the Treaty of Sevres which provided for freeing the Greeks of Asia Minor—one of the main aims for which Greece had gone to war—was precisely one of the things which Mustapha Kemal Pasha not only said he would not accord, but raised an army to resist.

It is plain that, even if this did not concern the other signatories of the Treaty of Sèvres, it certainly concerned the Greeks most vitally. And as they were the ones vitally concerned, it fell upon them to see that

the Treaty of Sevres was executed in this particular respect. As there was no organized force in Constantinople to compel the rebel Mustapha Kemal Pasha to carry out the terms to which the Constantinople Government had agreed, it devolved upon the Greeks, alone and single-handed, to do it.

Well, they have done it. There was a brief period in which even some of those who had signed the Treaty of Sevres together with the Greeks felt doubtful whether it could be done or not. They said: "Mustapha Kemal Pasha is too strong. He cannot be made to agree to the terms of the treaty. Better compromise." But the Greeks said: "No!" And they set about demonstrating that Greece alone could force Mustapha Kemal's rebel army far out of the territory which had been granted to the freed Greeks by the Treaty of Sevres, and keep it out. They have demonstrated that. Those who thought

that Mustapha Kemal could not be driven out of the territory which he sought to wrest from the Greeks have been convinced that he could be driven out, and driven so far out that there is no chance of his return. That is all the Greeks set out to do. They have done it.

And now, in the final solution, they do not want a foot of territory that is not and should not be Greek; they want only Greek-inhabited territory, with whatever may be necessary from a military standpoint to see that it remains Greek. They want no conquests, no colonies. But it must be

borne in mind that they have learned a bitter lesson, which has cost thousands of lives—and that lesson is that it is suicide to depend upon the written word of the Turk if he can find a way to escape it. The Turkish Government agreed to the Treaty of Sèvres; but a Turk, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, refused to recognize or abide by that agreement. Well, the Greeks have learned from that—and the whole civilized world may well note it—that whatever settlement is now made must, absolutely, place Greece in a position to guard, militarily, what has been given to Greece in the way of freeing the Greeks of Asia Minor from Turkish rule. In a word, any frontiers now set up between Greeks and Turks in Asia Minor must be frontiers that the Greeks can hold easily against any more such unauthorized attacks as that of Mustapha Kemal and his rebels.

It is not the Greeks who seek this. There are Greeks today who have been mobilized for the last twelve years, and who are sick of the whole

war business. Every one in Greece is sick of it. But it is in order to avoid another war in a year or so that the Greeks must now insist upon terms which will make it easy for them to keep themselves free from a new Turkish domination. If the Turkish Government at Constantinople has been so weakened that it cannot enforce its will in the interior of Turkey, then the Greeks must protect themselves where there is no other protection.

That is all we seek. We have waited a hundred years for it, and we have won it without blood and our treasure. We have done it alone. We have not been a nuisance to any other nation in the world in carrying out the terms of a treaty which had been formally signed by all concerned. All we ask now is that the rest of the world shall recognize the fact that the Greek populations of Asia Minor have been freed; and that it would be a grotesque negation of the whole civilization of the past century to return them to slavery.

KRUPP STEEL WORKS TRANSFORMED

KRUPP'S, famous for the part it played during the war, has undergone a complete transformation. At present its output is mainly limited to locomotives—on whose weldless steel tires the House of Krupp built its first success—and to general railway steel and iron work. Hundreds of locomotives are in process of construction at the same time, and a complete locomotive leaves the works every day in the year. The actual output is 400 a year. Many of these are being built for Russia. The new peace activities include high-speed machine tools, dynamos and electrical appliances, boilers, motor engines, screw propellers, hydraulic presses, steam hammers, rails, paper-making machinery, tex-

tile machinery, agricultural machinery, cutlery and tools, 100-ton steel castings, pen nibs, &c. Miles of factories employing 80,000 workmen are impressive. One of the Directors has said that even if Krupp's never made another gun or rolled another armor plate it would always be able to find work for its army of employes. English visitors look with uneasiness on this vast industry as they recall the sinister part which Krupp's played in the World War, seeing here ample scope both in means and in large-scale training for the fabrication of munitions and guns in the event of another war. Meanwhile Essen goes on with its colossal production for the ends of peace.

BOLIVIA AND THE CHILE- PERU CONTROVERSY

BY CARLOS CASTRO-RUIZ, C. B. E.

Professor of International Law in the University of Chile

Facts tending to show that Bolivia was the chief gainer by the treaty of 1904, which she is now seeking to revise or to repudiate

PRACTICALLY every Latin-American republic has had long-standing controversies with its neighbors over the boundaries inherited from colonial times, since they were vaguely given dominion over unknown territories in accordance with theological and not with geographical or economic principles, at a time when a million square miles more or less was something entirely negligible for the world-wide Spanish dominions overseas. The coast of the Atacama Desert from the Loa River to the south was for a long time the subject of discussion between Chile and Bolivia, until, by the treaties of 1866 and 1874, it was agreed that ownership over that territory as far as the twenty-fourth degree of south latitude should reside in Bolivia; for this Chile had received substantial compensations in exchange, exemption from future taxation for Chilean nitrate owners being the principal one.

The nucleus of Bolivian population was, however, over three hundred miles inland, on the Andean plateau, "the roof of South America," and separated from the sea by a barren desert, without roads or even trails. The ports and inlets of that littoral were Cobija, Mejillones and Antofagasta, the last-named having been founded by the Chilean Nitrate Company (Compania Chilena de Salitres). These ports were of little or no use to Bolivia, wholly lacking as they were in supply points to which the mule and the llama caravans

could have recourse for sustenance in transportation.

A quick glance at a map will suffice to show why this territory was not suitable as an outlet to the sea for Bolivia, unless some modern means of communication were provided. Geographically, the whole of the Atacama desert lay below the southern Bolivian frontier, and its immediate inland boundary was touching Argentinian and not Bolivian territory. Therefore, Bolivian commerce was carried on almost entirely by way of Arica, which port, isolated as it was from other Peruvian centres of population, owed its existence to that commerce, because in that location as well as in Tacna (some forty miles from the sea) there lay two small valleys useful for pasturage, but useful principally because Arica was at the end of the shortest route from Bolivia's centres of trade to the Pacific Coast.

In the years 1875 and 1876, the Peruvian Railroad from Mollendo to Lake Titicaca was put in operation, and a large part of Bolivia's freight went over that line, with the consequent loss of trade in transit for Arica. Later after the war of the Pacific, the railroad from Antofagasta to the Bolivian mining district of Oruro was constructed, and Bolivian commerce, abandoning the caravan transport, availed itself exclusively of those two railways, thereby wholly depriving Arica of that commerce on which it had been depending for its very existence, and thus leaving the life of

both Tacna and Arica to rely solely on what they derive out of Chile's possession thereof. The railroad from Arica to La Paz, constructed by Chile in conformity with the stipulation of the Treaty of Peace of Oct. 20, 1904, revitalized Arica and re-established its importance, because that railroad follows the shortest line between Bolivia and the sea. It is only 400 kilometers long, whereas the Mollendo rail-and-water route covers about double that distance, and the Antofagasta line a little more than a thousand kilometers. Such are the geographical facts.

The war of the Pacific was terminated by the Treaty of Ancon (with Peru) in 1883 and by the truce with Bolivia in 1884. By virtue of the latter, the entire Atacama littoral from the Loa River southward was definitely incorporated under the sovereignty of Chile. It is to be noted that the Treaty of Ancon ceded to Chile the Province of Tarapaca, and that this cession imposed upon Bolivia the recognition of perpetual Chilean sovereignty over the Atacama littoral, since Chile could not be expected to accept a break in her territorial continuity. Bolivia acknowledged this accomplished fact in the adjustment of the truce convention.

No further thought was given by Bolivia to the recovery of what she called her littoral (which was hers solely by reason of Chile's conditional cession in the above-mentioned Treaties of 1866 and 1874). Upon Bolivia's abandonment of the idea of the recovery of that littoral, all her thought was concentrated upon obtaining her own access to the sea by way of Arica, and to this end she took various steps before the Chilean Government. Chile found herself unable to consider Bolivia's proposition, in view of the fact that the sovereignty under which she occupied that territory was conditional upon a future plebiscite. It is not known whether Bolivia took similar steps before the Government of Peru, but there are

certain reasons for believing that if such steps were taken they were not acquiesced in by her former ally.

When it became apparent that Chile and Peru were unable to reach an agreement as to definitive ownership of Tacna and Arica, Bolivia decided to abandon her hopes of a port on the Pacific in favor of other more immediate and substantial benefits. In the Summer of 1902 she commissioned her Minister in London, Don Avelino Aramayo, to return by way of Chile and sound its Government on a proposition by virtue of which, in exchange for her abandonment of the idea of a port and the substitution of a definitive treaty of peace for the truce pact, Bolivia was to get certain concessions from Chile. These concessions were embraced in a memorandum, and, improved by Chile, they are the same that are set forth in the Treaty of Peace of Oct. 20, 1904.

Among the provisions of that treaty are those for the construction of a railroad from Arica to La Paz (in operation since 1913) and the free use by Bolivia of all Chilean ports. In their entirety the Chilean concessions to Bolivia exceeded in value the sum of £6,000,000.

Chile accepted Bolivia's proposition at the hands of Señor Aramayo; thereupon the present Chilean Ambassador to the United States, Senor Mathieu, was appointed Minister to Bolivia for the special purpose of drafting the treaty. This would have been accomplished within a few days but for the fact that the Bolivian Government expressed the desire that the boundaries between the two countries should be definitely determined in the same treaty, in order that in the future there should be no differences for dispute. This subject naturally required a long time for study by experts on the field.

Finally, in 1904, the treaty was signed and ratified to the satisfaction of the two Governments, particularly that of Bolivia, as shown by the reports of the Bolivian Chancellery covering that period. The conclusion of the treaty was considered to have

been a substantial achievement before the country by President Montes and by his Minister in Chile, who signed the treaty, Don Alberto Gutierrez, an enthusiastic defender in

both books and pamphlets of the advantages that accrued to Bolivia by that instrument.

Señor Aramayo, the bearer of Bolivia's proposition to Chile; Señor Montes, the President of the Republic at that time, and Señor Gutierrez, the signer of the treaty, are the same persons who, after the treaty had been in existence for seventeen years without cause of friction or difficulty, hailed Chile before the League of Nations and repudiated unequivocally a pact which they had theretofore held up as a meritorious personal achievement.

Bolivian commerce is being carried on without any obstacle whatsoever through Chilean ports. Not only that, but the treaty brought back to Bolivia the confidence of Chile, and there was a great influx of Chilean capital and enterprise, which have contributed to the present great development so happily enjoyed by that country. Furthermore, the entire population of the Province of Antofagasta is Chilean; it has always been Chilean, even before the war, as were also the industries therein established.



SHADED AREA INDICATES THE TACNA-ARICA DISTRICT, THE SUBJECT OF A TRIANGULAR DISPUTE WHICH ALL THE NATIONS CONCERNED ARE NOW SEEKING TO SETTLE

From a map sketched by Lieutenant Commander J. M. Creighton, U. S. Naval Intelligence Office

RADIO REPORTS FOR FARMERS

THE first attempt ever made in the East to distribute market news to farmers by radiophone — a system already in operation in the West — was initiated in New York City in the last week of January, 1922. From this date began the sending out twice a day of radiophone news of the wholesale markets. Arrangements to serve the farmers of New York, New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania had already been completed between the State Department of Farms and Markets and the Westinghouse Electrical and Manufacturing Company. Under the new system

the farmers of the regions specified will receive news the same as by telephone. A statement issued by the Department of Farms and Markets said in part:

The farmers' reports will cover not only market prices and conditions of the day in the New York wholesale market, but will summarize information from other large national markets obtained daily by the United States Bureau of Markets and Crop Estimate over their leased telegraph wires. Market conditions for Eastern agricultural products in the big wholesale centres will be compared on at least three days a week.

The isolation of the farmer is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

THE WAR LORDS OF CHINA

BY HENRY C. FENN

An American resident of Peking

An intimate view of Chang Tso-lin, the military Governor who has seized the Peking Government, and of Wu Pei-fu, his chief rival—How Sun Yat-sen faces two powerful military dictators

ALL Gaul was divided into three parts. Nothing as definite as that can be said about China at present. Divided the country certainly is, and into many more than three parts. The rapid shift of divisions gives a kaleidoscopic effect, but this very fact shows that the divisions are neither natural nor permanent. There are no claims of distinct nationality such as caused the break-up of Austria-Hungary. No one of the "independent" sections of the country looks forward to permanent separation from the others. Each is a protest against the present military oligarchy in Peking. All look forward to a reunited China, but their conceptions of the terms on which that union can be effected differ materially.

Outsiders frequently get the impression that China is in the throes of a civil war between the North and the South very similar to the American Civil War of half a century ago. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no Mason and Dixon line in China marking a distinct cleavage of public opinion. One "Government" happens to be located fairly far north and another at the extreme south. China is not equally divided between them, however, and there are further divisions within the territories more or less nominally controlled by these two "Governments." Also, as I have made clear, this is not a war of secession.

"TUCHUN" GOVERNMENT

In Peking there is nominally a Government, headed by a President; also a Cabinet, which is a variable

quantity. But the real power behind these figureheads is lodged with three of the strongest provincial Tuchuns, or military Governors. Rumor occasionally mentions a "Parliament," ostensibly to be summoned—some time. But when? And really, what's the use of summoning it? It's a serious question whether the President would find himself in harmony with it, and it's a foregone conclusion that the war lords behind the Government would *not*. So if it ever does convene it is likely to be the "goat" for all good war lords to burden with the blame for their mistakes while they see to it that said "goat" be not allowed rope enough to make any mistakes on its own account. Inasmuch as these military gentlemen are having great difficulty in keeping the figurehead President supplied with a Cabinet,* will they be able to keep a Parliament convened once they get it? Of course, a judicious use of troops has a strong persuasive force; troops have been used before.

It can fairly be said that in no part of the country do thinking people outside the militarist circles pin any faith on the ability of the Peking officials and their supporters to evolve a responsible Government. Opinions to that effect are openly voiced, and no serious attempts are made at their suppression. There has been a process of decay since the death of Yuan Shih-kai, due largely to the weakness of the Presidents and consequent growth of power

*This article was written early in December, 1921. Later in the month (Dec. 25) the Peking Cabinet of Ching Yun-peng was overthrown and replaced by a new Cabinet virtually dictated by Chang Tso-lin, the super-Tuchun of Manchuria, and headed by Liang Shi-yi.—EDITOR.

among the military officials. It is freely predicted in Peking as well as elsewhere that even if left to work out its own future the present "Government" has not long to live.

The chief props of this anomalous "Government of the Republic," as I have intimated, are the three super-Tuchuns, or "Inspectors General,"

who dictate it. These are Chang Tso-lin (Manchuria), Tsao-kun (Chihli), and Wu Pei-fu (Yangtse provinces).

Chang Tso-lin, the uncrowned King of Manchuria, sends forth his orders and decrees to Peking from Mukden, the capital of the three eastern provinces known collectively as Manchuria. (See the accompanying



Map of China as it is today, torn by warring factions, which include two rival Governments and the mutually hostile armies of three or more Military Governors

map.) These orders usually read somewhat as follows: "I need a few million yen to suppress bandits in Inner Mongolia and to rescue Outer Mongolia from the Far Eastern Republic. If I don't get them my unpaid troops are likely to mutiny, and I won't be responsible for the consequences." And he gets them. The suppression of bandits never takes place. Neither does the campaign against the Siberians. But after a while Chang comes back for further funds. While foreign loans fall due and are defaulted, Chang stipulates his needs for imaginary military expeditions and gets quick attention. There's a reason. He has 20,000 troops in the vicinity of Peking and controls the Peking-Mukden railway. It is whispered that the policemen in Peking are his troops in disguise. And this man Chang a few years ago was a hunted bandit in Manchuria.

Tsao-kun is the war lord of the "Chihli Party" and rival-in-chief of Chang Tso-lin. His headquarters are at Paotingfu, eighty-odd miles down the railway southeast of Peking. His wants are only less than those of Chang because he has no troops in Peking. Some think that they see a grain of mercy in Tsao. Others say he is merely biding his time. Certain it is that last Fall he was much weaker than Chang, whereas today the balance of power is quite the other way. The change is due to the rise to power of Tsao's chief lieutenant, Wu Pei-fu.

Since last Spring Wu Pei-fu, now the Lord of the Yangtze, has so overshadowed his master, Tsao-kun, that the relationship is merely a convenience. Tsao saw the need of consolidating the central provinces of the Yangtze River region before they seceded like other quarters, so much against the will of the Mukden Lord—he got General Wu appointed super-Tuchun No. 3, in charge of all the Yangtze region. And Wu made good. The Szechuanese from the west invaded his territory and threatened the great river port of Ichang. He drove them out and almost annihilated their army. That was the first bit of real fighting

China had seen for some time. No serious attempt to penetrate his preserve has been made since.

But Wu's chief problem is not defense. He is intrusted with the task of winning back the seceded provinces—not an easy task for any man. But Wu's standing with the people at large is certainly better than that of any other single leader in the North. If any one can do it, he can. Last Fall it was said by many that Wu, who was then ingratiating himself with the people of Shantung province as their Governor, and the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, were the only two leaders whom China could trust. Chinese and foreigners alike voiced the hope that they would get together. Today Feng is Tuchun of Shensi—under Wu. His elevation was a quick piece of work and a surprise to the country. But such happenings are rather frequent in China. Last Spring the writer was engaged in famine relief work at Shuntehfu, some two hundred miles south of Peking on the Hankow Railway. Tsao-kun was north of us at Paotingfu, and Wu was south of us at Honanfu. Both were very helpful in facilitating the shipment of supplies for our work. But the local commander at Shuntehfu, General Hsiao Yao-tan, had a division of troops who were constantly interfering with our transportation. It was not until we threatened to report him to his superiors that he gave us the protection we were entitled to. The same Hsiao is now Wu's right-hand man.

General Wu admittedly holds the strongest position in the country at present. In his control—merely nominal in some regions—are the central, richest and most populous provinces of China. The kingdom of Chang Tso-lin is situated in the border lands, a thinly populated country supporting some twenty millions of people. Wu's domain includes nearer two hundred and fifty millions, or more than one-half the entire population of the country.

SITUATION IN SOUTH CHINA

The main factor in the South is, of course, the Canton Government, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Another political division, it is true, exists in the three southwest provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan; which are independent, though fluctuating at present between Dr. Sun and Wu Pei-fu. The papers announced early in December that Yunnan and Kweichow had decided to support Sun. It remains to be seen what such "support" will consist of. These provinces, far from any railroad, are no small prize, for their aggregate population is near the hundred million mark. It is the Canton Government in the southeast, however, as I have said, which focuses attention.

The question as to whether Dr. Sun, bitter enemy of Peking and the ruling power of Canton, is a patriot or a self-seeker is beyond the scope of this article. He has his friends in the North as well as in the South. Many, on the other hand—especially foreigners—consider him a visionary. However that may be, he has set up and maintained at Canton a "Government" which has caused no little stir abroad. Probably it has aroused more talk abroad than in China, due in a measure to the preponderance of Cantonese in Britain and America. This at least seems certain: Sun has set up what all who visit Canton report to be a very efficient administration within the city limits. They note new roads cut through the heart of the city, where once were narrow lanes; electric lighting and telephone systems; aqueducts, and a remarkably progressive municipal organization. Canton has the first city character known in China. At the same time the writer has heard the admission from Cantonese in Peking that Sun, outside of Canton itself, has little hold on the province of Kwangtung, which is constantly overrun with bandits.

As for Kwangsi Province, which lies in the East, Sun's able lieutenant, General Chen Chiung-ming, is in con-

trol there, but Chen is anything but Sun's humble servant. Sun is preparing to invade the North, or so the papers report every few days. He is trying to raise a loan abroad, as the territory under his control cannot possibly produce sufficient funds for such an enterprise. But whenever Sun says, "Let's go," Chen Chiung-ming replies, "Not yet. The time isn't ripe." Meanwhile it is reported that Chen and Wu are negotiating.

SUN VS. THE WAR LORDS

If Sun should really start his expedition—which he is supposed to have done several times already—the three War Lords would probably lay aside private disputes and unite against him. In fact, they act together now in all matters concerning the South. And their funds will be drawn from within the country, two-thirds of which they control. Hence it is evident that Sun's tactics will be to try to alienate elements from his enemy and give his friends in the North reason to believe he will be successful. But he is consistently refusing overtures from the North, which seek to reach an agreement without fighting, while Chen Chiung-ming seems to be playing for time in order to reach such an agreement if possible. Chen's game is more Chinese. But will the outcome be that Wu will go over to the South, or that Chen will go over to Wu?

It would seem to the casual observer that, in spite of warlike preparations on both sides, the chance of real fighting is small. Either an invasion of the North by Sun or of the South by Wu would cost more than either has to spend. Wu has shown by his tactics since assuming the General Inspectorship of the Yangtze provinces that he will not attack Sun until all efforts at diplomacy have failed. Chen seems to have the same attitude. So Sun will have to force war on the country, and the country is in no condition to welcome it after several years of famine and flood.

One big reason for Wu's "watchful

waiting" policy is that he has another matter to attend to which is much more to his liking than a fight with Sun. Some day he must whip Chang Tso-lin. Only lately he announced that he would not be the one to start the fight. That is probably only too true, for time is on his side. If he can come to terms with the South, persuading Sun that he is seeking China's welfare rather than his own, he will have overwhelming odds against Chang. Otherwise the fighting between them, which will probably take place on the Peking-Hankow Railway, between Peking and Paotingfu, is likely to be no joke. However, there will be few in that day who will waste one good wish on the Mudken War Lord.

[Since this was written, Chang has become virtual dictator at Peking, and Wu has gone through the form of sending him an ultimatum.]

Although the provinces of Fukien, Kiangsi and Hunan are generally included in Wu Pei-fu's domain, they are internally divided and their influence is doubtful. A misstep on the part of the Yangtze Lord may throw them into Sun's arms, for his agents are hard at work there. An unprovoked attack by Sun, on the other hand, may cause them to unite against him. Hence their weight is in favor of negotiations.

PUBLIC OPINION

I suppose that if a straw vote were to be taken among the students throughout China the result would be a complete victory for Sun Yat-sen in the North as well as in the South. Such is the impression conveyed by students in Peking, at least, for almost to a man they come out openly for Sun. But they have no leadership and their numbers are comparatively small. The Peking Government fears them so little that it

doesn't even trouble to punish seditious statements.

In the merchants, however, we have a class whose influence is increasingly felt. Through chambers of commerce and bankers' associations they are even now exerting no small pressure. They are the keepers of the nation's pursestrings. Already they have refused loans for military purposes. What greater power is there than just this to bring peace and unity in the country? A normal revenue is insufficient for military expeditions in any country, and especially in China. The consistent shutting off of funds will do more to curb the War Lords than secessions, revolutions and expeditions. If military movements are impossible, diplomatic means will soon reunite the provinces.

Of course, once reconciliation is effected, these same merchants must pay the enormous bill for disbandment of the troops. Unpaid troops are an invitation to any one who is willing to lead them for personal gain. At best they will become scattered groups of bandits, requiring further raising of troops for their extirpation. Only when China's 1,600,000 soldiers are sent home with pay in their pockets will there be any real peace in the country. And when that kind of peace is secured, a very small police force will suffice to keep order, for the Chinese people are by nature law-abiding and peace-loving. The chief need of a Government in China is to govern the Governors, for, after all, they are the trouble-makers. They have been and will be a constant danger to any central Government, not merely until the power of raising troops is taken from them, but until the Chinese people as a whole change their entire code of personal and political morality and practice the patriotism they are now preaching everywhere.

WHAT JAPAN IS THINKING

BY JESSE WILLIS JEFFERIS

Glimpses of the contents of some recent books by Japanese on international issues—Volumes by American authors on Japanese aims and ideals—Forces making for peace in the Pacific

THE rise of Japan in seventy years from obscurity to a commanding position in a proposed entente of the most powerful nations in the world is a striking example of what an ancient civilization may become when quickened by modern ideas. It is true that the precocity of Japan, compared with the conservatism of such countries as China and India, is largely the result of her exposed insular position; but they cherish an illusion who believe that Japanese civilization began when "the big black fire-ships of the barbarians," commanded by Commodore Perry, first steamed into the harbor of Yeddo. May not historians of the future declare that the dropping of our anchors was the beginning of Japan's lapse into a modernized and more deadly form of barbarism? For since then the pacifist Japan of cherry blossoms, poetry and the gentle teaching of Buddha, the Light of Asia, has learned the ways of Western imperialism.

It is because the Japanese have learned from Germany, Great Britain and America to arm themselves to the teeth, and, like us, to plant all four feet in the trough of commercialism, that we are now compelled to regard them as factors to be reckoned with in what is popularly known as "the family of civilized nations." Dwelling so smugly and complacently in celluloid houses, let us discreetly refrain from shooting Roman candles.

Every honest American, and every Liberal living in the Kingdom of the Rising Sun, is unalterably opposed to Japan's military autocracy. Justice,

of course, demands that Japan take her foot off the neck of China and that Great Britain do likewise. But what Pharisees have we become to protest against the expansion of the overcrowded, rock-ribbed island of Japan, no larger than the State of Montana, and wholly incapable of sustaining 57,000,000 inhabitants, while we who command a continent have taken possession of and fortified islands which repose almost under the shadow of Mount Fujiyama!

Psychologists say that no one is capable of plumbing the depths of another's soul. If this be true, how much more difficult must be the task of the American who tries to pierce the wall which separates his mind from the peculiar consciousness of the Japanese! The chasm between the two may be indicated by a single example. Dr. Uyesugi, Professor of Constitutional Law in the Imperial University of Tokio, declares that the Mikado is the organized will of the Japanese nation. "The wish of the whole people," he says, "can never be indicated through a majority vote, but is expressed by the Emperor." The Sovereign in Heaven sent his grandson down to Japan for the purpose of founding an ideal State on earth, and willed that the grandson's descendants should be the Emperors of Japan, from generation to generation. By absolutely obeying the Mikado, who is a descendant of the Almighty, every Japanese may attain the highest virtue. As the Mikado's will does not conflict with the people's, says Dr. Uyesugi, the true ideals of democracy can be realized

only in Japan. Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor, who ascended the throne in 660 B.C., said: "The world shall be our metropolis; the universe shall be our realm."

MIRRORS OF JAPAN

Difficult as it is for an American to get the viewpoint of the learned professor just quoted, I shall endeavor, by means of significant passages from recent books on Japan, to mirror some phases of present Japanese thought. Never before has there been so abundant an outpouring of good books on Japan. A glance into some of the best of them may aid to a fuller understanding of the nation's traits, aims and ideals.

In the admirable collection of articles written by representative Japanese, entitled "What Japan Thinks," just published by the Macmillan Company, may be found striking opinions on political questions of the day. In this volume a representative liberal, Professor Sakuzo Yoshino—also of the Tokio Imperial University—deplores the militaristic tendencies of the Japanese Government. The military ordinance of 1909 provides that in certain matters plans may be carried out by appealing directly to the Emperor. According to this law, it is not necessary to submit these policies to the Diet, nor do the members of the Diet have any right to question such proceedings. The Minister of the Navy or the Minister of War may, without consulting the Premier or other member of the Cabinet, carry out plans over the Premier's head and bring new ordinances into effect.

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In the conduct of national affairs, a scheme has therefore been adopted in which the militarists, including the army and navy, compose one side of a triangle, while on the other side is the Cabinet, whose business it is to look after ordinary administrative affairs. The Emperor, who is at the top of the triangle, is the unifying force. The result is that Japan practically has two Governments. On the one side is the militaristic class and on the other the people, with the Emperor at the top. Of course this scheme of a double Government is not constitutional.

But reform is very difficult to undertake. The stronger the opposition among the people, the stronger the resistance of the militarists, whose attitude is that whatever is best for Japan should be done, no matter who or what is to be sacrificed.

Professor Yoshi S. Kuno of the University of California in "What Japan Wants" (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.) says that Japan has no intention of seeking to control the Pacific Ocean single-handed. She well knows that this would be impossible so long as strong marine powers, like Great Britain and the United States, exist. What she really wants is a fair share of rights and privileges on the Pacific. Such being the case, the strong fortification by the United States of Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines has caused her grave misgivings. She can see no reason for the fortification of these islands, unless the United States regards Japan as a potential enemy. Therefore, with the exception of a few militarists, the people of Japan are united in wanting the nations to remove all fortifications from their insular possessions on the Pacific, so that this ocean may become in reality what it already is in name—a truly "peaceful sea."

The concessions held by Japan in China, Professor Kuno explains, are of three kinds. The first were secured as a result of the Chino-Japanese war. By them persons of other

nationalities are permitted to navigate the rivers of China and to establish industrial plants within the confines of her territory. The second were obtained as a result of the Russo-Japanese war, when Japan stepped into the shoes vacated by Russia. By these concessions special rights were granted to Japan alone—rights not open to other nations. By securing territorial leases with special mining and railroad concessions, the Japanese have thus entered upon an era of remarkable national expansion. Out of these concessions has sprung the ill-will of China for Japan. The third class of concessions consists of former German rights in Shantung, which Japan acquired as a result of the World War. The famous "Twenty-one Demands," by means of which Japan gained further political and industrial concessions, have at the same time brought the enmity of China to its highest pitch.

Japan desires to retain all these concessions, but only in their com-

mercial and industrial aspects, separating them from military and political influences. Her policy regarding Shantung, says Professor Kuno, is to return the political control of the peninsula to China and to retain only the mining, railroad and industrial concessions, which China conceded to her under the "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915.

THE CALIFORNIA QUESTION

An apology for Japan's peaceful economic conquests in California is found in a notable book, just published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, "Japan and the California Problem," by Dr. T. Iyenaga, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, and Kenosake Sato. According to these authors, the chief cause of Japanese emigration is the lack of productive land. Japan has an area of only 147,655 square miles, or about 8,000 less than that of California. Such is the geological formation of the islands that only about 16 per



Illustration from "The Pacific Triangle," by Sydney Greenble, showing Japanese children dressed in modified foreign clothes—"Japan's first reaction to foreign influence"

cent. of the total area is fit for cultivation, over 70 per cent. being mountains and forests. Nearly five and one-half million families—30,000,000 people—cultivate 15,000,000 acres, which means less than three acres per family, and half an acre per individual farmer. In recent years the pursuit of agriculture has become less and less remunerative, driving farmhands into the industries.

CONGESTED POPULATION

Naturally, the authors continue, the Japanese look with eager eyes for an opportunity to cultivate land abroad. In the north are the vast plains of Manchuria, toward the south the fertile soil of Australia, in the east Hawaii and California offer golden opportunities for industrious farmers. But Manchuria is too cold, and competition there with cheap Chinese labor is unprofitable. From the beginning Australia never welcomed the yellow races. Only Hawaii and California seemed satisfactory for Japanese emigration.

Within the last fifty years the population of Japan has nearly doubled, increasing from 35,000,000 to 55,000,000. At the present time the population is increasing at the rate of 650,000 or 700,000 per annum in Japan proper alone. The census taken Oct. 1, 1920, shows the total population of the Mikado's empire to be 77,005,510, of which that of Japan proper is 55,961,140.

Twenty years of emigration attempts have resulted in failure, Japan's efforts to colonize her race in other lands having proved futile in every case. There are many causes for this failure, and Dr. Iyenaga and Mr. Sato say in their book that Japan herself is partly, but not wholly, responsible for it. Excluded and maltreated wherever they have gone, the Japanese return home with shattered hopes and wounded feelings, where the mooted question of population once more confronts them with intensified severity.

That the Japanese are efficient

tillers of the soil, these authors say, is evidenced by their work in California. Of the 12,900,000 acres of irrigated farm land in that State the total value of the crops produced is \$500,000,000, or about \$42 per acre annually. Of the 390,000 acres cultivated by the Japanese, the total value is \$55,000,000 in farm products, or \$141 per acre. The value of Japanese farms per acre has therefore turned out to be three and one-half times as much as California farms in general.

The authors of "Japan and the California Problem" contend that the Japanese may be readily assimilated by the white race. To fortify this statement they cite the conclusions reached by such authorities as Professor Millis and Dr. Gulick. "The offspring of mixed marriages," Dr. Gulick declares, "are often practically indistinguishable from Caucasians. The color distinction is the first to break down. The Japanese hair and eye exert a stronger influence. So far as the observation of the writer goes, there is a tendency to striking beauty in the Americo-Japanese. The mental ability, also, of the offspring of Japanese and white marriages is not inferior to that of children of either race."

THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

The mutual impenetrability of Occidental and Oriental minds to one another is explained by Julian Street in his "Mysterious Japan" (Doubleday, Page & Co.), as follows:

The Orient is all vague to the average American. If he does not live on the Pacific Coast, or in some large city where Japanese may have settled, he may never have laid eyes upon a Japanese. Or, if he has seen Japanese over here, he may have seen them in the farming districts of the Pacific Slope. Whether he has seen them or not, he has gathered some impressions of them through newspaper accounts of the trouble there has been about them in California. He understands that their customs, religion and food are unlike his—which may be taken as implying a certain lack of merit in them. He understands that Japanese women and children work in the fields. His own women and children do not work in the fields, but wear silk stockings, chew gum and go to the movies—all of which, of

course, counts against the Japanese, since to work in the fields is in these times almost un-American. And, of course, it is still more un-American to do what the Japanese laborers did in California until the patriotic Californians stopped them, namely, to save money and buy farms.

Then there is this business about "picture brides"—my average American may have heard vaguely about that, though probably he does not know that the Japanese Government, in deference to our wishes, no longer allows picture brides to come here. He would not think of such a thing as picking out a wife by photograph. None of his friends would do it, either.

A decidedly entertaining and beautifully illustrated work, published by Harper & Brothers, is Sydney Greenbie's "Japan, Real and Imaginary." The author is of the opinion that Western ways have been accepted by the Japanese under protest and have only to a slight degree become an integral part of their civilization.

The effect [he says] of the transplanting of Western ways to Japan is ominous.

Artificial enough in themselves, they are not bad when they are the outgrowth of ages of experimentation. But in Japan there is not that growth. The new is plastered right on to the old, which seemed much grander in its ancient simplicity. The danger is that the Japanese begin to feel discouraged; begin to lose self-confidence. The danger of reaction is even worse. With primitive races, the stage of development is so elemental that it is not difficult for foreign culture and habits to grip them. There is no hard, ingrained custom to overcome. But here in Japan, Western civilization came in contact with a civilization as perfected and as rigidly formed into habit as it was itself. At first the Japanese threw their own away as children do their toys. Today they realize their mistake.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING JAPAN.

The problems confronting Japan and the methods which America might employ to meet them are ably set forth in J. O. P. Bland's "China, Japan and Korea," recently published



(Wide World Photos)

Japanese school girls are learning to handle rifles and many of them are becoming very skillful. The illustration shows Japanese military officers giving instructions to a girl student

by Charles Scribner's Sons. Mr. Bland says:

The motive force behind Japan's imperative claims to expansion is severe economic pressure, due to increasing overpopulation of the Island Kingdom. This pressure is compelled to seek relief on the Asiatic continent; because insistence on a free right of entry into America and Australia is impracticable. It is evident that, as laborers, colonists and farmers, the Japanese cannot hope to compete with the Chinese in Manchuria and Mongolia. The Japanese Government's policy of expansion now aims chiefly at obtaining control of the latent resources of these regions, and developing them as economic protectorates, so to speak, for the supply of raw materials.

I have also endeavored to show that, if China is to be protected from internal disintegration, a common purpose of good-will toward her must actuate the United States, Great Britain and Japan; that this cannot possibly be achieved if Japan has reason to consider that her claims to expansion are being arbitrarily thwarted by the same powers which deny her the right of emigration to white men's countries, and that therefore it would seem to be good statesmanship to recognize Japan's "special interests" in Manchuria and Mongolia.

Recalling the rise to power of such insular and peninsular countries as England, France, Spain, Italy and Greece, G. A. Ballard in his "Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan" (E. P. Dutton & Co.) contends that Japan's splendid isolation renders her practically impregnable to attack, either from Europe or from America.

Surrounded by the Pacific Ocean [he says], which has once again become her great guarantee of safety, because she has learned how to use it as a line of defense; separated by 10,000 miles of water from Europe and nearly 5,000 from America, and having no great military neighbor near at hand since the break-up of the Russian Empire, her situation is such that no power in the world can seriously threaten her in her own regions, in the near future, at least. For any attack on Japan, as matters now stand, the enemy must be in possession of a fleet about three times as powerful as that of the defense; because no other country has a fully-equipped modern naval base and arsenal in the Eastern Pacific capable of docking two or three of the largest battleships simultaneously; or of removing guns 100 tons in weight; or of manufacturing wholesale supplies of heavy-calibre ammunition; or, lastly, of storing the millions of tons of oil-fuel required by a twentieth-century fleet in war.

Without such a base in easy reach, a large proportion of the attacking fleet—

probably a third—must constantly be at some distance from the theatre of operations; while the force actually on the spot must always be twice as strong as the defense, if any effective watch or blockade is to be possible. No power exists at present in a position to undertake such a task.

Arthur Judson Brown's "The Mastery of the Far East," from the press of Charles Scribner's Sons, is the most comprehensive book on this subject published in the last year. Tracing Japan's rapid rise to supremacy in the Orient, the author portrays the Japanese people neither as a nation of saints nor as "varnished savages."

WHAT AMERICA EXPECTS

What America expects of Japan is clearly set forth in Payson J. Treat's "Japan and the United States," published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Thoughtful Americans [says Mr. Treat] recognize the peculiar necessities of Japan—the pressure of a rapidly increasing population dwelling in a small area with limited natural resources. They welcome, therefore, any development of Japanese commerce and industry which will help Japan to provide for the economic advancement of her industrious people. But this development must not come at the expense of the rights and liberties of neighboring States. American capital has shown itself willing to co-operate with Japan in developing the resources of China, and the new consortium, if it can secure the co-operation of the Chinese people, will offer large opportunities for legitimate investment of American and Japanese capital in enterprises of great and permanent value in China. If Japan should continue to follow the old precedents; should endeavor to extend her special interests in China by force or intrigue, then there need be no question that American public opinion will certainly support China, and the relations between Japan and the United States will be increasingly unsatisfactory.

Popular notions of Japan, which her rising sons usually fail to take seriously, frequently put the highly sensitive mistress of the Far East on her mettle. Such is the view expressed in "The Pacific Triangle" (Century Company) by Sydney Greenbie, who says that Japan is trying to stand up to the world as a man, and not as a pretty boy, as the world has imagined.

Wherever I have gone [he continues] I have been asked a certain type of question

that seems to me to hold the mirror up to Japan. The questions are generally these: What business is it of ours, after all, what Japan does in Asia? Isn't it only the conceit of the white man that makes him regard himself as superior to the Japanese? Isn't it true that the Japanese haven't any room for their surplus population? Or, the more knowing, those who have read up on the subject—like the man who signed a contract with a publisher to produce four boys' books at once, one of which was on Shintoism in Japan—assume this attitude: "Let them adore their Emperors; it's a charming little peculiarity." There is still a third group. It belongs to the adolescent class, to the age of boys who threaten to lick other boys with their little finger, or "I'll fight you with my right hand tied behind my back," and has been fed by the romancers who portrayed everything Japanese as petite and charming.

Fortunately, powerful forces in the world are making for peace. In "Must We Fight Japan?" (Century Company), Walter B. Pitkin, Associate Professor of Journalism, Columbia University, weighs in the balance the main factors which—aside from the momentous developments of the arms conference—will determine the

future international relations of Japan and America. He says:

Certainly the most conspicuous of the forces making for peace, so far as the United States is concerned, is the widespread disgust and disillusionment as to the value of war as a method of getting results. Almost every American today realizes, somewhat bitterly, that the cost of the World War was out of all proportion to any possible or actual benefits accruing from the conflict. Two years ago this statement would have been treason; today it is an axiom.

A second influence is the rapidly growing solidarity of the intellectual classes of the world and their concerted efforts to anticipate international crises and block them by honest and open debate and publicity. In this movement the intellectuals of Japan are playing a worthy part, at times under handicaps little realized by us.

A third influence is the shaky financial condition of the whole world, and of Japan in particular, which operates to array all international bankers solidly against every political movement that threatens, even remotely, to carry any country into war. A fourth influence is the economic dependence of Japan's new industrial system upon the United States for most of its raw materials and special machinery.



(Photo International)

Group of Red Cross nurses of Japan about to leave Tokio for the northern region of Saghalin Island, where they will care for sick soldiers of the Japanese army of occupation

DRIFTING TOWARD A JUGOSLAV FEDERATION

BY CONSTANTINE STEPHANOVE

Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of Sofia

How Serbia and Bulgaria, after throwing off the Turkish yoke, sought a permanent union, and how this failed through assassination and Austro-Russian intrigue—Movement for a Slavic federation that will include Bulgaria

Federation is the only salvation of the Southern Slavs.—*Prince Michael III. of Serbia.*

I am first a Yugoslav, and then a Bulgarian.—*Alexander Stambolisky, Peasant Premier of Bulgaria.*

The Southern Slavs are a people of four nationalities and four distinct types of national consciousness.—*Stepan Raditch, leader of the Croatian Agrarian Party.*

There can be no lasting Yugoslavia without Bulgaria.—*Dr. Koroshets, leader of the Clerical Party of Slovenia.*

THERE is a saying among the Slavs: "Why aren't you on good terms with John?"—"Because we are brothers." The relations between Serbs and Bulgars ever since their appearance in the Balkans, twelve centuries ago, are well characterized by this paradox. Hardly any other two peoples have so many identical national features. They are both Slavs, brave, industrious, outspoken, honest, genial, hospitable. They both use almost the same language, which now, with the orthographic simplification introduced into the Bulgarian by the present Peasant Cabinet under Premier Stambolisky, renders the two kindred tongues still more nearly identical. As it is, the Slavs, from Klagenfurt and Pressburg to the Aegean, and from the Danube to the Albanian frontier, can easily understand each other. The Dalmatian or the Croatian feels equally at home in Sofia. The Bulgarian and his brother of Serbia proper are Yugoslav in race, speech, belief, popular folk-lore and traditions.

It is a different matter, of course, when we touch upon the question of

nationality and national self-consciousness. The political events which have taken place in the Balkans since the establishment of the Slav tribes in the peninsula have exerted such an influence upon their character that—as Mr. Raditch was constrained to declare during his trial for high treason at Belgrade in August, 1920—today among the Balkan Slavs one must reckon with "four distinct nationalities and four distinct types of national consciousnesses," meaning, of course, the Serbs proper, the Bulgarians, the Croats and the Slovenes. The last two, besides, are Catholic, and that divergence will always stand in the way between Agram and Laibach on the one side, and Orthodox Belgrade on the other; though the fact that the Bulgarian and Serb are both Orthodox did not prevent the two kindred peoples from writing a series of most bloody records of their mutual relations in the past, while, on the other hand, the Orthodox Bulgarian and the Catholic Serb of Croatia and Slovenia, or the Mohammedan Serb of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have never had occasion to rue their ethnic origin and blood affinity. At present, because of the despotic proclivities of the Serbs proper, manifested toward all other branches of Yugoslavdom, a more brotherly feeling unites Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins and Bulgarian Mace-

donians against what they consider the "usurper brother," who is bent on playing the role of the Piedmontese—in his own rude, uncouth and unscrupulous fashion.

TIES IN COMMON OPPRESSION

The mutual bondage to the Turkish yoke, under which both Serbs and Bulgars suffered for some four hundred years, intensified their racial and brotherly feeling. The Slav solidarity of the two peoples during that period manifested itself in many ways. Religiously they were one; both professed the same orthodox faith. Socially no distinction was made between them. They were "*bracha*," brothers, and felt and acted as such. Students, scholars, priests and merchants found brotherly reception and treatment in either country. Politically, both Serbs and Bulgars had one aim in view—the final expulsion of the common oppressor from their land. Throughout the long period of Turkish dominion the two peoples demonstrated repeatedly their possession of national self-consciousness. A joint guerrilla warfare against the Ottoman despotism was carried on to the last days of their bondage. Serbs, Bulgarians and Macedonians always took an active part in the wars waged by the European powers against the Ottoman Empire. The Bulgarians in particular had to pay dearly for the general uprisings in 1405, 1444, 1595, 1612, 1669, 1673, 1829, 1841, 1856, 1878, for the vengeance of the Ottoman ire was wreaked mainly upon the inhabitants of the territory which by virtue of its central position became the arena of all the Turko-European conflicts.

The fighting qualities of the Serbian and Bulgarian were well known to the then great powers. Austria and Russia, in their repeated struggles with the Osmanlis, always counted upon the help of the oppressed Christian peoples, particularly on the Serbs and Bulgars, who looked to them for deliverance. Unhappily for these races, neither of the great powers named was sincere

in its military campaigns against the Sultans of Turkey. Their aims and interests were purely political and imperialistic. And, to their disgrace it should be stated, the Bulgarians and Serbians allowed the bonds of brotherhood, which had become traditional during Turkish times, to be shattered, chiefly through the machinations and intrigues directed from Vienna and Petrograd.

THE PROJECT OF UNION

The fraternal feeling between the Serbs and Bulgarians had been so deeply rooted in the hearts of the two peoples that during the sixties of the 19th century they were both imbued with the idea of forming a lasting alliance, a union of the two kindred races. From this time dated the first serious and consecutive movement for the creation of a Yugoslav Federation. It is true that an attempt to create a united Yugoslavia had been made as early as the beginning of the 19th century, but that proved a premature political undertaking and lasted only as long as the French Army of Occupation remained in the Balkans. Ten years later all these provinces were subjugated by Austria.

The Serbo-Bulgarian rapprochement which started over fifty years ago was a spontaneous manifestation of two kindred peoples. The chief promoter and patron was no less a personage than the third Prince Michael Obrenovitch of Serbia. The Balkan Slavs were pervaded with the idea of federating all Yugoslav States under his leadership. It was to be the first important step toward the formation of a Danubian Confederation, with Greece, Rumania and Hungary as members—a confederation strong enough to defend itself against encroachments from the East, the West, and the North. With that end in view the Serbian ruler set out to raise and organize a large national army, to which was secretly attached a Bulgarian legion, made up of the best Bulgarian and Macedonian revolutionary contingents. The Serbian Government meanwhile

made preparations for a sudden attack upon the Turkish garrison still retained at Belgrade. The assault took place in 1862, and the Bulgarian legion, under the leadership of Rakowsky, distinguished itself in the bloody encounter.

Encouraged by his military successes, Prince Michael concluded, in 1867-68, treaties of alliance with Montenegro, with the representatives of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee, whose headquarters were at Bucharest, all with the idea of bringing about the unification of these Slav lands. Though the Serbian Government, in order to please the Sultan for returned favors, had expelled the Bulgarian legionaries from its territory, and had thus created great disappointment in Bulgaria and among the Bulgarian revolutionary organizations abroad, his federation plan had not ceased to attract them. The Bulgarians in 1867 gladly responded to the invitation of Prince Michael for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance. After an exchange of views a protocol was drawn up, which contained twelve points, chief of which were the first three, which read:

1. Between the Serbians and the Bulgarians is established a brotherly union under the name of "Jugoslav Kingdom."

2. The future Jugoslav Kingdom is made up of Serbia and Bulgaria. (Bulgaria includes Thrace and Macedonia).

3. The ruler of the Jugoslav Kingdom is the present Prince Michael Obrenovitch of Serbia, endowed with the right of heredity.

FAILURE THROUGH ASSASSINATION

This treaty was well advanced toward realization when the hand of an assassin put an end both to the life of Prince Michael and to his noble project. The murder of the great Serbian ruler is justly laid at the door of Austrian and Russian agents. It should be remarked that both the Russian and Austrian diplomacy skillfully pretended to be in favor of Prince Michael's program, and, curiously enough, Count Andrassy, for Austria and Magazinovitch for Russia were admitted into the secret con-

versations carried on between the Serbian Government and the Bulgarian revolutionary societies. As was the case in 1912, both Russia and Austria gladly encouraged a movement likely to cause a new conflict with Turkey, thus creating an opportunity for their intervention in the Near East question. Finding, however, that the federation idea was being consummated successfully, they decided to choke it at its very inception by doing away with Prince Michael, the soul of the movement. And, indeed, with him also died the grand Jugoslav idea.

That the murder of the Serbian Prince was an act inspired from Vienna, which was exceedingly sensitive on any question touching Jugoslav unity, is now an open secret. Did not Austria show her mischievous hand again in 1885, when, fearing the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, she incited King Milan, Prince Michael's cousin and successor, to attack the Bulgarians in the rear? The Serbo-Bulgarian war in 1885 was a heinous crime. Serbia played the part of Cain, and the relations between the two kindred States were strained to the extreme. But "blood is thicker than water," and the Bulgarians, tracing the finger of Austria in the fratricidal war, were ready to pardon their Serbian brothers.

THE BALKAN ALLIANCE

All those familiar with the events of the first decade of our century remember the joy and enthusiasm of Serbs and Bulgarians, which led to the glorious days of the Serbo-Bulgarian Alliance of 1912, and which paved the way for the creation of the ill-fated Balkan Alliance. The aged Bulgars and Serbs, who still remembered the old days of Serbo-Bulgarian fraternity, were moved to tears at the sight of the new comradeship, by the common festivities, games, excursions and musical entertainments inaugurated by their young sons and daughters. Ever memorable will be the touching scenes witnessed at Sofia and else-

where on the arrival of the allied Serbian Army in September, 1912. They were addressed with the endearing word "*bracha*" (brothers), which was seldom used more appropriately. Bulgar old men and women kissed and hugged and loved the Serbian heroes as their own. The Bulgar and Serbian youngsters sang, drank and danced together as if they had done so all their lives. The Turk soon found out to his sorrow what Serbo-Bulgar unity meant. In less than three weeks the Ottoman veteran forces were swept off their feet at Kirk-Kilisseh and Lozengrad in Thrace, at Koumanova in Macedonia. What tried European Generals had so often attempted and failed to achieve in the past was accomplished, so to speak, by Captains and subalterns of two young States in less than a month. It was a war of liberation. Two brothers had clasped hands and vowed to break the chains of bondage in which still groaned a third. The whole world was amazed at the lightning dash and military exploits of the young Yugoslav soldiers. Almost before she realized it, the power of Turkey in Europe was a thing of the past.

These days of brotherly feeling, abnegation and patriotism were short-lived. The narrow-minded, imperialistic and chauvinistic politicians at Belgrade and Sofia, largely under the influence of Austrian and Russian diplomacy, soon had their own way again. Russia, it will be remembered, played the "patron" of the Balkan Alliance, perfectly confident that the Ottoman hordes would cut to pieces the green youngsters of the allied Balkan States, in which emergency her hard-pressed proteges would again turn to her for intervention. Austria, too, though the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance was also directed against "the power who might attack Serbia," showed a marked forbearance until the signal victories of the small allied States set her hair on end. Thereupon she fell back upon her old tricks. Vienna urged the Serbian Government not to evacuate Macedonia, as stipulated by

the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, and to demand its revision, while the Russian Minister at Sofia intimated that the entry of the Bulgarian troops in Constantinople would be looked upon with displeasure by the Russian Czar.

WAR INCITED BY AUSTRIA

Foreign and local intrigues were set going, and already in December, barely two months after the war had begun, the Serbs and Bulgars were allies only in name. Bloody encounters between contingents of the two camps had commenced to take place. The Serbians began to entrench and fortify themselves in Macedonia, determined to retain it at all cost. The relations between the members of the Balkan Alliance grew so hostile that to all who knew the psychology of the Balkan peoples it was evident that a fratricidal conflict was inevitable.

The Balkan war of liberation was to become a Serbian war of conquest, with ugly consequences for all concerned.

Posterity will brand the chauvinist circles at Belgrade and Sofia as the real culprits in the second Balkan war. Both the Serbian and the Bulgarian Governments are to blame for the rupture of the Yugoslav entente so auspiciously launched—a rupture which they would surely have avoided had they not flagrantly violated that stipulation of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty which provided that in case of disagreement about Macedonia it was to be converted into an autonomous province, and was to form a connecting link between Serbia and Bulgaria. Had they adhered to that clause, the fratricidal war would have been prevented, the brotherly unity preserved, and the foundations of a Yugoslav federation laid.

The second Balkan war is one of the blackest stains upon the records of history. It was waged with blind desperation and vengefulness, to the satisfaction and joy of the Austrian diplomats who had inspired it. It was the forerunner of the Serbo-Bulgarian conflict during the World War.

Some even go so far as to trace the origin of the world conflagration to the Serbo-Bulgarian quarrel over Macedonia. Nowhere else was armed antagonism carried on with such ghastly ferocity as in the Balkans. The Bulgarians of Macedonia acquitted themselves in a most brutal manner. The draconian regime of the Serbs in Macedonia had created deep-seated animosities in the mind of the Macedonian Bulgar, who is largely responsible for the cruelties committed in Serbia during the Bulgarian occupation. If Imperial England has been unable to curb a handful of Irish patriots, all the less could a small Serbia stifle a Macedonian movement led by a hardened and desperate race of men. Russian and Austrian diplomacy well knew this secret and acted accordingly.

THE NEW JUGOSLAVIA

The great war of 1914 wrought radical changes, political, geographical, ethnical, social and economic. It solved some questions, but bungled up most of them. Of the latter the Balkan problem is typical. Bulgaria was cut down to a minimum, in order to satisfy the wishes of the Entente Balkan allies. And yet neither Greece nor Serbia, nor even Rumania, has found a lasting solution of her national problems. The World War is still going on in the Near East.

Jugoslavia, so called, is the country that interests us here. The compact of Corfu, July 20, 1917, and the Geneva Convention the following year, at the stroke of the pen created the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. Here another fatal mistake was made—all due to the frenzied Belgrade politicians headed by Nicholas Pashitch, the arch-imperialist in the Balkans. The new State was appropriately named "Jugoslavia," but in reality it is nothing else than a greater Serbia. None of the new Slav States was properly consulted when it was formally set up. The Jugoslavia brought into existence by the Pashitch party is a bitter disap-

pointment to all good Slavs in South-eastern Europe. They awoke one morning in October, 1918, to find themselves under Serbian, instead of Austrian, occupation. The inhabitants of these States, who for generations had yearned to be delivered from Austrian rule and hoped to see a true Yugoslav federation established, were filled with terrible misgivings. They soon discovered that the Serbian Administration and Army of Occupation were more obnoxious to them than those of the fallen Austrian Empire. A new rule was imposed upon them against their will, and it proved harsher and more arbitrary than the alien one. The discontent became general. There soon followed riots, outbreaks and even revolutions. First the Montenegrins, then the Croats and Slovenians rose in protest. The Marburg rebellion was a serious affair.

FEDERATION VS. CENTRALIZATION

In the midst of that popular discontent and turmoil there rose the spokesman of the oppressed Jugoslavs, Stepan Raditch, the great Croatian Peasant leader, once the terror of the Dual Monarchy. The Austrians had feared to lay hands on him, but now he was languishing in prison in his own country, just delivered from the foreign yoke. He was secretly dragged to Belgrade by men of his own blood to be tried for high treason. That trial will ever remain memorable in the annals of history. A great patriot, fearless, self-confident, he boldly took the stand to defend himself against his judges, who were rendered mute by the irrefragable pleadings of a brother and patriot. His words rang clear and sonorous to the discomfiture of his accusers:

The people are still yearning for real freedom, and have a different conception of the Liberation act. We did not destroy Austria in order to have Budapest in Zagreb, Belgrade or Sarejevo. The Southern Slavs today are a people of four nationalities and four types of national consciousness. The principle of self-determination is not concerned only with territorial

boundaries, but also with the right of establishing a form of government such as the people desire. •

So spoke the intrepid apostle of Yugoslav federation. Had he been tried a year before, he would have been hanged on a Belgrade gallows. But a year of Serbian occupation had blasted the force of Serbian imperialistic zeal. Raditch had become the idol of all oppressed Yugoslavs. The Belgrade Government now feared Raditch dead more than Raditch living.

Raditch was virtually acquitted by the Belgrade High Tribunal. The official press consoled itself by branding him as a "madman." On Nov. 28 following, however, the date of the general elections, "Mad Raditch" polled more votes than any single man in all Jugoslavia. His native land, Croatia, gave him fifty-one mandates out of eighty, thus completely endorsing his policy for a Yugoslav union on the Federal basis. All the new States virtually voted against the Centralist parties, the Radical and the Democratic. Even the Slovene Clericals of Dr. Koroshetz now stood for the federation idea with Raditch, their political opponent. Raditch and Dr. Koroshetz, not to speak of the extremists, Dr. Frank, Dr. Horwath and others, now assumed a bolder stand for a federated Jugoslavia. The Government coalition, composed of the Centralist parties of Pashitch, Trotitch and Davidovitch, perfectly well aware that time was working against them, hastily completed preparations for the adoption of the new Constitution. When the Constituent Assembly met and the Organic Statute was put to the vote, on June 28, 1921, 161 Deputies, mostly followers and sympathizers of the Raditch program, boycotted the assembly in protest.

SERBIA'S VICTORY

After skillful parliamentary manoeuvres, the Government finally succeeded in putting the project through by a vote of 227 against 35 of the

Deputies present, out of a total of 419, the number of the Deputies elected for the Skupshtina. Of the 227 votes cast for the Constitution, however, 31 represented the rich Mohammedan begs of Bosnia and Macedonia, who cared less for the Constitution than for the preservation of their vast estates, which was promised them by Premier Pashitch before their consent was obtained. The dissatisfaction and disgust of most Yugoslav States at the way the Constitution was carried through may easily be judged when it is remembered that at its voting the general principle of a two-thirds majority of the votes, in vogue in all advanced States, was utterly disregarded by the Government. The Pashitch Cabinet resorted to the so-called "absolute majority" tactics; but it came near lacking even that kind of majority, as the 31 Mohammedans for a long time refused to vote, and without their support the Government's mandates dwindled to only 196 seats out of a total of 419. So the votes of the 31 Mohammedan begs had to be won or bought at all cost, at the expense of the Orthodox and Catholic Serbs. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes then was able to pass through, thanks to the vote of the rich Mussulman faction, without which the coalition of the parties in power were in the minority. The real victors were again the Mohammedans, even as they had been the victors in 1389, the fatal day of the Kossova battle.

That the new Constitution does not represent Jugoslavia, but only the present Cabinet of Radicals and Democrats, who are Centralists *coute que coute*, may be seen from the fact that against the Government votes for Centralism (Radicals 87, Democrats 88, Mohammedan begs 31, Slovene agrarians 10, scattered 5), there stood for the federation or decentralization 161 Deputies representing all the States of Serbia proper, besides 35 Deputies representing Serbian Agrarians, Nationalist Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans

who voted against it for various other reasons. (According to the Croatian paper, *Obzor*, only 8 out of 80 Croatian and 10 out of 30 Slovenian Deputies, and only 1 from Dalmatia voted for it, while outside the Mohammedan begs, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Vojvodina abstained altogether.)

FEDERATION STRUGGLE CONTINUES

"Jugoslavia or Greater Serbia," that is the "to be or not to be" dilemma facing the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes today. On one side are arrayed the politicians of the old school, the jingo parties, imperialists "par excellence," of the Pashitch Radicals, and the Davidovitch supporters of the Democrats, with the scanty subsidiary forces of weaker factions reluctantly siding with them on most questions. On the other side there looms up the growing popular movement headed by Raditch, Dr. Frank, Dr. Pavetitch, Prebek, Dr. Horwath (in Croatia), Dr. Koroshetz and Franich (in Slovenia), Dr. Pavitchich (in Dalmatia), and other leaders throughout Yugoslavia, not to mention Macedonia, which is totally anti-Serbian. These leaders stand boldly for a real Yugoslav federation to include all Slav States, taking in Bulgaria, too, and eventually all the Bulgar provinces now found under an alien rule. The Croats, Slovenes and Montenegrins particularly insist on the entry of Bulgaria into a united Yugoslavia. This has been repeatedly demanded in the Skupshtina by anti-centralist Deputies. Thus at one of the sittings of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Shurmin of the Croatian National Club, in answer to Minister Davidovitch, who had said that all Slavs should come to an understanding, declared, "Mr. Lyuba Davidovitch is a Yugoslav, but I say there can be no Yugoslavia without the Bulgarians," which statement evoked a volley of protests from the Government's right wing.

Happily for the Yugoslav idea, in Bulgaria, on the contrary, the Government itself has the Yugoslav Federation inscribed as one of its funda-

mental principles. The Cabinet leader, Premier Stambolisky, is a staunch supporter of and pleader for a united Panslavia, and in a speech delivered as early as 1914 he uttered the words that have since become famous: "I am first a Yugoslav and then a Bulgar." Since his party has come into power he is doing his best toward a rapprochement with Belgrade—the only bar to a Yugoslav understanding today. He has declared on several occasions in the National Assembly that Bulgaria is ready to join a Yugoslav federation. And no man can speak with more authority in behalf of Bulgaria than he, for his party represents 82 per cent. of the Bulgarian people. In this policy Premier Stambolisky has also the support of the Socialists and even of the Communists, who control the greatest Parliamentary vote next to the Agrarians.

In Bulgaria, too, there are rabid imperialists and extreme nationalists. This group, with ex-Czar Ferdinand, precipitated the two fratricidal wars in 1913 and 1915. There are also the Serbian Radicals and Democrats, who are just as incorrigible, but they are a stifled minority today. And when one remembers that, of the most influential parties, the National Liberal was the one that concluded the Serbo-Bulgarian Tariff Union of 1904, and the People's Party, now amalgamated with the National Progressives, was the chief promoter of the Serbo-Bulgarian or Balkan Alliance of 1912, one can form a good estimate of the popularity of the Yugoslav federation movement in Bulgaria.

STAMBOLISKY AND RADITCH

The two strongest personalities throughout Yugoslavia today are Premier Stambolisky, the undaunted leader of the Bulgarian Peasant Party, which is the strongest political group in Bulgaria, and Stepan Raditch, the founder and leader of the Peasant Party, the strongest in Croatia, and recognized spokesman of the newly liberated Yugoslav

States. Behind these idols of the people stand Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Peasant Bulgaria, with a population of nearly 15,000,000 people and an area of some 120,000 square miles, in contrast with Serbia proper, which by itself alone counts only 4,500,000 population and an area of 35,000 square miles.

Slowly but surely the struggle between a federated Yugoslavia and a greater Serbia is progressing.* Already on the horizon are seen marching the slow but sure-footed masses of Raditch and Stambolisky, who are now the recognized victors of their own lands, and whose popularity is daily increasing throughout the Yugoslav States. Even the people of Serbia, who find it difficult to forgive and forget the cruel treatment meted out to them by the Bulgarian army of occupation during the great war, speak of Stambolisky as "the only Bulgar friend of Serbia."

Raditch-Stambolisky versus Pashitch-Davidovitch, democracy versus imperialism, united Yugoslav versus Greater Serbia—these are the issues in the Balkan Slavdom of today. The Magna Charta of the Southern Slav, which is yet to come, will bring the realization of the dream of these two Cromwells of Jugoslavdom.

All Yugoslav nations (including Bulgaria), except the present Government of Belgrade, are ready to see the realization of this project. The Yugoslav provinces now under Serbian occupation have repeatedly protested and risen in bloody revolts against the Centralist regime forced upon them. The Bulgarian Government, on the other hand, has been empowered by the Peasant Party to make all efforts to secure joint co-

operation with the other Southern Slavs for the creation of a united Yugoslav Federation. Premier Stambolisky on passing through Lublana recently told the editor of the *Slovensky Glas*: "The great majority of the Bulgarian people are for union with Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, and for the formation of a great Yugoslav State." And Novi Chas, an organ of Dr. Koroshetz, the most powerful Slovenian political leader today, in an editorial which combats the dangerous manoeuvres resorted to by the Belgrade Centralist Government, frankly declares:

The most salient question facing our State is that of our relations with Bulgaria, because the Bulgarians belong to the national unity of the Southern Slav States. Without Bulgaria we shall pursue only a great Chauvinistic policy, which sooner or later will lead us to isolation and catastrophe. That policy, espoused by the supporters of great Serbian dreams, is the real obstacle to the creation of a strong and united Jugoslavia. All Yugoslav people independent of the Belgrade politicians are thoroughly convinced that the security of our future existence as a State demands union with Bulgaria, all the more as the Bulgarian Nation today is fully prepared and qualified for it. We know that this question, left for solution to the Belgrade race alone, will never bring about our consolidation with the brave Bulgarian people. On that account the entire Slovene and Croatian people should inscribe this demand in its program, and should never rest until it has been realized. The future Jugoslavia of Serbs, Bulgarians, Croatians and Slovenes will be the strongest State in Southern Europe. It will prove a great guarantee for the cultural development of Southern Jugoslavdom, and one of the strong citadels for the world's peace.

The bitter experience of the past should make clear to the Yugoslav nations the necessity for Yugoslav solidarity, which seems to be the only alternative. Did not the Serbian poet, Voislav Ilitch, once say, "There is no room in the Balkans for both the crown of Simeon and the sceptre of Czar Doushan"? The Southern Slavs today are groping toward a free and united Jugoslavia. God grant that the Yugoslav States may soon realize the truth of President Masaryk's words: "The oppressor Slav is no Slav!"

* When these lines were being written there arrived a Belgrade official telegram announcing that "owing to the co-operation of the Communists the Croatian Separatist bloc, led by Raditch, had obtained a majority of votes at the Zagreb communal elections." Simultaneously with this came the report that at Belgrade the congress of the Republican Party had laid the foundation of a new and bigger party under the name of "Republican Democratic Party of Jugoslavia," in which will participate all republican factions throughout the land, and whose motto is "A Federated Yugoslav Republic."

SIMPLIFYING THE CALENDAR

BY FRANCES A. BLANCHARD

Bill before Congress to divide the year into thirteen months of twenty-eight days each—New system to include a fixed Easter

FOR twenty-five years men have argued the desirability of reforming the old Gregorian calendar, which has been in use since 1582. There are now increasing signs that something definite may soon be accomplished in that regard. A bill has been presented in Congress which calls for an arrangement of the fifty-two weeks of the year into thirteen months of exactly four weeks each, seven days in a week. The calendar sheet for every month would register twenty-eight days, and each week and each month would begin on Monday and end on Sunday, as shown below:

MO.	TU.	WE.	TH.	FR.	SA.	SU.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

In 1918 a group of business men of Minnesota formed an incorporated organization known as the Liberty Calendar Association of America for the stated purpose of accomplishing a worldwide calendar reform. They elected a Board of Directors, of whom Joseph U. Barnes of Minneapolis is the President, and engaged experts to study different calendar arrangements and present one that would be simple and at the same time correct.

The result was that about a year ago Congressman Thomas David Schall of Minnesota presented a bill before the House of Representatives for a new calendar much more suited to the needs of business men than the one designed by Julius Caesar, which, in a form modified by Augustus and later by Pope Gregory, has been followed for 340 years.

On Feb. 7 and 8, 1922, a convention of astronomers, business men, and all

interested in the revision of the calendar, met in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of discussing the new proposition.

Thirteen months of twenty-eight days each account for 364 days of the year. The new month, to be called possibly Vern or Verna, is to follow immediately after February. The one additional day is to be placed between December and January, not numbered or named except that it will be called New Year Day, and will be a legal holiday. The next day will be Monday, Jan. 1. Every fourth year a day will be added between June and July called Leap Year Day, also a legal holiday. Each seventh New Year Day and Leap Year Day is to be observed as Sunday to preserve one-seventh of time as sacred.*

An innovation long desired is the fixing of an established date for Easter, which has been determined by the movements of the sun and moon at the Spring equinox ever since the year 325 A. D. The bill suggests March 12 as Good Friday, which would bring Easter two days later, on the 14th. The only holiday that would be displaced by reducing the length of months to twenty-eight days would be Memorial Day. The date set for this holiday is Saturday, May 13, a time of year nearly corresponding with the present 30th.

Although the thirteen months are not exactly divisible into quarters, yet the fifty-two weeks of the year are, and by dividing in this way each quarter would contain thirteen weeks. The first quarter would begin on

*Apparently this simplified calendar is based on the plan devised by Charles Wilkes Bennett of Coldwater, Mich., and submitted by him to a scientific magazine in New York City on June 7, 1911, as described recently in The New York Herald by Dr. John A. Wyeth.—Editor.

Monday, Jan. 1; the next on Monday, March 8; the next on Monday, June 15, and the last on Monday, Sept. 22. This is a much simpler, more accurate, more easily remembered division than the one now in use.

This calendar may be instituted on any year beginning with Sunday or Monday without disarranging dates in any way. Congressman Schall's bill provides that all contracts, agreements and obligations, maturing on or after the first day of the year when the new calendar is put in operation, shall mature on the same numerical day of the year as they would under the present calendar. Further, all agreements requiring monthly payments entered into under the Gregorian calendar should be so construed that the sum or sums to be paid each month should equal one-thirteenth of the total amount to be paid annually, and that contracts requiring payment of sums after the 28th day of the

month should become due on the same numerical day of the year as that specified in the contract.

An International Chamber of Commerce was organized in Europe in June, 1920, to consider the question of adopting a fixed date for Easter and reforming the calendar, but no definite arrangement has been agreed upon. The late Pope Benedict called a convention of astronomers to meet at the Vatican in April, 1922, for the purpose of discussing an improved calendar and a settled date for Easter.

M. Armand Baar, a distinguished Belgian member of the International Chamber of Commerce, said before a recent conference in London: "It is the commercial and industrial world that will eventually reap the largest amount of benefit from the reform of the calendar. It is, therefore, for the men of the business world to take the initiative in the movement."

DEATH OF POPE BENEDICT XV. AND ELECTION OF PIUS XI.

POPE BENEDICT XV. died of pneumonia at the Vatican on Jan. 22, 1922, and his successor, Cardinal Achille Ratti, elected in solemn conclave of the high Cardinals of the Church on Feb. 6, was crowned in St. Peter's amid scenes of medieval grandeur on Feb. 12. "Sic transit gloria mundi!" was the admonition which the new Pontiff heard, as a part of the stately ceremonial, just prior to his coronation with the massive, many-jeweled tiara.

Profound grief was manifested throughout Italy over the death of Pope Benedict. Flags were flown at half mast on the public buildings, and the Italian Cabinet, which subsequently fell (see Italy), sent Catholic representatives to bring condolences to the Vatican. Messages of sorrow were received by Cardinal Gasparri from many lands. The obsequies

took place on Jan. 26 according to the solemn rites which have attended the burial of Pontiffs for centuries. The body was lifted from the funeral bed in the Chapel of the Sacrament by sedari clad in red brocade, and by them slowly borne toward the Shrine of St. Peter, the high dignitaries of the Church following in procession. The last rites were administered in the Chapel of the Choir, lighted by a hundred candles and two immense braziers. In the presence of the violet-robed Cardinals the body was enclosed in three coffins and lowered into the crypt by red silken cords, while the choir chanted the Miserere.

The new Pope, Cardinal Ratti, was elected by the Sacred College, consisting of fifty-three Cardinals, which deliberated in secret council in the Sistine Chapel, beneath the magnificent frescoes of Michelangelo's "Last

Judgment." The Cardinals were completely cut off from the outside world on Feb. 2, when workmen walled up the doors, according to ancient custom. In the first two votes taken (Feb. 3), the Sacred College reached no agreement, this result being announced according to prearranged signals by a cloud of black smoke from the chimney. The same result attended the voting of the next two days. It was not until Feb. 6 that Cardinal Ratti was elected. A thin stream of white smoke announced that a decision had been reached, and Cardinal Bisleti, one of those whose elevation to the Papal throne had been predicted, appeared on the balcony and announced the result to the excited crowd of 10,000 people, waiting outside St. Peter's in the rain. "I announce to you great joy," he said.

"We have a new Pontiff, Cardinal Ratti, who assumes the name of Pope Pius XI." The bells of St. Peter's immediately rang out, and the chimes were answered at once by the bells of all the other churches of Rome; but the guns of the great Castle of St. Angelo, which now belongs to the Italian Government, did not boom as they did on a similar occasion fifty years ago. The Italian troops, who were drawn up in the square, and whose presence was one of several friendly concessions by the Government, presented arms, and the crowd gave way to demonstrations of joy.

A dramatic appearance upon the balcony was made at this point by the new Pope, whose white robes contrasted sharply with the rich red of



(Photo International)

POPE PIUS XI.

Cardinal Achille Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, elected to succeed Pope Benedict XV., Feb. 6, 1922

the Cardinal's gown. His blessing of the people from this balcony was an innovation, contrary to precedent since the feud between the Papacy and the Italian Government began. After intoning in Latin, "Blessed be the name of the Lord!" he pronounced his first apostolic benediction "urbi et orbi" (to the city and the world) over the kneeling throngs. The new Pope is renowned both for his learning and for his love of mountain climbing. His attitude is said to favor reconciliation with the Italian Government. Cardinal O'Connell of Boston reached Rome one hour too late to take part in the election. The ceremonial of coronation on Feb. 12 was described by spectators as a scene of imposing splendor, a blaze of medieval costume and color.

RISE OF THE FASCISTI IN ITALY

BY CARLETON BEALS *

Growth of the revolutionary movement that began by fighting the Italian Reds and has developed into an intensely nationalistic organization of tradesmen and peasants—Its tyrannical methods and imperialistic aims—Has both good and evil aspects

THE Fascisti call themselves the "backbone of Italy." They constitute a movement with a doctrine and a tactic known as *fascismo*. Their doctrines revolve around the tactic, which is direct action. That is why Gabriele d'Annunzio, when the Fascisti began to enter politics, predicted the downfall of their organization. Fascista direct action does not include the boycott, strike or sabotage. It is still more direct and primitive. Thus, last Summer the Fascisti ordered all retailers to cut prices 20 per cent. Most dealers immediately posted signs:

THIS STORE COMPLIES WITH THE
FASCISTA ORDER. ALL GOODS
20% BELOW MARKED PRICES

Recalcitrants were promptly caned into submission. In Florence the price of show-case glass and window glass went up. Reduced schedules were also imposed for butter, eggs, fruits and vegetables. I saw many an old man and one old woman kicked and caned and their cartloads of vegetables trampled into the mire.

In Venezia Giulia, the annexed province—containing, according to the Austrian 1910 census, 700,000 Slavs and Germans—foreign language schools, churches and printing plants are destroyed and the teachers, pastors and editors maltreated. In the farming areas of the Adriatic Delta district, Apulia, Sicily and Sar-

dinia, the headquarters, newspaper offices and co-operative stores of the agricultural leagues are pillaged and burned; the *capi-lega*—league officials—are beaten, doused, sequestered, even murdered. In the Province of Mantua all meetings of the co-operatives were supervised by Fascisti representatives. In the towns the public buildings are occupied on behalf of the mutilated, strikes are broken, officials intimidated and radical funerals and processions disrupted. According to the *Critica Sociale* (Reform-Socialist) of June 15-30, between Jan. 3 and May 9, 1921, there occurred in the Province of Ferrara forty-five Fascista sorties characterized by shooting, bombing and assaults on private houses; forty-two league and three labor union headquarters, valued at from 2,000 to 250,000 lire, were burned and twenty-one Clerical and Socialist communal administrations terrorized into resigning. Fascista tactic is direct action in the most direct sense.

The well-springs of Fascismo are found in the pre-war nationalist movement led by Enrico Corradini, in the increased faith in violence en-

*Mr. Beals has resided in Italy, with one short interruption, since February, 1921. He has devoted his attention to a study of the political and social situation. In Bologna he made a first-hand investigation of agrarian Fascismo, interviewing the leaders, and witnessing several Fascista forays. Prior to this he spent three years in Spain and Latin-American countries in various educational and journalistic capacities. He has had articles published in a number of leading magazines. His alma mater is the University of California, and he also holds a degree from Columbia University.

gendered by the war and in the outraged idealism of the middle class.

The Nationalists have always practiced direct action. The unification of Italy was in large part attained by revolution and the direct action of Garibaldi—"seven men on seven mules going to capture a kingdom." Garibaldi would have overrun Tyrol, Trentino and Istria in the same manner had Cavour not called him off. Since then the Italians in Trieste, Fiume and Zara have constantly resorted to violence, trying to embroil Italy with Austria as now with Jugoslavia.

A FORM OF SYNDICALISM

The Nationalists have boldly acknowledged their tactical debt to the syndicalists—to Bakunin and particularly to Fernand Pelloutier and Georges Sorel. The Fascista Deputy, Farrinacci, has labeled Fascismo "the Nationalistic Syndicalism." This thought is of German origin, but was elaborated by Enrico Corradini fully a decade ago:

Just as socialism has redeemed the proletariat, so nationalism will be our method of redemption from France, Germany, England, North and South America, who are our bourgeoisie. Just as the methods of socialism are strife, and they look to the general strike to emancipate them from exploitation, so the methods of nationalism must be war, or the preparation for war. Nationalism is the logical outgrowth of socialism. The Nationalists have taken up the struggle where the Socialists left off. But, of course, their ideal is a greater one: instead of a class, the whole nation; instead of the bourgeoisie, the world.

Piero Marisch, a Nationalist from Venice, declares openly that Fascismo means revolution (*Nuovo Giornale*, Nov. 18, 1921):

We do not admit the charge that a thing can be too revolutionary; we are the only revolutionists. Let it be well understood that the revolution of workers and communist gentlemen, Republicans and similar canaille, has nothing in common with that one and only true serious revolution conceivable in Italy: the revolution born of Fiumianism and Fascismo together—the revolution which is actually transpiring.

This faith in direct action was heightened by the war. In many a

commune have I heard eddying down the dark, narrow streets that battle-song of the Fascisti:

Giovanezza, Giovanezza,
Primavera di bellezza. . . .

Many a night have I heard their feet ring past in military quick-step. There were starlit nights such as these in the Trentino and the Tyrol. This restlessness, this night-prowling, this thirst for adventure and impatience with routine, this love of quick conflict, are primeval emotions ever in the heart of man; but the war has permitted their untrammelled expression.

Lastly, Fascismo is a reaction of the outraged middle-class—*il piccolo borghese*. Before the war this group was pinkishly socialistic. During the war it was protected by special decrees. Since, it has been ground down by speculation, taxation and the revolutionary thrusts of the proletariat. Fascismo, in spite of such inconsistencies as retail price-lowering, is a violent reassertion of middle-class libertarian ideals, standards of living, and rights of property.

Yet, both in tactics and in doctrine, Fascismo has shown gradual change and growth. The *Fasci di Combattimento* are the logical outcome of the Nationalist locals that sprang into new life in 1914 when Benito Mussolini deserted the Socialist Party and his editorial chair on the *Avanti* to found the pro-war *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, and d'Annunzio scattered his poetic propaganda from Sicily to the Alps. Actually, the first groups of that name were made up of ex-soldiers in the annexed areas, who cooperated with the troops of occupation to hasten the Italianization of aliens by the methods already described—men who were disgusted with the Government's failure boldly to seize the fruits of victory.

When the eastern outposts of the Adriatic were in danger of being lost to Italy, the Fascisti and many of the troops rallied behind d'Annunzio and followed him to Fiume and Zara. On Sept. 11 and 12, 1919, these volun-

teers streamed south from Trieste by bicycle, by motorcycle, airplane, auto and boat—infantry, machine gun companies, grenadiers, even 300 professors.

TWO DANGEROUS YEARS

Concurrent with the rise of the Fascisti came the general strike in protest against the Treaty of Versailles, and the elections which gave the Socialists the largest party representation in Parliament and control of 2,500 communes, including Milan. From then on the mood of labor was ugly. Mails, trains, steamers, manufacturing were held up without warning for five minutes or five weeks. Demobilization had flung the soldiers back into civil life without provision for their assimilation. Revolution was in the air. The Government of Signor Nitti admitted that the war had been a disaster and that the country's one salvation lay in sweeping socialistic reform. By September of 1920 the occupation of the factories and fields was well under way.

The Fascisti did not prevent revolution at that time. Rather the land and factory seizures, by withdrawing public attention from Fiume, broke the backbone of the Regency of Carnaro. Only then did the Fascisti apply themselves to domestic affairs, and enroll the middle class, which had become alarmed at the threat of revolution. Fascista violence, however, was quite sporadic until the first months of 1921, by which time the reaction had spread to every corner of Italy. Yet the workers had already abandoned the idea of revolution. At the Congress of Leghorn, held in February, 1921, the Socialist Party definitely purged itself of communism, and the pendulum began to swing toward the tactic of parliamentary reform. As Socialism retreated Fascismo advanced. Toward March bloody conflicts took place in every corner of Italy, but particularly in Milan, where I witnessed the fiendish explosion in the Diana Theatre, the sacking of the press of the

Avanti, the burning of the million-lire Socialist headquarters and several sanguinary riots. In Bologna, Pisa, Venice, Siena and other communes occurred piazza demonstrations; and in Florence on the notorious day of San Frediano the Communists were driven out of the barracks they had erected after the assassination of their leader, Spartaco Lavagnini. One may still see the bullet holes in the Y. W. C. A. Except in Apulia, where the peasants rose en masse; in Trieste, where millions of dollars' worth of lumber was burned, and in the Adriatic Delta district, even sporadic communist violence was ended. Yet the wave of Fascista passion was carried on by its original propulsion until it finally broke in an orgy of blood and incendiarism the week prior to the elections of May.

Then Italy breathed again. The Fascisti, by the end of June, were even induced by De Nicola, President of the Chamber, to sign a peace pact with the Socialists—the Pact of Rome, which in the recent national Fascista convention was declared by the Delegate Mandel to be a "truce with the public opinion of America."

Into the signing of this pact entered not a little demagogism. Certainly the signers were not so superficial as to believe that civil strife—"*lotta fratricida*"—is a sport called off *ad libitum*, or that pacification can be secured by "fraternal sentiment."

ITALY WEARY OF DEMAGOGUES

Following the May elections, Professor Modestino Petrozziello stated in *La Vita Italiana* for June 15:

An impetuous wave of reform has pervaded the electorate, which affirms its aspirations for the greatness of the patria, the restoration of social order, the reintegration of ethical and political values, but above all else, a new method with a new conscience, whose chief characteristic shall be anti-demagogism.

The people of Italy were, and still are, tired of false prophets, violence and Governmental *laissez-faire*. That Mussolini was well aware of this new

sentiment is revealed in the tone of his explanation made upon his resignation from the Presidency of the *Fasci di Combattimento*, when half the organization—sixty local secretaries represented by 150,000 agrarian Fascisti—refused to abide by the Pact of Rome (Popolo d'Italia, Aug. 8, 1921):

How shall we achieve pacification? Do you think it will be possible to exterminate the 2,000,000 who voted for socialism? Or to run the risk of civil war? Or to go against the sentiment of the nation? Or do you prefer to submit to a peace imposed by the Socialists by another not improbable whirl of the wheel? * * * The Peace Pact of Rome does not mean the demobilization of the Fascisti nor the cessation of their political struggle against the Socialists; nor a general embracing of enemies. With the Pact of Rome the Fascisti might have shown not only their pugilistic, bombarding superiority, but their cerebral and moral superiority. * * * After the Pact of Rome that party which could give the most firm proof of internal discipline would in the reality of things be victorious. The Fascisti are giving constant proof of their discomfiture.

But in view of the recrudescence of communist violence and the formation (July 6) of the Arditi del Popolo, composed of revolutionary Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, and even radical Clericals, for the extermination of the Fascisti; and in view of the fact that Premier Bonomi, in agreement with the Socialists, has consistently suppressed Fascista demonstrations with the Royal Guard (as in Sarzana), the Agrarian Fascisti have won over the organization, so that in the national convention recently held in Rome the peace pact was annulled.

Violence, however, is to be restricted to reprisal and self-defense. On the whole, the bitterness of the internal war has abated, and Fascismo has definitely entered a political phase. Last May thirty-five Fascisti were elected to the National Chamber. This was purely the result of local or individual initiative. At the national convention of November, however, the Fascisti definitely constituted themselves a political party. Mussolini confidently expects it to

become the leading parliamentary force. He stated at the convention:

There is a middle group, La Democrazia. Who is not a democrat today? Every one is a democrat both in public and private life. But democracy for us must ever be a means, not an end; for even the development of democracy can be a danger for Italy. However, a democratic party lives only by dead dogmas and the art of dancing. We Fascisti have given potent injections of energy to this party. But there is a limit beyond which we cannot go. * * * Nor can Fascismo ever be absorbed by liberalism, because Fascismo is something superior. Only by surpassing the methods of liberalism (based on the theory that the Government is neutral in all conflicts) were we able to save the nation. The liberals will come to us.

OBJECT OF THE MOVEMENT

If these are the four principal stages in the evolution of Fascismo—Italianization of the annexed areas, occupation of Fiume, violent reaction to communism, and the political embodiment of an aroused spirit of nationalism and middle-class ideals—it nevertheless presents varied aspects. The movement is not yet oriented. At times it has been used by the big industrials to further their private interests. In Apulia it marked a bloody reaction to property; in Sicily and Sardinia it has assassinated the peasant leaders who were responsible for the land seizures. But in Parma it has been accused of being communistic, and the delegate from Parma, Ruggeri, was hissed when he attempted to speak at the Rome convention. In the Adriatic delta district it has a definite program of “*spezzatamente*,” or small land-holding.

Thus far the negative aspects of Fascismo have been most obvious. It is, first of all, anti-socialistic. Yet it is not, as the radicals say, a White Guard in the service of reactionaries and profiteers. As De Stefani declared in Parliament on July 22: “The Fascisti do not intend to be the dagger of the politicians and industrials with whom, for expediency, they were yoked during the elections.” As a matter of fact, its principal leaders are recruited from radi-

cal ranks. Before the war Benito Mussolino and Enrico Besana were revolutionary Socialists; Alceste de Ambris founded the Soviet of Parma; Leandro Arpinati was an anarchist; Cesare Rossi was an anarchist-syndicalist.

Indeed, the same bitterness is manifested against the Catholics. In Florence I witnessed the bloody break-up of the Catholic procession that marched to lay a wreath on the towering statue of Dante in the Piazza Santa Croce. The Fascisti considered this a defilement of the memory of the first great seer of Italian nationalism. Mussolini has spoken of the Clerical Party (Partito Popolare) in the most rabid manner:

It is the most dangerous. It swings from one extreme to another. It rests upon its rich banking institutions, upon ignorance, upon its thirty thousand parochials—black Bolsheviki, more dangerous than red Bolsheviki, and guided by more ferocious neutrals and anti-Italians.

CONFLICTING ELEMENTS

Anti-socialism, anti-Catholicism and anti-pacifism—these are the burning sparks of the nationalistic fervor of Fascismo. Writes Piero Belli, one of the *arditi* who gained the nickname of "Ironhead" in the war (Popolo di Trieste, Feb. 5, 1921):

A few months ago Fascismo did not exist. We were "gay cats." We were the "froth" of the *arditi*. * * * We were equivocal elements "in the pay of the bourgeoisie and armed by the police." * * * But we have grown. We are still growing everywhere. We are incessantly multiplying. Between conflicts and battles we swell to legions, to armies. We have sprung up like "funghi" without propaganda, without organizers. It is not necessary to hunt for us. You will find us everywhere. And we are "felt" by everybody. *Because we are the new Italy.* *Because we are the patria* itself. * * *

We have not been born to combat the Socialist Party; we are against the past of every party. We march to the conquest of the future against every force that negates the patria, that insults it, that would ruin it.

But the entrance into politics has made necessary the replacement of instinctive interest by defined programs. As yet these are hazily

mouthed by the leaders, as, for instance, by Piero Marisch in *Il Nuovo Giornale* for Nov. 18:

We are for a State not considered as something already made, but as a dynamic organism in continual transformation by means of its profound ethical content founded upon the principle of co-operative, productive unity resulting from the fervor of the aroused individual conscience in behalf of the national welfare—the State that was envisaged in the Regency of Carnaro. The duty of Fascismo is to create the spirit and means to this end; to create a spirit free from demagogism and apathy; to arrange for a means, which cannot be aught else but our economic organization—our flying squadron transformed into a solid civil militia. This is the force which will stir in the breast of Italy, and no one will arrest it—neither guards, nor police force, nor Governments barren of national pride, nor subversive elements without faith or idealism; neither democratic oligarchs nor plutocratic oligarchs.

In internal affairs this nationalism is republican in tendency, advocating liberty of contract, co-operation between capital and labor, the establishment of a stabilized class of peasant proprietors, the suppression of the free commune, the centralization of power. In international affairs it advocates an aggressive foreign policy, the seizure of the eastern shores of the Adriatic and the consistent pursuit of a mild Mediterranean imperialism, which will further the prosperity of an agrarian, shop-keeping, coastal-trading civilization with the minimum of personal sacrifice.

Corrado Zolli, the former Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs under d'Annunzio in Fiume, has, in his "*Le Giornale di Fiume*" (Page 137), expressed the current sophism of this imperialism:

From the Alps, from the Carso, from the Piave, has stepped forth a nation of 40,000,000 inhabitants * * * the second great Continental power of Europe, constricted in the long land pier that reaches out toward the East and toward Africa—seething with energy that will burst over its neighboring European and African confines; for from Marseilles to Tunis, from Trieste to Smyrna, from Alexandria to Tripoli, nothing is heard but the language of Genoa and Venice, of Bari and Palermo—even the distant shores of the two Americas are fecundated with the intelligent labor of our people. This nation cannot but be proud of its honor, cannot but respond to the stirrings

of its strength. Sooner or later it should and will regasp its proper post in the world.

WHAT FASCISMO STANDS FOR

Some declare that Fascismo is doomed to disappear; that it has no definite theories and no lasting interest. But Fascismo is not a new movement. It is a projection of the sentiment that freed Italy from Austria. Following unification, however, the Italian Government became the grab-bag for office-seekers, grafters and crooked cliques. It was weakened by regionalism and factional feuds. Its finances were depleted; its army, a ragged laughing-stock. Public opinion, to the extent that it existed, was apathetic. The Nationalists brought the first breath of idealistic fervor into the arena. They demanded the cleansing of the Augean stables. The Fascisti carry this demand into the present.

Second, Fascismo is an expression of the self-centred, raucous adolescence of a nation without governmental traditions or achievements in the sense that these are possessed by France, Spain or England. It represents a historic phase in the rise of all new nations eager for unity and glory.

Third, Fascismo is an honest expression of the aspirations of the traditional Italy—the Italy of the self-sufficient peasant and the small trader. The Fascisti would endow this class, so long indifferent, so long betrayed by the bureaucracy, with political energy and acumen; they would give it a conscience; they would weave it into a closely knit social fabric, capable of withstanding international anarchy.

Fascismo does not represent the new industrial Italy of Lombardy; it

does not represent the proletarian Italy. Nor does it, in its egotistic emphasis upon the strong State, represent those broader, nobler, international forces that are struggling to life. From the national standpoint Fascismo is a powerful, reinvigorating force; from the world standpoint it appears reactionary and dangerous.

The Fascisti, in their passion for the patria, in their impatience with the status quo, with their insistence upon immediate tangible changes, have been forced into two inconsistent courses: that of weakening governmental prestige when they stand for a strong State and that of advocating certain socialistic reforms.

But when Italian public opinion demands that its Government merit respect the Fascisti will automatically be assimilated by the State. And there are those, as Mario Misiroli, editor of *Il Secolo* of Milan (one of the chain of Nitti papers), who even declare that the aims of the Socialists and the Fascisti are not incompatible; who say that a strong socialist movement is historically inevitable in the smaller, more poverty-stricken nations, and that when the Socialist Party of Italy has followed its present tendency to the end of becoming a truly national party of constructive reform, the two antagonists will discover common causes and slogans. Certainly they have a common tactical tradition. This would be a true Chestertonian paradox; but no more of a paradox than we have learned to expect from Italian politics.

[Since this article was put in type the Bonomi Government has been forced out [Feb. 2], and though the chief issue on which it fell was that of its attitude toward the Vatican, the underlying conflict of the Socialists and Fascisti undoubtedly had much to do with the overthrow.]

SUFFERINGS OF RUSSIA'S CULTURED CLASSES

BY JEROME DAVIS

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Hardships of educated people in Russia depicted by an American who visited many of them in their homes—A close-up view of General Brusiloff and his brave wife—Gorky's eloquent message

SINCE the revolution there have been no groups in Russia which have undergone more disappointment and suffering than the nobility, the wealthy, and the intellectual classes. Some of these cultured people have been killed, others have joined the various counter-revolutionary movements of Denikin, Kolchak, Wrangel, and in the end have fled before the advance of the Red armies to other lands. It is said that there are over 2,000,000 such Russians trying to eke out a meagre living on foreign soil. In Constantinople, for instance, Princesses are working in restaurants, nobles toil as day laborers in factories, and army officers clean the streets. Many of the women have been forced even into lives of shame.*

Besides these exile groups is the unhappy number of those who have remained in Soviet Russia. They have, for the most part, opposed the Bolsheviks, but have felt that if all

to bring about its regeneration. So they have dared to stay and risk the charge of being considered Bolsheviks by working in various departments of the Government.

Were one of the old prophets of Israel writing about these aristocrats of a past splendor he would declare that their lot now is merely a retribution for the "hardness of their hearts" in the days gone by. It is the sound elements should desert Russia there would be no force left indisputably true that many of the nobles in the Czar's regime were so utterly indifferent to the sufferings of the workers and peasants that there is a certain amount of grim justice in the reversal of the wheel of fortune. Today numbers of the nobility themselves confess that they never realized what a peasant must have had to bear in the old days until they themselves were in a similar position. "Now we understand why a peasant in need of food would steal," they say; "we are quite ready to do the same thing ourselves."

One of the most popular and well-known of the military leaders remaining in Soviet Russia is General Brusiloff. He has been co-operating with the Bolsheviks to the extent of serving on their military committees. He feels that foreign military intervention is a big mistake and has gladly done what he could to repel invasions such as that of the Poles. In view of this work one would natural-

*A young English naval officer at Constantinople wrote to his father in December: "Here in Constantinople 30,000 loyal Russian refugees are starving and homeless. We (the fleet) have started saving our scraps for these unfortunate people; this ship alone is feeding 500. Even our seamen are deliberately buying more than they want for themselves, especially bread, and we find whole new loaves put into the scrap baskets. We hope to raise £100 in our ship, but that will go no way, and unless something is done at home the services out here (5,000 all told) can't hope to keep 30,000 starving Russians alive through the Winter. This will mean cholera for a certainty. For Heaven's sake, and for our own, let us preserve these brave loyalists from starvation, that in due time they may return to their own country."

ly expect that he would be comparatively well off and comfortable, but as a matter of fact his present situation is in striking contrast to his former one. His salary, including the food given by the Government, is not sufficient to meet the needs of his family, hence he has been forced to sell the family furniture and jewelry piece by piece. Today he is living in a small flat with borrowed furniture. The old family servant refuses to do more than prepare the noonday meal, and for this demands her board, no mean requirement in the Russia of the Bolsheviks. All the work of cleaning the floor and washing the clothes has now to be done by Mrs. Brusiloff, whose hands clearly show the results of such unaccustomed labor.

I took dinner with the family. The meal consisted of a thin vegetable soup, black bread, cucumbers and tea. Yet it must be remembered that General Brusiloff is well taken care of, compared with many army officers. He has served on the military commissions. Today in a period of peace he is at the head of a commission to conserve the horses and cattle still remaining in Russia. As a matter of fact, the Government is giving him unusual consideration, yet he is still unable to live without selling his personal belongings. What about others?

HARDSHIPS OF A PRINCESS

Let us consider the case of Princess S. Before the war she lived in a palace with a retinue of servants and governesses. She had four automobiles entirely at her command. When the Bolsheviks seized the power, her home and personal belongings were confiscated. Her husband was at last forced to secure a position in one of the Soviet departments, and the family, including two small children, found themselves in a three-room flat. In 1919 her husband was ordered to make a trip to Kiev on Soviet business. While there he contracted typhus and died without seeing his wife.

Never having learned to support

herself, the wife was soon on the verge of starvation. After an anxious period, during which she sold even the rings from her fingers, she appealed to the peasants on her old estate, who consented to grant their former mistress a small plot of land. With her own hands she tilled the soil and planted potatoes. When these were large enough, she—a former Princess—dug and carried them, on her own back, to the railroad station. There she took her place along with the peasants in the crowded third-class cars, perhaps even standing on the platform in Winter when she was not successful in pushing her way inside. Arrived at Moscow, she had still to walk with her burden clear across the city to the market, where she stood all day selling her product. She now lives in a one-room attic, which even the Soviet officials themselves said was not worth requisitioning. Thus her life drags on. One of her two children has died as a result of the hardship endured, but the mother still has the other to live for.

Another typical case is that of the wife of a very wealthy political leader who had fled from Soviet Russia. She was forced to accept work in the Government as a translator, and for this received at first 2,000 and later 4,000 rubles a month. This is just about the cost of one pound of black bread on the market. The advantages of a position in Soviet Russia, however, do not depend upon the salary, but on the *pyok* or food ration given by the Government. Indeed, the amount of the *pyok* is the chief criterion of the importance of one's occupation, and people scheme for weeks and months to obtain a position with a larger *pyok*. The position of this lady, who was exceptionally proficient in four languages—English, German, French and Russian—was supposed to be especially good because of the *pyok*. Yet this is all it consisted of each month: One pound of sugar, eighteen pounds of flour with an additional twelve pounds for each member of the family under sixteen years, three pounds of *kasha* or barley, two boxes of

matches, one-half pound of soap, and apples and potatoes in substantial quantities. In addition three-quarters of a pound of black bread could be secured every two days.

It is obvious that this is little more than the barest subsistence diet, yet the salary for one month was hardly more than enough to purchase a pound of black bread on the open market. It was quite inadequate to buy any article of clothing. The situation of those who belong to even the most essential professions is quite as bad.

DOCTORS AND LAWYERS

Let us consider the doctors, whose vital importance is obvious even to the Bolsheviks. The following is but one concrete illustration. Doctor V., in the Czar's regime, had an immense practice and was worth over a million rubles. When the Bolsheviks took the power, his home and Summer estate were nationalized, so that he lost everything. Although he was about 60 years of age and found it difficult to adjust himself to a Communist Government, he continued to serve as a physician in one of the Bolshevik hospitals. For this work he received enough money to pay for three rooms. During the civil war he was commandeered to one of the base hospitals which served the Red Army, and had to leave his wife in Voronezh. During the protracted absence she was stricken by disease and her husband was unable to reach her before she died. Today he continues to work in a hospital, receiving enough to pay for black bread, vegetables, and occasionally a little meat; but life for him is at best a dreary thing.

The practice of the law we usually consider a necessary profession in any country, but in Soviet Russia this is not true in the old way. As a consequence, the lawyers who still remain there are serving in various departments of the Government, as, for example, that of food or commerce. Many of them have been able to live in comparative comfort through

speculation, although that has been hazardous until the recent decree permitting free trade. For the most part that speculation has consisted in buying food supplies on the market and selling them later at a profit. There is also a brisk trade in property rights which would be valid under the old regime. Some believe that under another Government these will be recognized. One man showed me a bank draft for 1,000,000 rubles on the Azofski-Donski Bank, one of the largest institutions of its kind in Czarist Russia, which he had purchased for £2 and expected to sell for double the sum. Another had purchased the rights to the building in which the Moscow Soviet holds its meetings. He said that he did not expect that the Soviet would be ousted, but intended to sell the paper at a profit. It is obvious that the speculators gain by these transactions, whether or not the Bolsheviks are overthrown.

Nearly all the lawyers are clever enough to get ahead by some means or other under the Bolsheviks. For example, one told me that he had a two years' supply of flour saved up. "Of course," he said, "I keep it elsewhere." The Bolsheviks have finally realized that for the present, at least, they cannot get enough flour to provide for the needs of all the people, nor even for those who work in their own departments. In consequence, they urge each Soviet department to organize its own co-operative and secure its own supply of bread as best it can. This affords an opportunity for a trained lawyer to use his skill. One showed me a handful of gold coins, which he had worked six months to secure. With these he would go down to Kiev with a special railroad car and purchase flour and incidentally feather his own nest. Naturally, all the lawyers are not as successful as this one. For most of them conditions have been so difficult that they, too, have been forced to sell their personal possessions one by one.

The Bolsheviks have placed the

teachers in a category entitling them to the best *pyok*. They are supposed to get as much as the most favored class. Nevertheless, they are having an extremely hard time. Those who are clever enough to do so receive several *pyoks*. The trick is accomplished by accepting more than one position at the same time. For example, one prominent professor, although opposed to the Bolsheviks, serves in five or six places and earns a salary of 500,000 rubles a month, or 6,000,000 rubles a year. At the peace-time rate of exchange this would equal \$3,000,000, but at present it is the equivalent of only \$220 annually, a sum which scarcely pays for living expenses. Besides the money his *pyok* yields four pounds of bread each week, and, each month, two and one-half pounds of sugar, seven pounds of barley or beans, one-half pound of tea and two pounds of lard. In addition, his relatives who live with him—an elderly lady, a mother with two young children, and a girl of 16—receive jointly two and one-half times the above rations. This professor also has a sister who is ill in the tuberculosis hospital. Owing to the inadequacy of the food given the patients, a supplementary ration costing about 20,000 rubles a day must be supplied by her brother. His extra food supplies are purchased from the co-operative, which is still functioning, and his monthly bill from this source averages 300,000 rubles. The result is that he also is compelled to sell some personal belongings from time to time to meet his obligations, although his position is far better than that of the ordinary teacher.

The great majority are struggling along with a salary of only a few thousand a month and almost a starvation food ration. They are living in one or two rooms, most meagrely furnished. Many of them have developed tuberculosis, and, being unable to obtain proper care, have died. To cite but one illustration: The fiancée of one doctor contracted the disease chiefly on account of her meagre food supply. Because of his



MAXIM GORKY

Noted Russian Author (at right), recently photographed in Berlin, where he is trying to aid Russia's famine victims.

position he was able to send her to the Crimea for recuperation. In the course of the slow railroad journey, traveling in cars which were crowded with a conglomeration of peasants and soldiers, she caught typhus and died before reaching her destination.

As has been intimated, others who are more fortunate, or perhaps brighter and more forceful, hold more than one position. For example, one unusually capable woman teacher holds three. She assists a professor in the radio laboratory from 8 to 12 at night, for which her salary is 17,500 a month. During the day she works in the Radio Commission, and for this receives 17,600. In the afternoon from 4 to 6 she serves in the library at a compensation of 18,000. Her total salary, therefore, is 53,100 rubles a month. Unfortunately, the payments are not always

regular; for the work in the library, although she served from April to June, she received her salary for only one month—June. But much more important than her salary is the food ration. Of the three positions, the library gives by far the best *pyok*. It consists of two and one-half pounds of sugar, four pounds of barley, one pound of cottonseed oil, six pounds of dried fish a month and one and one-half pounds of bread daily. In spite of the combined income from three positions, she uses part of her Sundays to bake small cakes, which she sells on the street in order to obtain additional funds for new shoes and clothing. And yet the ordinary individual must live on one *pyok*! The result is that he must accept one of the following alternatives: fill two or three extra positions and thereby work twelve to sixteen hours a day, be a speculator, or take part in illegal transactions.

TRAGEDY OF THE SITUATION

One American, who had been imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and was later released, worked for a time in one of the Government departments. He found it impossible to live on the

ration he received, so he managed to secure an extra food card through deception, and daily received two dinners. This is typical of existing conditions in Soviet Russia. The food *pyok* and the salary are so small that, in order to live, men are almost forced to become dishonest. Another result is that many of the professional men desert their professions for work where the possibilities of food supply are better. Thus, one capable lawyer is working as a Pullman porter, because in so doing he makes a weekly trip between Moscow and Latvia, and is able to bring his family food.

The result of all this is that there is a shortage of capable professional help where it is most needed. It is, no doubt, true that the average office clerk, and even the worker, is almost as badly off as the professional man; but they do not feel it so keenly. They have never been used to the comforts which are almost a necessity to the intellectuals. The tragedy of their situation is the contrast with what they have always been accustomed to.

Moreover, the best of the intellectuals have always gloried in their task. Today they have been stripped in large part of all their former luxuries and enjoyments; at the same time they do not get much satisfaction from their work. They do not feel that it is achieving anything worth while. This fact causes perhaps the greatest mental suffering to the intellectual classes in Russia, and thousands have as a consequence fled the country. Other thousands have succumbed to tuberculosis, typhus and cholera. It takes unusual heroism to endure under such conditions.

GORKY'S APPEAL TO AMERICANS

These are some of the things that I saw with my own eyes last Summer in Russia. Since returning to this country I have received from Maxim Gorky the following appeal, which speaks for itself, and which throws



GENERAL A. A. BRUSILOFF

Former Commander of the Czar's armies,
now an employe of the Soviet Government.

further light on the tragedy of all educated people in Russia:

To the Generous Heart of America:

I feel sure that without contradiction you will all agree that the most precious treasure of humanity is intellectual power and scientific discovery, and that the most valuable people of the world are the leaders in scientific thought. The culture of the United States and of Europe is indebted to them for its present strength and beauty.

Permit me to call your attention to the fact that a considerable number of such leaders, the group of Russian scientists who have helped to develop the world's discoveries and culture, are now, because of the famine, facing death.

Their situation is becoming more and more tragic. I will not dwell on the general condition of life in Russia, but I wish to point out that during the last four years Russian scientists have suffered great poverty and famine; their condition is so critical that some already have been attacked by disease and have perished.

Re-establishment of free trade in Russia cannot improve the condition of Russian scientists, because the fact of the high cost of provisions, the shortage of necessary food and, above all, their poverty, will remain. Even now the Soviet Government is unable to pay when due their wages, and since August they have not received any salary payments.

Starvation is rapidly spreading among them, and the time is not far off when they will be compelled to die by the score. To save their lives, the lives of the best minds of Russia, immediate help in the form of food is indispensable.

It is absolutely vital that they have flour, cereals, fats, beans and sugar. O America!

this is not a beggar's plea; it is only a human cry, an appeal to people who know that science is the foundation of culture and that only the work of science is, in the last analysis, international and universal.

Notwithstanding the hard conditions of life during the war and the revolution, the Russian scientists have tenaciously clung to their work. Members of the Academy of Science and the educational societies, as well as individual scholars, have written and prepared for publication results of the most valuable research work, which undoubtedly has great social importance for humanity.

Of such manuscripts there are now ready for the press what would approximate 20,000 printed pages. All these works cannot be published in Russia because of the shortage of money and technical supplies. Dear people of the United States, you would render a very great service to humanity by establishing a fund for the publication of these works of the Russian scientists. They would enrich the world with a considerable amount of new knowledge in every branch of science.

It is not my right to discuss the methods for the practical realization of this idea, but it seems to me that its accomplishment would afford a unique opportunity for all the cultured world to feel its intellectual solidarity.

For you citizens of the wealthiest land, who have proved yourselves capable of achieving such wonderful material prosperity, the making real of this idea should be easy and simple. I cannot believe that this appeal to you will result only in silence for Russia.

MAXIM GORKY.

[Maxim Gorky's address is "Pension Stellinger, Augsburger Strasse 47, Berlin, Germany," where direct communications may be sent to him.]

TWENTY THOUSAND KILLED BY U-BOATS

OFFICIAL estimates brought before the Washington conference showed that more than 20,000 noncombatant people of both sexes and various nationalities, mainly British, were killed by the intensive submarine warfare initiated by Germany during the war. These men, women and children were drowned, killed by explosions, or died from exposure while aboard merchant vessels and fishing craft. The British losses from submarines totaled 12,723; adding the American lives lost—largely on British ships—the figure reached approximately 14,000. Of this number, 13,233 were

aboard British vessels of all descriptions, except those listed as naval vessels, while 408 were aboard vessels flying the American flag, 66 before the United States entered the war, and 342 after. These ships were all unequipped for warfare, and their passengers were noncombatant civilians peaceably going about their legitimate business.

The similar losses of France, Italy, Norway, Belgium, Japan, China and other countries are not yet available in detail, but are known to bring the grand total to 20,000.

AMERICAN OIL CLAIMS IN TURKEY

BY HENRY WOODHOUSE

Author of "Anglo-French Discord in Turkey," "Dominant Factors Affecting International Relations,"
"The Inside of the United States versus British-Dutch Oil Controversy,"
"The Struggle for the World's Oil Resources."

Why Secretary Colby and Secretary Hughes wrote those tart notes about Mesopotamian oil—Full story, now first published, of the Chester Syndicate's billion-dollar concessions in Turkish oil fields—Backed by five Washington Administrations

THE question of American rights to the oil fields of former Turkish territory, which has been the subject of many sharp diplomatic notes between the United States and Great Britain during the past two years, is still unsettled. It was thought that this question could be settled at the Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament as part of the Mesopotamia, Palestine and other Near East mandate questions, but somehow these claims were erroneously listed as being located mainly in Mesopotamia, and the British delegation sidetracked discussion of Mesopotamian matters by stating that Mesopotamia (or Irak) was now ruled by the new Arab King, Emir Feisal, and that matters relating to concessions in that country must be taken up directly with him.*

This excuse would be technically correct if the American rights were confined largely to Mesopotamia, but they are not. Therefore it is to be regretted that the opportunity to settle this controversy has been lost, and that the controversy is to be continued by way of diplomatic notes. In the meantime the Turkish Petroleum Company, which is controlled by the British Government through its ownership of over 50 per cent. of the company's stock held by his Majes-

ty's Petroleum Department, is drilling and operating about twenty wells and tapping some of the richest oil fields in Mesopotamia and other former Turkish territory, and on the Persian border, to which Americans have prior claims. As shown by the San Remo agreement and the Anglo-French agreement of Dec. 23, 1920 (published in CURRENT HISTORY for January, 1922), the British Government has given to France a 25 per cent. share in the oil to be obtained, for which France agrees to permit the British to run a pipe line across territory under French influence.

These oil fields, which are estimated to hold oil worth over \$1,000,000,000, are the oldest in the world, and are referred to repeatedly in the oldest books of the Old Testament, and by Herodotus, father of Greek history, as well as by other historians.

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN CLAIMS

After twenty-four centuries, during which the Mesopotamian-Persian-Turkish oil fields remained untouched and practically undiscovered, Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, U. S. N., was sent in 1899 to Turkey, in command of the U. S. S. Kentucky, to lend "moral support" to the United States Minister at Constantinople to secure payment of indemnity for destruction of property belonging to

* Feisal, third son of the King of Hedjaz, was crowned King of Irak on Aug. 23, 1920, at Bagdad.

American missionaries in the so-called Armenian massacre of 1896. The claim, amounting to only \$95,000, was not of great importance to either party concerned, yet, like everything else connected with the Ottoman Government at the time, it was whipped by foreign interests into an international episode, with some European powers clashing in such a way as to threaten American and Turkish relations. Rear Admiral Chester did not indulge in a demonstration of gunboat diplomacy to intimidate the old Sultan, Abdul Hamid, to get concessions, and the Sultan was very favorably impressed. The diplomatic negotiations also were carried on with such tact by the American representative, Lloyd Griscom, as to redound to the credit of all Americans concerned. A contract for the construction of a Turkish cruiser by the Cramp Company of Philadelphia, which had been hanging fire for a long time, was immediately recorded in connection with the missionary claim. Rear Admiral Chester acted as adviser to the Sultan, who informed him that it was the beginning of a large order for ships which he wished built in America. The Sultan also extended the concession for Robert College, the credit for which has very properly been given to Admiral Chester. The original concession for this great American college in Turkey had been obtained by Admiral Farragut on his visit to Constantinople in 1866. Without Chester's influence the concession might not have been extended.

In 1899 Abdul Hamid already had been Sultan for twenty-three years, having succeeded his brother, Amurath V., on Aug. 31, 1867. During this time his reign had been subject to foreign interferences in connection with or following the atrocities of 1876, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; the Treaty of Berlin, 1878; Bulgaria and Rumelia union, 1885; Armenian atrocities of 1896, the Greco-Turkish war, 1897, and other similar events. He had suffered from the intrigues of the various scheming powers and interests, which incited

disorder so as to create pretexts for seizing Turkish lands and obtaining valuable concessions.

Admiral Chester proved to Abdul and the Turkish officials that the American Government and people were not inclined, as other nations were, to take advantage of the excuses afforded by the massacres of 1896, the Greco-Turkish war of 1887 and similar upsetting conditions, to "hold up" the Turkish Government in various ways.

ADMIRAL CHESTER'S "COMMISSION"

The cordial relations thus established by Admiral Chester grew and, finally, when the United States Government, following the Boxer uprising of 1900, remitted its share of \$25,000,000 of indemnity from China, the Turkish Government officials, greatly impressed, sought to attract Americans and American trade to Turkey as a means of creating a moral influence to counteract the selfish influence of most of the European nations.

Rear Admiral Chester himself urged American business men to go to Turkey. As a result, American capitalists invited him to go to Turkey in the interest of American trade, which he did in May and June, 1908. Previously he had written several reports to the various Government departments on the opportunities offered to American commerce by Turkey. When he decided to go to Turkey, the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade and Transportation of New York furnished him with a commission, now of historic importance, as it was based on the lines of the commission under which Lord Charles Beresford of the British Navy was sent to China by the United Boards of Trade of Great Britain to report on the possibility of increasing the British trade in the Far East.

The "commission" given Rear Admiral Chester by the Chamber of Commerce of New York, which has historic as well as diplomatic importance, read as follows:

Chamber of Commerce, New York, May, 1908.
Dear Sir:

In view of the great changes that may

occur in the development of trade with the East, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, which is composed of leading men of this community, is deeply interested in the future outlook for the participation of our country in this development.

As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws of the Chamber, I am desirous of contributing as much as may be in my power toward promoting our commercial interests in the countries of Asia and Eastern Europe that are now opening their doors to Western civilization and trade, and I therefore take the liberty of addressing you on this subject.

Understanding that you are about to engage in a mission—partly official and partly civic—which may lead you into the vicinity of these countries, it appears to me that an officer in the navy of the United States, which has as one of its chiefest glories the credit of laying pathways across the seas for our commerce, may be able to secure ready access to information that might be of benefit to our Chamber, as well as to kindred organizations of this country which are seeking light in this direction.

I write to ask, therefore, your engagements permitting, if you will kindly furnish me at the end of your trip abroad with a report of any matters that you think will tend to the betterment of our country's foreign trade or upon any other subjects that in your opinion are of interest or advantage to the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

(Signed) GUSTAVE H. SCHWAB,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Commerce
and the Revenue Laws.

Similar credentials were given to Rear Admiral Chester by other commercial bodies. His mission was to the Near East, where America practically had no trade, although Americans were spending millions there for the social development of the people of the Ottoman Empire, while the British Admiral's activities were in a region where Great Britain controlled more of China's trade than all other countries combined. Lord Beresford brought back a voluminous report of conditions in his bailiwick, published in book form, called "The Breaking Up of China." Admiral Chester reported to Americans the dawn of a new era in the Ottoman Empire and the "Waking Up of Turkey."

Upon Chester's acceptance of the duty delegated to him by New York's commercial bodies, application was made to Elihu Root, then Secretary

of State, for governmental support in such negotiations as might arise. The Secretary agreed to support the measure heartily and has done so ever since. Eventually Admiral Chester was placed on special duty to carry on this work under the direction of the Secretary of State by President Roosevelt, who also took every opportunity to foster the enterprise. On its way home from its globe-encircling cruise, in 1909, the American fleet was directed to stop at Smyrna and take on board twelve Turkish naval officers in the interest of the American concession.

THE CONCESSIONS OFFERED

Sultan Abdul Hamid and his close advisers wanted American friendship and moral support in Moslem affairs. Admiral Chester had shown his ability to establish friendly relations with the natives of Turkey. The Sultan, on Chester's visit in 1908, therefore promptly tendered him a broad concession, which included the construction of practically all the public works of Turkey, with appropriate guarantees for the payment of the cost.

The two principal features of the plan which the Chester interests arranged, first with the Sultan, then with the Young Turks, to remunerate the capitalists, were the Arg-hana copper mine and the oil fields, both in Mesopotamia and across the Tigris River on the Persian border, and the several other gold, silver and copper mines and other valuable properties that came within the purview of the American concessionaires. On parts of the railroad line which the Chester interests did not want to take, a substantial kilometric guarantee was offered in the contract.

Because Admiral Chester had undertaken to establish cordial relations between the two countries, Sultan Abdul Hamid granted these concessions with a large "kilometer guarantee" to be paid to the Chester interests by the Ottoman Government for every kilometer of railroad

built, which guarantee would practically pay half the cost of building the railroad; and, further, an annual subsidy of 5 to 8 per cent. of the total capital invested in the railroad and the cost of operation thereof.

Abdul Hamid also granted the right to explore for and operate oil fields and mines for a number of years prior to deciding on the location of the railroads, so as to insure that the roads when constructed would be along and between productive points and would be capable of self-support and represent an asset to the Ottoman Empire. He believed this would probably attract many Americans to that part of Turkey, and thereby extend the cordial relations between the two countries.

The concessions were to be operative from that date, but without restrictions or time limits regarding the actual starting of operations, and were to be for ninety-nine years, with provisions that the Ottoman Empire could buy the properties at the end of the first thirty years by paying their aggregate cost and a good margin of profit to be mutually agreed upon.

A few weeks later Sultan Abdul Hamid was suddenly deprived of his throne by the Young Turk Party, and was replaced by his brother, Reshid Effendi (Mohammed V.) Abdul was exiled to Saloniki, where he remained until November, 1912; then he was taken to Constantinople by a German warship and imprisoned in a palace on the Bosphorus. Mohammed, meanwhile, and the leaders of the Young Turk Party accepted and confirmed the concessions which had been granted to Admiral Chester, and on which a stay of proceedings had been obtained pending the reorganization of the Government by the Young Turk regime.

After two years of exploration in Asia Minor and Syria by representatives of the Chester interests, definite plans of operation were drawn and included in a formal contract to be approved by the Ottoman Parliament, which was the only power that could grant concessions to foreign-

ers. The concessions carried the privilege to explore and operate extensive mineral and mining concessions extending from Alexandretta Bay to the oil fields in the Mosul, Mesopotamia, Kirkuk, Chemihemal and Sulaimaniya districts. They also granted the privilege of building and operating a railroad, or a number of short railroads, aggregating 2,000 kilometers in length, from Alexandretta Bay or some other point on the Mediterranean to and along the Euphrates River, with the privilege to extend to Harput, Arghana, Sam-soun, Bitlis and Van, with the right of navigation on Lake Van, and with the further privilege to extend operations along the Tigris River to Diarbekir, to Mosul, to the oil fields of Altoun-Keupru, Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya, and to neighboring districts on the Persian border, and from these oil fields to Bagdad or any part thereof, with the right to exploit all metal, petroleum, coal and all the mineral and other resources and water power that might come within the zone of twenty kilometers on each side of the railroad or railroads that might be contemplated by the Chester interests. Leaders of the Young Turk Party took steps to have this convention confirmed by the Ottoman Parliament in June, 1911.

American trade to Turkey was then limited to purchases by Americans of Turkish goods in amounts ranging from \$10,000,000 to \$22,000,000 annually, the latter being the amount of American purchases for 1912 (the bulk being for carpets, rugs, silk, lace, skins, wool, mohair, cotton, slippers, oranges and other fruit, attar of roses, gum tragacanth, emery, chrome, &c.) It was expected that the new American interests would construct improved public works throughout the Ottoman Empire and supply the Turkish market with automobiles, trucks, machinery, electric power plants, electric equipment, typewriters, office furniture and supplies, leather and shoes, rubber products, gasoline, vegetable oils, soaps, canned goods, live stock and food products in general.

REASONS FOR DELAY

Owing to the delay caused by the schemes and bitter opposition of German interests, the Chester contract could not be presented in time for formal confirmation by Parliament, but it was stated to be generally approved and was placed on the calendar as the first matter to be acted upon at the following session in November. While arrangements were being made in New York to carry out the Chester contract, however, war between Italy and Turkey broke out (in September, 1911), and further action on the concession was deferred until the war should end. The Ottoman Government was so notified.

After the convention was submitted to the Turkish Parliament, every Government in Europe, through the Chancelleries in Constantinople, recognized the successful termination of the contest by sending congratulations to John Ridgely Carter, the Acting American Ambassador in Constantinople, for his diplomatic efforts in securing the concession, and Sir Babington Smith, then financial agent of Great Britain, now prominent in the British Government-controlled oil monopoly, gave a banquet to the American concessionaires in Constantinople, publicly felicitating them on their work.

Action on the Chester project, however, was again repeatedly prevented by new upheavals—the upset of the Young Turk Party in 1912, followed by the declaration of war by Turkey against Bulgaria and Serbia on Oct. 17, 1912, and the declaration of war on Turkey by Greece on Oct. 18, 1912; the second Balkan war, which began on July 5, 1913; Turkey's entry into the World War in November, 1914, and finally the more recent hostilities. None of these wars, it should be stated, in any way impaired the value of the Chester concessions, claims, franchises, rights, privileges and priorities, because, both under accepted principles of international law and under the special provision made on

behalf of the Chester interests in case of war, such operations are simply deferred until after the cessation of hostilities, without prejudice to the value or extent of the concession.

THE CLAIMS NOT ABROGATED

Under the recognized principle of international law laid down by the Swiss jurist, Emerich de Vattel, close to two centuries ago, which holds that "the aliens' right of action is only suspended during the war," the Chester concessions were only suspended during the wars in which Turkey has been involved since 1911, and the Chester interests have the right to resume now or to wait until the present conflict between Turkey and Greece is ended. This right, furthermore, was specifically laid down in the concession governing the Chester interests, as follows:

Article 6—At all times, in case of interference by "force majeure," duly proved, the delay fixed for the execution will be prolonged by one of equal duration to that of the interruption of the work.

Great Britain has accepted and upheld Vattel's principle on similar occasions—a matter of importance in view of the fact that the keenest contenders for the Chester concessions have been the British interests that formed the Turkish Petroleum Company, Ltd., in 1912, and acquired from the Deutsche Bank some alleged claims for alleged rights to prospect for oil in certain Mesopotamian fields. These German claims were admitted to be spurious by the Germans in their secret correspondence, which has come into the hands of British and American authorities and of the Chester interests.

Article 6 of the Chester compact was invoked in September, 1911, on the outbreak of Turkey's war with Italy, and this formal notice of a stay in execution was duly acknowledged by a messenger sent from Turkey to the United States. The Secretary of Parliament, Halil Bey, it is true, upon Parliament's reconvening in November, 1911, declared that the Legisla-

ture was ready to pass an act ratifying the convention and urged the Chester interests to proceed with its execution in spite of the war. But the Chester interests wisely preferred to wait until the country was at peace again. Many times in the last ten years, during which Turkey has been engaged in almost continuous warfare, messages of this character have been received by individuals connected with the Chester concession. One such call came through the former American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau. Shortly after he returned to the United States from his mission abroad he told Admiral Chester that the Turks had frequently interrogated him regarding the "Chester project" and wanted to know when the syndicate would take over the concession.

This, summarized, is the heretofore unpublished story of the "Chester claims" to the \$1,000,000,000 oil fields of Mesopotamia and Turkey, which are the American claims to those oil fields referred to in the forceful notes sent to Great Britain by Secretary of State Colby and Secretary of State Hughes in the last two years. These claims antedate the British claims by several years, and the secret German correspondence and statements made by high British authorities show that they are the only valid claims. Therefore the monopolistic British "oil group" cannot deprive Rear Admiral Chester and his son, Arthur Chester, and their associates of their rights to these oil fields.

FULL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

The Chester project has had unusual official support from the United States Government from its inception, receiving the sanction of the McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and Harding Administrations. The late President Roosevelt instructed the Navy Department to give Admiral Chester carte blanche authority to carry out a public policy, in which he

was so deeply concerned as to dispatch a portion of the United States battleship fleet to Turkey, with instructions to the commander to receive on board the vessels twelve officers belonging to the Ottoman Navy for passage to the United States, mainly in the interest of the concession the Chester interests were securing in Turkey.

When Admiral Chester first returned from his mission to Turkey, he and his friends made it clear to Secretary Root and the McKinley Administration that American capital had never before been invested, to any great extent, in Asia Minor, and that before taking this new departure it must be definitely known that the enterprise would receive the strong backing of the home Government, as it was sure to involve long and tedious negotiations and substantial financial burdens as well. It is a matter of record that not only was the syndicate assured of such support from the American Government, but that in the ensuing negotiations no attempt to open up trade for American citizens in a foreign country ever received more cordial and helpful cooperation from the Federal Government than that accorded to the Chester group.

It was with this understanding that the Ottoman-American Development Company, the first Chester organization, was incorporated, and that its capital was enlisted in the cause of advancing American trade in the Near East. It should be understood, moreover, that this great undertaking originated in the State Department itself, being based upon the report from the United States Consul at Alexandretta as a part of a public policy in which the Government was at the time greatly interested.

GERMAN OPPOSITION OVERCOME

After a bitter contest with the Bagdad Railway Company, which was backed by all the power of the German Government, wielded by one of the most astute diplomatists,

Baron von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador at Constantinople, a convention was arranged with the Ottoman Minister of Public Works, was approved by the Grand Vizier, and sent to Parliament for ratification, when a strong speech in its favor was made by the head of the Government himself. It was generally known that in this assembly the American concessionaries held the strong backing of a majority of the delegates, and that adoption of the concession was certain. While the negotiations were going on in Constantinople, it was understood that the State Department at Washington had communicated with all the European powers interested in Turkey, and had been informed that they were satisfied with the verdict of the Ottoman Cabinet rendered in favor of the Americans. Even the German Foreign Office went so far as to say that, as the convention had been harmonized with German interests, the Kaiser was not only willing but anxious for American capitalists to come to Turkey and aid in the development of the country. Admiral Chester himself was a party to a conference which brought about the withdrawal of German opposition to the scheme.

Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State during the latter part of the negotiation period, displayed—as he authorized Admiral Chester to state—his deep interest in securing the concession, and the Assistant Secretary, Huntington Wilson, who was commissioned in 1909 to proceed to

Constantinople to felicitate the new Sultan of the Ottoman Empire on his coronation, publicly stated that the principal object of his visit was to aid the American claim. Moreover, in the presence of Admiral Chester he informed the American Ambassador that the department would be willing, in order to secure the concession, to give up our treaty rights to the “capitulations” in Turkey, as had been done a short while before in the case of Japan.

During the war there was no occasion to assert diplomatically the policy of the Department of State regarding American rights to concessions secured abroad before the war, but soon after the signing of the armistice that necessity arose, and both Secretary of State Colby and his successor, Mr. Hughes, stated in firm tones that the United States Government insists that account must be taken of legitimate rights abroad acquired by American interests before the war. It cannot be asserted, therefore, that the Chester rights have been unsupported by the United States Government.

This is, briefly, the history of the American claims to the oil fields of former Turkish territory; claims which have been the subject of extensive diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, and which are to be discussed again in the near future, in view of the fact that the question was not settled at the Washington arms conference.

AUTOMOBILE FATALITIES

ACCORDING to the National Highways Protective Society, 1,981 persons were killed by automobile trucks and passenger cars in New York State, including New York City, in 1921. This is the highest number of motor fatalities ever recorded in any State. Fatalities in 1921 were 452 more than in 1920.

In the City of New York automobiles caused the death of 835 persons, 281 of whom were killed by trucks. The increase

of automobile fatalities since 1919 in the State of New York was nearly 60 per cent. In 1919 the number of deaths was 1,270.

Experts at the National Safety Council meeting in Chicago, Jan. 14, 1922, estimated that the total number of persons killed by automobile accidents in the whole United States in 1921 was between 12,000 and 15,000, with the probabilities in favor of the larger figure. The total in 1920 had been approximately 11,000.



Tent colony at Lick Creek, West Virginia, inhabited by union miners who have been evicted from houses owned by the mine operators

WRONGS OF THE SOFT- COAL MINERS

BY ELLIS SEARLES

Editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, official publication of the United Mine Workers of America

*Official revelation of abuses in the coal region of West Virginia—Tyranny of the operators declared to be maintained by means of armed thugs—Charges of a spokesman of the union**

IN writing about industrial conditions in West Virginia, it is just as well to stick to the truth. Actual conditions are bad enough to make it unnecessary for any writer to draw on his imagination. A tremendous conflict has been raging in industrial West Virginia for many years, but too often the facts of the case are utterly misrepresented in the public prints. Sometimes we read that the union coal miners of that State are a

lawless mob of vicious men with absolute disregard for law, order and right; and when we take the trouble to investigate we find that the information comes directly from the offices of coal companies and coal operators that adhere to the old, worn-out theory that a coal miner is merely an animal to be used in the manufacture of dividends. You may go out into the coal-mining fields of West Virginia or any other State and study the coal miner in his home, at his work and as a citizen, and you will find an entirely different set of facts. He is not a bandit. He is not a law-defying cutthroat. He is as good an

* This article is essentially a reply to the one in the January CURRENT HISTORY entitled "Murder to Maintain Coal Monopoly." The two together furnish a full statement of both sides of the warfare in the West Virginia coal region.—EDITOR.

American citizen as can be found in any walk of life.

It is unfortunate for the coal miner that he is not better known to the American public. That he is so woefully unknown is due to his inevitable isolation from the rest of the world. It is only when the citizen becomes alarmed at the prospect that he may run out of fuel that he ever gives the coal miner a second thought, and then it is only to denounce the miner as a brute with no regard for public comfort. No thought is given to the miner's side of the case. The public loses sight of the fact that the coal miner is a man—a human being—just like the rest of us; that he loves life and liberty, and hates tyranny and oppression; that he has the same love for his wife and children that other men have for their families; that he craves knowledge and education like other men, and grieves when these advantages are denied him; that he is just as loyal, just as patriotic in his devotion to his country as any other man, whether in high station or low, and that he stands ready to defend the flag with the same valor that manifests itself in other men.

The public, too, gives too little heed to the fact that the coal miner lives in an out-of-the-way, isolated camp on the side of a mountain, where opportunities do not exist. There he works and raises his family under conditions that would, in most cases, appal the city man. He spends his working hours in inky darkness. He braves the dangers of the earth's caverns, with no assurance that he will return to his loved ones at home. He hears nothing, sees nothing, learns nothing except that which is brought in to him from beyond the great hills.

RULED BY ARMED THUGS

The coal miners of West Virginia are virtually cut off from the rest of the world, entirely dependent upon one single industry for their living. Unless a man works in the mines he can find no employment in that State. And once a man moves into a non-

union mining field the chances are a hundred to one that he cannot get out without trouble. He becomes at once the property of the coal company. His liberty is taken away by means of coal company rules and orders. His freedom of action is abolished, because coal companies employ hundreds of armed men, the majority being of the most desperate character, to coerce and intimidate the miner and his family into strict obedience to the will of the operators. The miner cannot walk on the public highway without the consent of these gunmen. He cannot board a passenger train at a railroad station unless these thugs are willing. They are employed for that purpose, and right well do they perform their work. When a miner is assaulted or shot by one of these hired gunmen prosecution for the crime is a farce. A gunman is never punished for anything he may do. Most of these gunmen are sworn in as Deputy Sheriffs, but their salaries are paid by the coal companies. The coal companies admit this to be true. A circular recently issued by the Logan District Mines Information Bureau, Charleston, W. Va., says that the levy in Logan County is sufficient only for the employment of eight Deputy Sheriffs, and then the circular says:

Consequently, the coal operators of the county have been called upon to provide funds for the employment of thirty-nine additional Deputy Sheriffs. These men are not employed by the operators, but by the Sheriff of the county, who, under the West Virginia law, is also fiscal officer of the county and to whom the funds provided by the operators are paid and by whom the deputies are paid. These deputies are under the direct authority of the Sheriff, just as are the eight deputies whose wages are paid by county levy.

That circular was issued by an association of coal operators. They say there are thirty-nine "additional" Deputy Sheriffs in Logan County who are paid by the operators. The fact is that there are hundreds of them, and their sole purpose is to prevent the coal miners' union from obtaining a foothold in that field.

There would be no industrial

trouble in West Virginia if it were not for these brutal ruffians, who are employed by the hundreds by the coal operators. They bear a roving commission to roam at will over the mountains and in the coal mining camps and assault and intimidate and murder union coal miners or any others who may attempt to seek improvement in their conditions.

SQUARE DEAL IMPOSSIBLE

Coal miners are like other men. They resent the murderous activities of this private armed force. But there is one peculiar fact about this whole business. The public never hears about the crimes of these gunmen against the miners, yet when a miner resents an assault or rises up against their intimidations the news is spread broadcast over the land that the miners are defying the law. The operators can do this, while the miners have no means of placing their side of the controversy before the public. The coal companies control the politics, the judiciary, the military and every public activity in West Virginia, and it is impossible for a coal miner to obtain a square deal.

Remove the company gunman and

thug from the coal fields of West Virginia and give the citizens the liberty guaranteed to them by the Constitution, and industrial peace will reign. But the coal companies will not do this. The local officials, controlled by the operators, will not do it. The Governor and the other State authorities will not do it. The miner is driven to the expedient of self-defense.

The march of miners and citizens which took place last August in Boone and Logan Counties is fresh in the minds of all who have paid attention to events in West Virginia. Exasperated and driven to the last ditch of despair by the brutality of the armed guards and company gunmen, the people made up their minds to stand no more of it. So they gathered by the hundreds, miners, merchants, professional men and others, with the announced purpose of marching across the mountains and driving out the company thugs. The United Mine Workers of America did not authorize that march, nor did the union give that movement any kind of sanction or approval. In fact, the international officials of the union had no knowledge of the proposed march until it was well under



Group of West Virginia coal miners and their families, evicted from company houses because of their union activities, and now living in a tent colony.



The holes in these tents of evicted miners were slashed with knives by State Police in one of their many attempts to make life unbearable for union members.

way. The charge that it was financed and promoted by the miners' union is as false as many of the other allegations and insinuations that are hurled against the union. Instead of giving approval to the movement, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, at once sent Vice President Philip Murray to West Virginia with instructions to do all in his power to bring about peace and order, and it was largely due to Murray's efforts that the march finally was abandoned and peace restored. But the operators, of course, never tell that fact to the public.

John J. Leary Jr., one of the best newspaper reporters in the country, covered the march last August for The New York World. After telling of the coming of General Bandholtz, by direction of President Harding, to make an investigation of conditions, he said General Bandholtz called on the men to disperse and return to their homes, which they agreed to do. Leary then quoted Thomas W. Petry, acting head of the

United Mine Workers of America in that district, as follows:

As we agreed, we began sending the men back. The drive was over and General Bandholtz was satisfied that it was, and everything went well until the night of Aug. 27. Then Chafin's men and State Constabulary began shooting up Sharples. They killed two and injured two more. Then it was all off. The next day and the 29th, the men, who had started home, were on the drive again until there were 10,000 men out. The men were actually afraid to go home. They said they might as well die fighting as to be murdered. "We'll at least get a chance," they said.

Sharples is a mining village where the men belong to the union. It is interesting to note that General Bandholtz corroborated this statement in his official report, when he said:

It is believed that the withdrawal of the invaders, as promised by Keeney and Mooney, would have been satisfactorily achieved but for the ill-advised and ill-timed advance movement of State Constabulary on the night of Aug. 27, resulting in bloodshed.

Soon after Governor Morgan of West Virginia declared martial law,

a squad of improvised militia raided the office of the United Mine Workers of America at Williamson, where relief was being given to locked-out miners and their families, and arrested twelve union workers on a charge of "unlawful assemblage." These men were engaged only in relief work to save those poor people from starvation. The twelve men were taken to Welch and locked in the McDowell County Jail, where a kangaroo court held sway. One of the pastimes of this court consisted in brutally whipping newcomers with a big strap. The twelve men were released only on their promise to leave the State.

Throughout the years 1920 and 1921 armed gunmen continually shot up the little mining camp of Willis Branch, where the miners were members of the union. When the men moved from place to place to escape the bullets, they were followed by the thugs, who again shot up their homes. When the miners could stand it no longer, they decided upon a pitched battle with the so-called guards. Fifty-six of the latter participated. The miners won the fight, and twenty-eight gunmen packed their guns and artillery on a train and departed. What became of the other twenty-eight gunmen has never become known. And the operators sent out stories about how lawless union miners fired upon officers of the law.

There was a tent colony at Lick Creek last Summer in which the families of a large number of miners were obliged to live after they had been evicted from company houses because of the union activities of the men. There was no other place for them to go to, and the union supplied the tents and leased the ground upon which the tent colony could be established. Coal companies were opposed even to the tent plan of living, and, as they had done many times before, they determined to drive out the tent dwellers. As I said before, they completely control every public activity in the State. They boast their control of the judi-

cial system, the administration, the civil authorities, the military establishment and everything else, including the right of men to work and earn a living.

The State police is a part of the whole system that is controlled by coal companies. One day last Summer the State police raided the Lick Creek tent colony. A State trooper ordered Alex Breedlove, a union miner, to throw up his hands, and when Breedlove complied with the order the trooper shot him dead in his tracks. Then the State troopers cut and slashed the tents of the colony, broke up the furniture, destroyed the food supplies of the families living in the tents, poured coal oil in milk that was to feed the babies of the tent colony, and marched a number of men off to jail for no reason whatever. Every constitutional right of the mine workers was violated by these troopers in behalf of the coal companies.

THE CHARGE OF TREASON

What may be regarded as being, perhaps, the most astounding move on the part of the West Virginia coal operators to keep the union out was made when the Logan County Grand Jury recently returned indictments against approximately three hundred union men, charging them with treason to the State of West Virginia. The indictment is based on the march of last August. The operators are in complete control of Logan County, and they are responsible for the indictment. Treason is the highest degree of crime that can be committed by any person, and to charge treason against union coal miners is nothing short of ridiculous. The members of the United Mine Workers of America challenge the coal operators of West Virginia or any other State to a comparison of their records for patriotism and loyalty to country. More than 80,000 of them donned the uniform of Uncle Sam in the World War. More than 3,300 of these coal miner soldiers, sailors and marines made the supreme sacrifice by giving up their

lives for the flag of liberty. And yet West Virginia coal operators indict the miners of the union on a trumped-up charge of treason. Surely, the public will not sustain such an accusation against men who did their full part to win the war while most of the coal operators were at home, piling up huge extra profits on the coal that the nation and the world needed.

One of the men thus indicted was Lawrence Dwyer of Beckley, W. Va., member of the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America. Dwyer had no part whatever in the march. And it is significant that he was not placed under arrest until after he had taken a delegation of starving men, women and children from the West Virginia mining field to Washington for a conference with President Harding. Coal companies had served eviction notices on hundreds of miners, and the families were to be set out of company houses on the mountainside in eight inches of snow. The miners had been out of work for months. They and their families were on the very edge of starvation. Local and State authorities refused to interfere or supply relief. So Dwyer took a committee to Washington on Jan. 15, and this committee told President Harding of the situation and begged for Federal relief.

The President, through Secretary of Labor Davis, induced the coal companies to postpone the evictions. The committee returned to West Virginia, and on his arrival home Dwyer was arrested on the treason charge. Dwyer and his lawyer went to Logan County to give bond. Sheriff Don Chafin at first refused to admit him to bail because of the publicity that Dwyer had lately given out, and said he would be kept in jail. Later, however, Chafin changed his mind. On his arrival home from Logan, Dwyer wrote me a letter (Jan. 28), in which he said:

After we left the Court House for the depot to take the train, Don Chafin's "Deputy Sheriffs," or thugs, followed us around. The man with me asked a man whom we met to wait to the depot with us,

as he feared the thugs were going to attack us. While we were waiting at the depot the thugs stood around and, speaking so that I could hear them, said: "That's the peg-legged ——— that went to President Harding. Let's knock his ——— head off," and a group of them boarded the train with us, continually passing in front of me with threatening looks.

So we find that a West Virginia miner cannot appeal even to the President of the United States for relief from the cruelties of the system in that State without danger of being arrested for treason. Treason to whom? To the coal companies, of course.

Is it strange that the coal miners of West Virginia become desperate over such treatment? No man can smother his wrath forever when he is subjected to ruffianism and provocation year in and year out. Every attempt at self-protective organization by the miners meets with redoubled fury on the part of the coal companies and their paid gunmen. They are determined that the union shall not come in, for they know that if it comes the day of their unhampered domination over the lives and bodies of the miners is at an end.

IN THE FEDERAL COURTS

That is the reason why the Borderland Coal Corporation, a West Virginia company, brought suit in the Federal Court of Judge Anderson, at Indianapolis, to enjoin the United Mine Workers of America from further efforts at organization of the miners of West Virginia, and to abolish the check-off system for the collection of the dues of members of the union. The company filed a bill containing vicious allegations against the union. It supported the bill with affidavits and ex-parte evidence by coal company officials and others who bitterly oppose the union. Some of the affidavits were simply astounding in their character. For instance, a man named Jesse Stepp made affidavit as follows:

During my stay in this union field several inflammatory and riot-inciting speeches [were made] by agitators and organizers

of the Mine Workers' Union. One speech in particular that I remember was made by John L. Lewis of Indianapolis, Ind., who is International President of the United Mine Workers' Union, in which he stated they wanted to get all the men they could from other States and make a march on Mingo County, that they intended to kill all the gunmen, poison the waters and blow up every damned tippie in Mingo County. The above remarks were made in a speech at a local union meeting at Red Rock, which is about seven miles from Adrian, and just a few days before the miners started to gather at Marmet, W. Va., for the purpose of marching into Logan and Mingo Counties.

President Lewis immediately denounced the affidavit as utterly false and filed the following counter-affidavit:

John L. Lewis, being duly sworn, says that he is the President of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America; that in open court this morning, on the 29th day of October, 1921, he heard read the affidavit of one Jesse Stepp of Mingo County, West Virginia, filed by the plaintiff in the above cause; that so far as the statements in said affidavit relate to this affiant, they are wholly untrue; that affiant never addressed the union at Red Rock and was never in the town; that the affiant never made any speech on any occasion whatsoever in the State of West Virginia in the year 1921; that affiant has not been in the State of West Virginia in the year 1921 except upon a railroad train while crossing said State. Affiant further denies that at the time and place stated, or at any other time or place in West Virginia or elsewhere, that the affiant ever countenanced, encouraged or approved the destruction of property, poisoning of water or the killing of people, or any other form of violence whatever.

However, Judge Anderson granted the injunction, forbidding further collection of dues by the check-off and prohibiting the union from making any further attempt to organize the non-union mine workers of the field in question. Of course, the coal companies paraded the Anderson injunction all over the country as proof that the United Mine Workers of America was a vicious thing that had at last been downed in court. Public sentiment was arrayed against the union by this propaganda of the operators. But they told only half of the story, hiding the rest of it effectually, so that the public might not learn the full truth.

JUDGE ANDERSON REVERSED

The United Mine Workers of America appealed from the decision of Judge Anderson to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago, and that court, after a full and complete hearing, by a unanimous decision of its full bench, reversed Judge Anderson in every essential feature of the case. The Circuit Court of Appeals held that the check-off was legal and could not be enjoined. It held, too, that the United Mine Workers of America had a legal right to attempt to organize the non-union workers of West Virginia by any and all lawful means and methods. That was all the union could ask.

In commenting upon the check-off, while the hearing was in progress, Judge Baker stated clearly that the check-off was nothing more or less than an assignment by the miner to the union of a part of his wages already earned. Such assignment, he said, was entirely lawful. A workman has the legal right, he said, to assign his wages for any purpose. The wages earned are the sole property of the wage-earner and may be disposed of by him by assignment or otherwise; therefore, Judge Baker said, the check-off could not be enjoined. And the court carried this statement of the law into its written decision when it said:

So far as the contracts themselves and this record disclose, the check-off is the voluntary assignment by the employe of so much of his wages as may be necessary to pay his union dues and his direction to his employer to pay the amount to the Treasurer of his union. In that aspect that contract provision is legal; and quite evidently there are many lawful purposes for which dues may be used.

Coal operators have made a persistent effort to induce the public to believe that the check-off is simply a contribution which they are forced to make to the coal miners' union. They have told the public that they are compelled, through the check-off, to furnish money to sustain and maintain the union. Nothing could be further from the truth. The check-

off does not cost the mine operators a cent. They do not contribute a penny of their own money to the union. It is wholly unfair for the operators to ask the public to believe otherwise. The miner earns so much money. The operators pay a small part of that money to the union and the rest of it to the miner. That's all there is to the check-off. The miner has the same right to assign a part of his wages to his union that he has to assign a part of his wages to a grocer, a doctor or a landlord. And the same coal mining companies that are now denouncing the check-off for union dues as being illegal and a burden have never objected to a check-off for the other purposes mentioned.

The real reason the coal operators seek to abolish the system is that they believe they see in such a course an opportunity to cripple or destroy the United Mine Workers of America. And if they can destroy the union or impair its influence they can again bring the coal mine workers down to the old-time level of wages and working conditions; compel them to accept any wage rate that the operators may feel disposed to pay; compel the men to work longer hours for less money; in fact, drag them down to a lower level of existence, so that they may be unable to protect themselves against whatever practices or conditions the operators wish to impose.

I am not overstating the case. Men who have been employed in the coal mining industry for years remember what conditions were before the union came to their rescue. They know what they might expect if the union were out of the way.

LEGAL RIGHTS OF UNIONS

It was difficult for miners of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to understand by what right the Borderland Coal Corporation, a West Virginia concern, could come into a court and seek to regulate the affairs of the Central Competitive Field, where the check-off contract between miners and opera-

tors is in effect. Judge Anderson held that the Borderland Coal Corporation could do that very thing. But the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Anderson completely on that point. The Circuit Court of Appeals, in its decision, said in part:

But appellee is not a party to the contract, is not the attorney of either contracting party, and is not the agency to establish the public welfare.

In reversing Judge Anderson and holding that the union had the legal right to attempt the unionization of the non-union mines, the Circuit Court of Appeals said:

Appellee sought and obtained a decree restraining "the unionization or attempted unionization of the non-union mines" in the Williamson district. Appellants, and their agents and representatives in West Virginia, are thus enjoined from publishing lawful union arguments and making lawful speeches in the closed district; from making lawful appeals to those in the pool of unemployed labor to join the union rather than the non-union ranks; and from using lawful persuasion to induce any one of appellee's employees to join the union and thereupon instantly and openly to sever his relationship with appellee, not in violation of, but in exact accordance with, his contract with appellee. Manifestly, the purpose of such publications, public speeches and personal persuasions would be to enlarge the membership of the union. If completely successful, these means would compel appellee, if it stayed in business, to deal with the union, and thus "unionize" its mine. And use of these means, short of complete success, would be an "attempted unionization." This broad sweep of restraint makes it necessary to refer briefly to the rights of employers and of labor unions. Unions of owners of capital may bargain collectively, through their officers, with laborers either individually or collectively. Unions of laborers may bargain collectively, through their officers, with employers either individually or collectively. Employers may bargain for a closed non-union shop. Laborers may bargain for a closed union shop. Both are entitled to free and equal access to the pool of unemployed labor for the purpose of securing recruits by peaceful appeals to reason. Employers may persuade a union man, provided they do not violate his right of privacy nor invade the rights of another, to become non-union. Union laborers may under the same conditions persuade a non-union man to become union.

There was no conspiracy about the entrance of the United Mine Workers of America into West Virginia, and no such conspiracy exists today.

The United Mine Workers invaded West Virginia for the sole purpose of bettering the condition of the coal-mine workers of that State. The union went in because the oppressed miners of West Virginia wanted it to come. The union carried to the downtrodden miners of that State the first ray of hope that had ever

penetrated the gloom of their existence. No other organization, no other influence in the land could do it, but the United Mine Workers could make life better for the miners and their families, and the union went into West Virginia to do that job. That was no conspiracy. It was a mission of mercy, of justice.

FINANCE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

IN all recent discussions of the possibilities of reopening trade and commerce with Russia; the financial problem has loomed large. The Paris Temps has defined this problem as one involving the stabilization of the ruble and the balancing of the Russian budget. A writer in the Contemporary Review remarks that the Temps, like others who have dealt with the subject, seems to be entirely unaware that the Russian Government has already adopted measures to deal with reforms in currency, banking and the budget.

Private trade requires some form of stable currency, and the first difficulty attending the introduction of the new economic policy was the fact that the Russian ruble had depreciated to such an extent that it was no longer an adequate medium of exchange. The paper ruble at the present time is reckoned to be worth between one-fifty thousandth, and one-sixty thousandth of the pre-war ruble. In other words, the ruble is practically valueless, being worth about one-eleven hundredth of a cent. This depreciation has been very largely caused by an immoderate use of the printing press. No business transactions of any magnitude can be conducted with a unit of currency which has fallen in value from 50 cents to one-eleven hundredth part of a cent.

The first step which the Soviet Government took, therefore, was to introduce a new unit of currency, a new medium of exchange. The People's Commissariat for Finance is now putting this new monetary token into circulation. Its value is fixed as equal to 10,000 paper rubles. If it maintains this ratio value in actual circulation it will be worth about 1 cent. The Government proposes, furthermore, to renounce

the policy of inflation, and to limit severely the amount of money which it puts into circulation.

This involves a reorganization of the Russian budget. The new budget for 1922 has been made, first of all, for the nine months ending on Oct. 1, 1922, in order that the end of the Government's financial year may coincide with the realization of the harvest. The most important innovation is that the estimates of revenue and expenditure are expressed in gold rubles. The Finance Department has explained that the old method of expressing these estimates in paper rubles, the value of which is subject to depreciations sometimes as great as 100 per cent., made any financial order or control utterly impossible. The estimated revenue (883,000,000 gold rubles) by no means balances the estimated expenditure (1,403,000,000 gold rubles), and the Government has, therefore, been compelled to make good the deficit by the old expedient of issuing more money. Thus, on the revenue side, one finds an item of 230,000,000 gold rubles under the heading, "Issue of Paper Money." This involves the colossal sum of 18,000,000,000,000 paper rubles. The Government contends that its new method of computation in gold is at least an improvement over the old system.

A second step taken by the Government was the establishment in November, 1921, of a Government bank. This bank has only just begun its activities, and it is too early to form any opinion of its chances of success. It is intended that the bank shall play an important part in reviving the foreign trade of Russia, mainly through operations in bills, foreign currencies, &c., necessary for the financing of foreign commerce.

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH

By EUGENE KINCKLE JONES

Executive Secretary of the National Urban League

Important results of the recent negro migration to the North, as set forth by a progressive member of that race—Definite progress toward establishing the negro's place in the business world

THE negro population in the Northern United States increased in the ten years between 1910 and 1920 from 1,000,000 to more than 1,500,000. The one-half million represents, in the main, the increase due to a considerable migration of negroes from the South and to a relatively small West Indian immigration. Although the migration from the South has been largely from rural and small town districts, the population in the North is almost entirely centred in urban communities, where death and birth rates are about equal, thereby providing practically no natural increase. The majority of this one-half million came to the North preceding and following the participation of the United States in the World War. The causes of this migration are well known—the industrial vacuum caused in the North by the departure of foreign reservists for service in Europe, drafting of many men from the North's industrial centres, the speeding up of industry incident to the war, the push from the South caused by the withholding of personal, civic and educational rights from the negro, especially the persistent persecution of negroes by the lawless elements, against which no protection was afforded. Though it is true that in the South the negro has not been denied industrial opportunity as a skilled or unskilled laborer, his wages were relatively low and his treatment at the hands of white men in authority, both on the job and in connection with his civic and home affairs, made him feel constantly restricted and oppressed.

A discussion ten years ago on the negro in the North would have consisted primarily of a consideration of the housing conditions and the general wage scale of negroes engaged in domestic and menial service, with a citation of isolated cases of negroes employed here and there in responsible positions where their work was in the main associated with white people. But the discussion of this subject today must embrace a study of the masses of negroes who have recently come to the North, the successes or failures with which they have met in seeking adjustment, the development of larger opportunities for personal and group advancement and the actual material progress made thus far. Negro cities, as it were, within the already established cities, may be seen in New York, in Boston, in Chicago, in Cleveland, in Detroit, in Pittsburgh and in many other Northern and border communities. Here negro banks, theatres, hotels, restaurants, stores of all kinds, real estate offices and modern churches with social service facilities are in evidence, and negro doctors, lawyers, architects, social workers and other professional men and women are kept constantly busy ministering to the needs of their own people.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT NORTH

Of course, negroes have been migrating to the North in large numbers since the Civil War. But this migration has only been the answer to the demand, in the main, for personal servants, and such social problems among negroes as have arisen

in Northern cities have been of such gradual growth that, though existent, they have not altered in any large measure the condition of the communities at large. When the war period set in, however, the communities to which negroes went began to realize that they had a problem of their own. One often heard unfavorably of the Southern negro, of his crude behavior, of his boarding street cars while returning from work without changing his working clothes, of groups of men in their shirt sleeves and women with cloths tied around their heads hanging out of windows or sitting on front porches of recently acquired houses in restricted neighborhoods. Many of the industries that were responsible for negroes coming North in large numbers did not consider the communities' welfare and made no provision for the housing of the newcomers, for their recreation and religious observances. Thus three or four families were forced into houses intended for one normal family; epidemics of pneumonia ensued, as was the case in Newark, N. J., and race disturbances followed, as in East St. Louis, Chicago and Omaha.

The first movement North early in 1916 and subsequently for three years was, in the main, composed of the average and under-average workingman and his family from the fields and smaller cities. For the last two years those coming have been principally lawyers, doctors, artisans and skilled workers—the type of solid and efficient persons who usually follow in the train of such mass movements, and who build on them business and professional life and thereby maintain or elevate such standards as have already been developed.

I suppose that few people are unacquainted with the conditions that obtained in the North at the time the negroes came. Business was flourishing. Labor was scarce. Wages were high. Money was plentiful. Now two years of unemployment have been passed through by the country, and a considerable number of negroes who were not adjusted in mind or po-

sition to the Northern atmosphere have returned South; it is interesting at this juncture, therefore, to consider the present status of the Northern negro population and to gauge thereby the negro's future prospects both in the North and in the South.

NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT

I have recently talked with professional men, business men, skilled workmen and unskilled labor groups in practically every large city of the North, and I have yet to meet one who has any idea of returning permanently to the South. They all seem to feel that the present business depression and period of unemployment is but a temporary social phenomenon that is also being experienced by the whites, and that they will find themselves in much better circumstances when prosperity returns to the country at large. In Detroit, where the unemployment situation was the most desperate of all the cities of the North, the negro suffered in exactly the same way as the whites suffered, and assistance was rendered him in exactly the same way by the municipal and private relief-giving agencies. The Employers' Association of Detroit has continued to support its employment office (located on St. Antoine Street, in the heart of the colored section), although but few placements have been made during the last year. This is evidence of the intention of the employing group to continue the employment of negro workers.

In Cleveland, an inquiry sent to most of the industries employing negro workers brought the reply that negroes would be re-employed on the return of normal business conditions and that many of the plants were still carrying the workmen's compensation insurance on their negro employees.

An interesting incident recently occurred in Chicago in connection with the unemployment problems there. The city made scant provision for the care of its unemployed. The only organized and co-ordinated effort to

help the unemployed for the first six months was in behalf of the negroes, the effort being promoted by a combination of negro churches and welfare agencies in that city. With 15,000 colored men unemployed in and about South State Street alone, this co-operating group was not able to cope entirely with the situation. A number of negro unemployed, rather than face the necessity of returning to the South, where possibly they might have gotten along better physically in their old haunts, repaired to the lake front, built their own huts out of collected stone and driftwood and organized themselves into a municipal government within the City of Chicago itself, with their own Mayor, Police Department and an additional city department known as the Culinary Division, with a chef and an improvised refrigerator made of a cave within the hillside. They adopted and applied rules and regulations sufficiently stringent to keep the denizens law-abiding, yet in good spirits and happy, while waiting for the return of better times.

That the big industries generally intend to continue negro labor in the North is attested by the experiences of one of the largest corporations in industry. After a recent great strike, almost country-wide, in which the negro employes with a few exceptions refused to participate, several of the company's local managers were inclined to discontinue the use of negro labor. This was after the strike was lost. A complaint of this evidence of ingratitude was made to the headquarters of the corporation, which resulted in an order being issued to the effect that in practically all the subsidiary plants of this corporation upward of 17 per cent. of their employes should remain colored, or that the colored proportion be increased to that figure. It should be stated in explanation that the main reason the negroes did not line up with the white strikers in larger numbers was that no effort was made to encourage negro membership in the unions until the eve of the strike.

OPPORTUNITY IN THE NORTH

Some years ago Dr. Booker T. Washington in one of his many forceful speeches said, "The negro can earn a dollar in the South, but he cannot spend it. He can spend a dollar in the North, but he cannot earn it." He always emphasized the view that the place for the negro was the South. Dr. Washington was a wise man. He talked in terms of immediate need, always keeping his eye on the future. Before his death, however, he became much interested in welfare activities calculated to help the negroes adjust themselves to Northern environment. If he were alive today, he undoubtedly would change his philosophy about the negro's earning capacity in the North, whether in the factory, foundry and hotel, or in professional and business pursuits. In New York City there are more than 200 colored teachers, among them being teachers in high schools, a principal and an assistant principal in public schools, supervisors and lecturers for the Board of Education. In Chicago, in Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, Boston and several other cities there are also colored teachers in schools that likewise make no special provision for colored pupils.* Many intelligent and progressive negro clergymen have established themselves, and their congregations are purchasing and building beautiful edifices. The St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church of New York City has church and other real property valued at more than \$1,000,000. The Olivet Baptist Church of Chicago has a membership of 8,000, requiring two church edifices and three assistant pastors.

*It is interesting in this connection to note the great increase in rural schools for the negro communities of the South, as set forth in a declaration of the thirty-first annual Tuskegee Negro Conference held on Jan. 18, 1922. From this it appears that \$1,000,000 will be expended during 1922 in building schoolhouses for negroes, and in Mississippi \$800,000 will be devoted to a similar purpose. The Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund, it was said, had assisted in building more than 1,100 schools at a cost of almost \$4,000,000. Plantation owners were commended for schools built for their tenants. Educational work of a valuable nature was being done in Alabama and Louisiana.—
EDITOR.

Although prejudice has denied the negro the opportunity to advance in industrial and professional pursuits, even in the North, thorough business development and acquired ability are breaking down a great deal of this prejudice based upon color. In practically all the cities of the North where negroes reside in large numbers there are colored doctors who have made great headway in their profession. With many their white practice has almost crowded out their colored practice. In Paterson, N. J.; in Morristown, N. J.; in Jersey City, in New York City, in Chicago, in Detroit, in Buffalo, I personally know of colored physicians and dentists at least 90 per cent. of whose practice is white. A colored surgeon of Chicago, who was the first to operate successfully on the human heart in 1894, is on the staff of a Chicago hospital, where he seldom has a colored patient. Colored chemists on Staten Island, in Northern New Jersey, in Detroit, in Chicago, in St. Louis, are employed by large industrial concerns. Colored artists, such as Scott, the mural painter; Meta W. Fuller, the sculptor, and Charles Gilpin, the actor, have made their mark and are being followed by numerous other individuals who are studying and making headway in these directions.

Two large mail order houses in Chicago, before the industrial depression set in, employed 2,000 colored girls in clerical positions, one firm employing 700 and the other 1,300. One large bank in New York employs eight or ten negro clerks. Checkers and wrappers in department stores in Pittsburgh; binders, map mounters and cutters with a map and textbook manufacturer in Chicago; several thousand shirtwaist makers, machine operators on various kinds of underwear and outer garments in New York City; women workers at machines in Newark, Bridgeport, St. Louis and Detroit, have been employed, and in many instances are still at work despite the general state of unemployment.

BUSINESS EFFICIENCY

In the business world many instances of success may be given of even greater interest. One colored woman has a retail coal business in a small town near New York City bringing in \$100,000 a year. Two beauty culture concerns with headquarters in Indianapolis and St. Louis take in annually gross receipts of more than \$250,000. One New York real estate concern has monthly collections of \$30,000; brokerage firms handling oil stock and real estate ventures, restaurants and theatres are thriving. One firm of contractors has a monopoly on the work of moving and wrecking buildings in a prominent Northern city of over 250,000 inhabitants. A colored doll factory in New York City has grown to large proportions. Garage, taxicab and private automobile service has sprung up in practically all these Northern cities, one man in Chicago having a garage—of which he is sole owner—with a capacity of 200 cars and a demand for much more car space than he can provide. There are barber shops and hotels, one hotel representing an investment of \$250,000. A phonograph and record manufacturing company in New York, handling only music composed, sung and played by negroes, is doing a business of more than \$25,000 a month. Chicago has a State bank with \$2,000,000 deposits, Philadelphia has one with more than \$1,000,000 in deposits.* A newspaper for negroes in Chicago—a national weekly with a circulation of 225,000—requiring the services of over forty employes, more than half of whom are white, has a plant valued at \$250,-

*The first national bank ever operated by negroes was opened in Chicago at the beginning of the year 1922. All the officials and Directors, including P. W. Chavers, its President, are negroes, with but a single exception, O. F. Smith, President of the Citizens' Trust Bank, who is Chairman of the Board of Directors. R. R. Jackson, Spanish-War veteran, who followed Roosevelt in the famous charge of San Juan, is the Vice President. Mr. Chavers in an interview given on Dec. 7 said: "Lincoln gave the colored man political emancipation, but nobody can give him economic emancipation. He must win that for himself by thrift, honesty and good judgment."—EDITOR.

000, all paid for. There are at least fifty negro newspapers and journals located in the North. In West Virginia there are two coal mines operated and owned exclusively by negroes. Business schools have sprung up in practically all the large cities, affording to young colored boys and girls training in stenography, book-keeping and business methods.

For years the impression has been assiduously spread by certain groups of whites that the negro is inefficient and cannot absorb modern civilization. What impression of his physical efficiency, first of all, must one get from the account of the breaking of the world's record in the broad jump and the winning of the Pentathlon by Edward O. Gourdin, negro athlete of Harvard; of the holding at various times by negroes of the lightweight, welterweight and heavyweight pugilistic championships; of the securing of two places on the All-American team in the last four or five years by negro football stars of Rutgers and Brown Universities; of the larger percentage of negroes than whites received as "physically fit" in the draft and retained as "physically fit" in the army after being accepted in the draft? What, from the mental aspect, may be deduced from the 5,000 patents taken out in Washington by negro inventors, including a self-starter for airplanes and a device for taking motion pictures by daylight? What of negro organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, which are demanding for them full citizenship and all their human rights, and which urge them so to prepare themselves for the demands of a competitive modern civilized community that when justice is secured for them they may be able to merit it and be secure in the exercise of their rights?

With the great influx to the North, more negroes have received the ballot. As a result negroes have been elected to the State Assemblies of Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois and New

Jersey, and to the City Councils or Boards of Aldermen of New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, Morrisville, Pa., and other cities. A colored Magistrate has just been elected in Philadelphia, and a colored man was nominated for election to serve on the commission to draw up a new City Charter for Kansas City, Mo. Because of the weight of their political influence, negroes have been appointed to the following positions: Assistant Federal District Attorney located in New York City; Assistant District Attorney, New York, Indianapolis and Chicago; Assistant Attorney General for the State of Illinois; member of the Zoning Commission, Chicago; Special Assistant in the Department of Agriculture, New York; Assistant City Solicitor, Pittsburgh; State Librarian, West Virginia; Director of the Department of Negro Welfare, West Virginia; Clerk of the Juvenile Court, Boston; Board of Education, New York (until the board was reduced to seven members); health officers in Richmond, Ind., Detroit, Mich., and New York City. On local unemployment committees negroes have been appointed in Chicago, Detroit, New York, St. Louis and Pittsburgh.

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

This larger distribution of the negro population over the United States is apparently having a good effect on the great American experiment in democracy. It is giving the North an opportunity to disprove the assertions of Southern critics that the citizens of the North with the negro present in numbers would treat the negro in exactly the same way as the Southerner has seen fit to treat him. It will give the negro an opportunity to disprove the statement that he cannot thrive physically, industrially or intellectually in the North, where he has to combat a more rigorous climate and match skill with a more uncompromising industrial competitor. President Harding, in the wisdom of his statesmanship, has already indi-

cated that the South and North alike need guidance and counsel in their attitude toward the negro. Already the attitude of the labor unions toward negro labor is being challenged. The Executive Council and the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor are demanding of their internationals and locals that the negro be not denied membership in organized labor and equal opportunity for advancement in industry. The negroes of Boston and New England are learning through inquiry that even there, where Freedom received its birth, and where the negro is not generally denied his civic rights, there is still great need of improvement. Most of the factories in and around Boston employ no negroes, or employ them only as unskilled yardmen, sweepers and porters.

It is being discovered that it is possible to reduce materially the death rate of negroes in cities through educational processes. The Health Officer of Newark, N. J., has recently stated that since the introduction of public service nurses of the negro race infant mortality among negroes in that city has been reduced in two years from 171.6 per 1,000 in 1919 to 106 in 1921. A campaign of education in New York City under the general direction of the City Department of Health, working largely in negro districts, resulted in the reduction in two years (from 1915 to 1917) of negro infant mortality from 202 per

1,000 births to 173 per 1,000 births, the rate during 1920 being further reduced to 164.

The years to come bid fair to show the same steady improvement along all lines; a lessening of opportunity for exploitation of the negro by false and unprincipled leaders, both black and white; a growing race consciousness, a stronger determination on the part of negroes of ability to excel; a net result of increased virility, morality, intelligence and wealth, which will command a greater respect for the group.

With a greater migration of the negro population from the South, an increased participation by negroes in community affairs generally, the passage and enforcement of a national Anti-Lynching bill* and the good results of the proposed national interracial commission to be authorized by Congress, the nation will gradually be impressed with the necessity of treating all peoples within its boundaries fairly, in order that our great experiment in democracy may be indeed a lesson to the other nations and races of the world. The migration of the negro to the North and his progress in this section of the country will, therefore, in large measure be both the occasion for a larger number of negroes in America receiving better treatment and an aid to the whole nation in its efforts to meet the "challenge to democracy."

*See article on lynching at the beginning of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

COMMERCIAL lines of aeroboats of both the land and the sea type are in process of establishment in several South American countries, having already had a start in Colombia, where a weekly mail and passenger service between the Atlantic ports of Barranquilla and Cartagena has been inaugurated by the Governor, Martínez-Aparicio. Argentina is purchasing some twenty military airplanes of the Avro and other English makes, besides placing a good order with the Italian firm of

Ansaldo for Sva airplanes. A commercial passenger service between Neuquén and Bariloche, in the Southern Andean territory, has proved practicable after a trial trip by Major Kingsley of the Argentine Military School. The new conveyance reduces to three hours a trip usually made in two days. Chile has made a fifteen-year concession in favor of the firm of Recart for the establishment of a coastal airplane service extending from Iquique in the north to Concepcion in the south, some 650 miles.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF MEAT AND GRAIN

BY JULIAN PIERCE

A striking innovation in governmental methods, which places the stockyards, the packing houses and all trading in grain "futures" in the United States under official supervision—Guarding the nation's food supply

THE meat-packing industry of the United States has passed under the supervision of the Government, also the buying and selling of live stock in commerce. Together these twin industries represent an invested capital of about \$20,000,000,000; with the possible exception of the railroads, they may be called the largest business venture in the United States. The Packers and Stockyards act, passed on Jan. 24, 1921, placed both of them under the control of the Department of Agriculture and created an entirely new administrative unit to perform the new function thus imposed upon the Secretary of Agriculture. Secretary Wallace has intrusted this important task to Chester Morrill, Assistant Secretary, who has now completed the organization of the Packers and Stockyards Administration, the bureau which will henceforth execute the Government's functions in this untrodden field.

Gambling in grain has also been brought under Government control by the Futures Trading act of Aug. 24, 1921, which places all boards of trade, grain exchanges and similar institutions under strict supervision of the Department of Agriculture.

The enactment of these laws by a Congress and a President pledged to a policy of less, rather than more, interference in business is a striking proof that a representative Government, in this day of democracies, has to deal with facts rather than with theories. The laws in question are

among the first fruits of the activities of the "farmer bloc" in Congress.

The production of live stock for food purposes is carried on in every State. The live stock is usually purchased from the small producers by dealers, who forward it to the stockyards in various cities. In the stockyards it is received by other dealers or commission men, who in turn sell it to the meat packers. Certain large producers ship their own stock direct to the yards without the intervention of the local dealers. These stockyards are scattered all over the country, from Arabi, La., and El Paso, Texas, to New York, St. Paul and Spokane.

The act places all these stockyard services—buying and selling, marketing, feeding, watering, holding, delivery, shipment, weighing and handling of live stock—under Government control, provided that the animals are bought and sold in interstate commerce, and most of them are so bought and sold.

From the stockyards the Government follows the live stock to the meat packers, who transform it into food products—fresh meats, smoked meats, canned meats, lard and every other edible meat food. There are also by-products, such as fertilizer. All these products are then shipped to the four corners of the country, and the Government control follows them wherever they go. The same is true of dairy products, poultry and

eggs, when handled by the meat packers. Beginning with the stockyards, the Government supervision follows the buying and selling of all these food products and by-products through every channel of interstate commerce until the shipments reach the wholesale local dealers.

ORIGIN OF THE LAW.

"Packer control" legislation is an old question. It has been hanging fire for a quarter of a century. For many years the stock raisers—from the general farmer, with his farrow cow, or a couple of steers, or a litter of pigs to sell, to the cattlemen, sheepmen and hog raisers, with their hundreds or thousands of cattle and sheep and hogs—have been firmly convinced that the large meat packers were in a permanent conspiracy to destroy competition in the buying of live stock, and thus depress prices to the detriment of producers. There was also a conviction that the stockyards were controlled by the same interests—and always against the farmers. Among the consumers of meat products, on the other hand, there was a well-grounded feeling that the packers were arbitrarily "boosting" the prices of meat products. The general idea was that the packers defrauded the farmers by buying their live stock for less than its real value, and then defrauded the consumers by profiteering in the manufactured meat products. Much of this controversy is now ancient history, and includes many indictments and prosecutions, with very few convictions, under the anti-trust laws. But the immediate parent of the present Packers and Stockyards act is a Federal investigation conducted only three years ago, the character of which was spectacular.

After the World War was launched there was a heavy demand by the allied powers for American food products. The "natural" law of supply and demand worked perfectly on the demand end. The cost of living soared—and never came to earth. There was nation-wide un-

rest over food prices. In 1916 the charge was persistently made both in the press and in Congress that the constantly rising prices of food products were caused by artificial and illegal combinations in restraint of trade. On Feb. 7, 1917, President Wilson took official cognizance of this charge in a communication to the Federal Trade Commission. In his letter Mr. Wilson included this order:

Pursuant to the authority conferred upon me by the act creating the Federal Trade Commission, I direct the commission, within the scope of its powers, to investigate and report the facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the anti-trust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, combinations, conspiracies or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest.

FEDERAL COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Federal Trade Commission received the necessary funds from Congress on July 1, 1917, and engaged Francis J. Heney to make the investigation. Mr. Heney conducted a spectacular and thorough investigation, and the Packers and Stockyards act is the reply of Congress and the President to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission based upon Mr. Heney's researches into the packing industry.

The Federal Trade Commission made its report to President Wilson on July 3, 1918—one year and three days after the Congressional appropriation. The commission's findings were limited to five great packing concerns with headquarters in Chicago. This is what it reported to the President:

It appears that five great packing concerns of the country * * * have attained such a dominant position that they control at will the market in which they buy their supplies, the market in which they sell their products, and hold the fortunes of their competitors in their hands. Not only is the business of gathering, preparing and selling meat products in their control, but an almost countless number of by-product

industries are similarly dominated; and, not content with reaching out for mastery of commodities which are used as substitutes for meat and its by-products, they have invaded allied industries and even unrelated ones.

The producer of live stock is at the mercy of these five companies, because they control the market and the marketing facilities, and to some extent the rolling stock which transports the product to market. The competitors of these five concerns are at their mercy because of the control of the market places, storage facilities and the refrigerator cars for distribution. The consumer of meat products is at the mercy of these five because both producer and competitor are helpless to bring relief.

After having thus revealed the power of the packers, the commission inquired into the exercise of that power.

The power [it reported] has been and is being unfairly and illegally used to manipulate live-stock markets, restrict interstate and international supplies of food, control the prices of dressed meats and other foods, defraud both the producers of food and consumers, crush effective competition, secure special privileges from railroads, stockyard companies and municipalities, and profiteer.

Entrenched in their position of monopolistic power, how did the packers protect their possessions against the encroachments of both law and public opinion? The commission reported to the President that the packers created "joint funds" which were used:

To employ lobbyists and pay their un-audited expenses; to influence legislative bodies; to elect candidates who would wink at violations of law and defeat those pledged to fair enforcement; to control tax officials and thereby evade just taxation; to secure modifications of governmental rules and regulations by devious and improper methods; to bias public opinion by the control of editorial policy through advertising, loans and subsidies, and by the publication and distribution at large expense of false and misleading statements.

Passing on to the results of the packers' alleged combination, the commission said:

The purposes of this combination are: to monopolize and divide among the several interests the distribution of the food supply not only of the United States but of all countries which produce a food surplus, and, as a result of this monopolistic position, to extort excessive profits from the people not only of the United States but of a large part of the world. To secure

these ends the combination employs practically every method of unfair competition known to the commission * * * among which may be mentioned the following: Bogus independents, local price discriminations, short weighing, acquiring stock in competing companies, shutting competitors out of life-stock markets.

Following the report of the Federal Trade Commission the packers opened a nation-wide campaign of denial and defense. A large sum of money was spent in publicity to break down the commission's charges. Congress took up the matter, and week after week, in session after session, the packers and their counsel confronted the commission and its experts before committees of both houses. But, true or false, the commission's report stuck. The farming and stock-raising interests believed the commission's charges were true, and nothing could shake their belief. The Packers and Stockyards act followed.

EXTENSIVE PROHIBITIONS

This act is designed to prevent the practices described in the Federal Trade Commission's report to President Wilson on the meat-packing industry. Under the act the packers are prohibited:

From any unfair, unjustly discriminatory, or deceptive practice or device;

From giving undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any person or locality;

From apportioning the supply of any article between them, where the tendency or effect of such apportionment would restrain commerce or create monopoly;

From dealing with any person for the purpose, or with the effect, of manipulating or controlling prices, or creating a monopoly or restraining commerce;

From engaging in any course of business for the purpose, or with the effect, of manipulating or controlling prices, or of creating a monopoly in buying, selling or dealing in any article, or restraining commerce;

From conspiring or combining with any other person to apportion territory or purchases or sales, or to manipulate or control prices;

From aiding or abetting the doing of any of the foregoing acts.

The Secretary of Agriculture may also require the packers to "keep

such accounts, records and memoranda as will fully and correctly disclose all transactions in their business, including the ownership of such business by stockholding or otherwise."

From the prohibitions listed, taken in connection with the last-mentioned provision, it would appear that Congress has placed the meat packers in a straitjacket of inflexible material. "Teeth" are put into the law by the following penalties: For violation of the terms of the act packers or their agents will be liable to a fine of from \$1,000 to \$10,000 or may be sent to prison for terms ranging from one year to five years, according to the seriousness of the infraction. The privilege is given to the packers, as to the stockyard men, to appeal to the United States courts against such penalties imposed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

As for the stockyard men, the law requires all owners, live-stock dealers and commission merchants to register with the Secretary of Agriculture, file their price schedules and change those schedules to conform with the decree of the Secretary in case he finds them unreasonable. The stockyard owners and others are also required to keep their accounts in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture so as to disclose all their transactions and the ownership of their business.

With regard to his policy in administering the law, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace says:

The power placed in the hands of the supervising agency is very great, and could be used to cause much annoyance and unnecessary expense to those who come under the law. I am all the more conscious of this because, for the time being, I happen to be the one who is charged with this responsibility. Therefore, I wish to make it perfectly clear that without prejudice of any kind my whole effort will be to administer this law in a constructive way, and with the purpose of promoting the live-stock and meat industry and safeguarding the legitimate interests of every one connected with it. There will be no arbitrary or offensive exercise of power. There will be no interference with the free operation of legitimate business nor imposition of burdensome and unnecessary rules and regulations. Discretionary powers will be

used fairly and with due regard to all concerned.

THE FUTURES TRADING ACT

Confident that in the enactment of the Packers and Stockyards act a definite step had been taken toward securing a square deal for all concerned in the marketing of live stock and meat products, the agrarian bloc in Congress turned its attention to remedying certain long-standing evils in the handling of grain. The result of these activities was the Futures Trading act, designed to prevent speculation and gambling in grain, which the law defines as including wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, flax and sorghum.

Gambling in grain may be quite accurately described as betting that the price will go up or down within certain dates. It usually takes the form of "trading in futures," which means that the grain gamblers sell millions and millions of bushels of grain which they contract to "deliver" on some future date. The grain, however, is not delivered. The "selling" gambler does not intend to deliver it; the "buying" gambler does not intend to insist on its delivery; both settle in cash the difference between the delivery price and the market price on the delivery date.

Under this gambling régime the staple grain crops are sold over and over again. The 1920 corn crop of 3,000,000,000 bushels was sold three times over before a bushel of it reached the market. Most of the sales were "paper" sales by the grain gamblers. The grain growers contend that this gambling forces down the producer's price and forces up the price to the consumer.

The Futures Trading act undertakes to abolish this whole system of grain gambling by imposing a tax of 20 cents on every bushel involved in transactions known as "puts" and "calls," and on all contracts for future delivery except where the sellers are the actual owners or growers of the grain. "Puts" and "calls" are contracts giving one the right to

deliver or call for the delivery of certain amounts of grain at a fixed price and time. In actual practice the grain is rarely delivered on these contracts. The contracts are merely bets on the price. The new law proposes to destroy this sort of gambling by taxing the transaction.

Friends of the law admit that it will not destroy all gambling in grain; to a certain extent its action will be defeated by the persistence of what is called the "hedge" in legitimate marketing as well as in gambling. The "hedge" is a sort of insurance against price fluctuation in grain bought and sold for future delivery. A grain buyer is buying wheat from the farmers during the harvest. He knows that tomorrow he will buy in the neighborhood of 20,000 bushels. Wheat on the Minneapolis wheat exchange is selling for \$1.50. He instructs his broker in Minneapolis to sell 20,000 bushels at or near that price for delivery on some future date. This is "selling a future," but it is protected by the present law as a legitimate part of grain marketing. In the Congressional investigations preceding the enactment of the Futures Trading act it appeared that many grain buyers, millers and exporters make use of this "hedge" in the actual handling of grain. But the same device is used by the speculators. The grain marketing experts who appeared before the Congressional committees were unable to devise legislation under the present marketing system which would abolish the "hedge" as a gambling device and at the same time permit its use in legitimate grain marketing.

EFFECT OF THE LAW

The law as enacted undertakes to destroy manipulation of grain prices and to minimize grain gambling. It compels Boards of Trade and Grain Exchanges to make proper rules to prevent unfair practices, abolishes

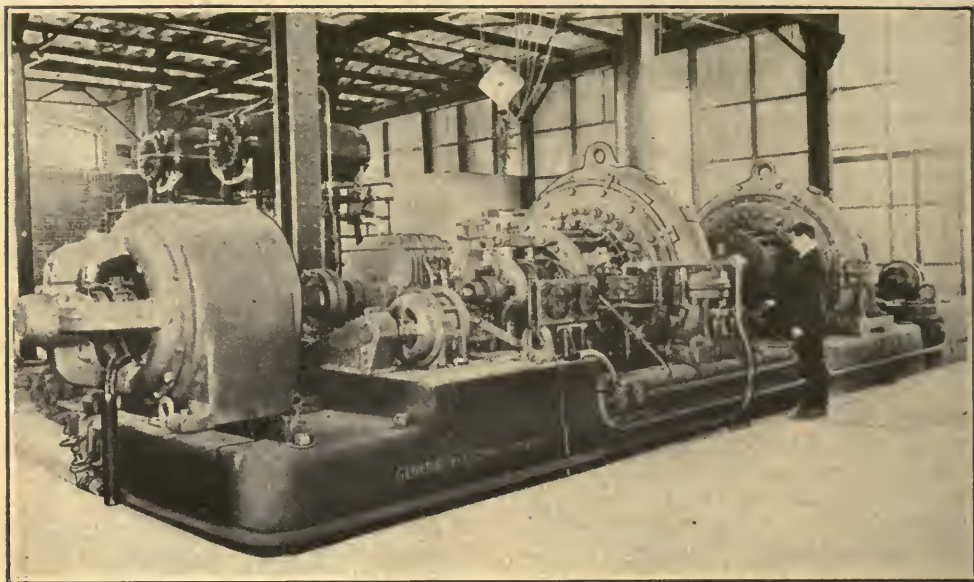
the so-called "bucket shops," compels exchanges and brokers to keep proper accounts, undertakes to prevent the dissemination of false market reports and makes it mandatory for the Grain Exchanges to admit to their membership co-operative associations of grain producers, who have hitherto been barred.

When Boards of Trade and Grain Exchanges live up to the provisions of the Futures Trading act and the administrative regulations imposed, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to designate them as "contract markets." These organizations then receive exemption from the tax of 20 cents a bushel on contracts for future delivery.*

Among the things made mandatory on Boards of Trade to qualify for this exemption are these: That they prevent the "dissemination by the board or any member thereof of false, misleading or inaccurate reports concerning crop or market information or conditions that affect or tend to affect the price of commodities," and, further, that they "prevent the manipulation of prices or the cornering of any grain by the dealers or operators upon such board."

It has taken twenty-five years to write this prohibitory legislation into the Federal statute law. The grain growers are confident that this entering wedge will be driven deeper and deeper, until poker playing with the nation's grain resources is completely stopped. The live-stock producers are equally hopeful that the new legislation will defend the American people against the machinations of monopolistic packing industries.

*Suits have been instituted at Chicago in the United States District Court to test the constitutionality of both the Packers and Stockyards act and the Futures Trading act. Pending a decision, the Supreme Court has instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to designate the Chicago Board of Trade as a "contract market" and has suspended the collection of the 20 cents a bushel fine imposed by the law until the litigation is ended. Otherwise the enforcement of both laws throughout the country is now in operation, Congress having made the necessary appropriation in the Emergency Deficiency bill.



Powerful Alexanderson alternators, the machines of the radio central, which generate the current that conveys telegraph or telephone messages to amazing distances.

THE LONG ARM OF RADIO

BY RAYMOND FRANCIS YATES

Wonders of recent wireless inventions which make it possible to telephone across the Atlantic and to telegraph around the world—How 300,000 amateurs are getting musical programs out of the air every day

TWENTY years ago radio was a plaything of scientists. Today, 15 per cent. of international communication is carried on by means of ethereal impulses. The last three years have brought tremendous progress—progress so rapid, indeed, that the man in the street does not have even an inkling of its far-reaching character.

As to the "how" of the new science: We all have a more or less hazy idea that radio waves are formed by a disturbance of the ether. When one throws a stone into a quiet pool of water there is a splash, and waves

radiate from it in all directions. We might look upon a radio transmitting station as being an instrument that sets up splashes in the ether. These splashes produce waves, which travel in all directions, and which can be picked up by suitable apparatus and transformed back into electric currents that are made audible in head 'phones. If the transmitting station has a range of 3,000 miles, this means that every receiving station within that distance will be able to receive the message sent forth. It is convenient to think of the ether as an all-pervading substance; in fact, it would

be well, as a matter of analogy, to look upon the world as a sponge soaked in ether. This brief explanation should be sufficient to relieve the reader of the mistaken idea that radio messages are made up of visible flashes from the transmitting antenna.

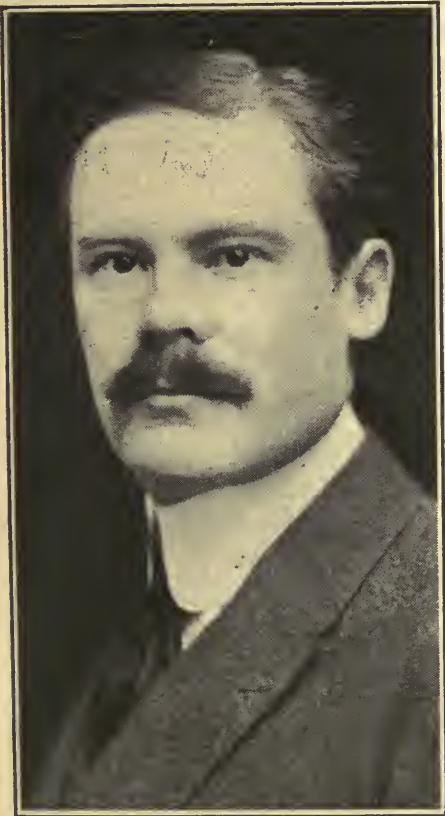
Intensive radio development took place during the war, and progress that would otherwise have taken ten years was crowded into three. Radio history was made rapidly.

It is gratifying to know that America has taken the lead in the development of radio telegraphy. There was recently opened at Rocky Point, Long Island, a powerful radio station designed to make New York the focal point of radio-telegraphic communication throughout the world. This pow-

erful transmitter, the aerials of which are supported by no less than seventy-two 410-foot steel towers, and spread over a space of ten square miles, will enable this country to communicate with six foreign nations simultaneously. Besides this we have several other transatlantic stations and one transpacific station.

Modern transoceanic radio telegraphy is carried on in a way somewhat different from that of a few years ago. What is known as a remote control system has come into vogue. The big transatlantic stations at New Brunswick and Rocky Point are attended to only by engineers and mechanics, who see that the apparatus is kept in condition. The operators for these stations are located at a central point on Broad Street, New York City. Here the transatlantic transmission and reception are controlled. When the transmitting operator presses a small telegraphic key on his desk at the Broad Street control room, the impulse is carried by wire to the switchboards of the big stations. Here the comparatively feeble current controlled by the key passes into what is known as a relay. This relay can be looked upon as another key which controls a still heavier current, and this heavier current in turn controls a still stronger relay. The last relay controls the powerful, high-frequency electric currents that are produced by the Alexanderson alternators. The Alexanderson alternators are really electric generators, or dynamos, so to speak, which produce alternating current that oscillates back and forth many thousands of times a second. When the operator at Broad Street presses his key, 3,000-horsepower of electrical energy is released by the aerial system as a stream of electromagnetic waves in the all-pervading ether.

The transatlantic receiving stations are located from twenty-five to forty miles from the transmitter. The purpose of this is to prevent interference, so that receiving and transmitting can be carried on simul-



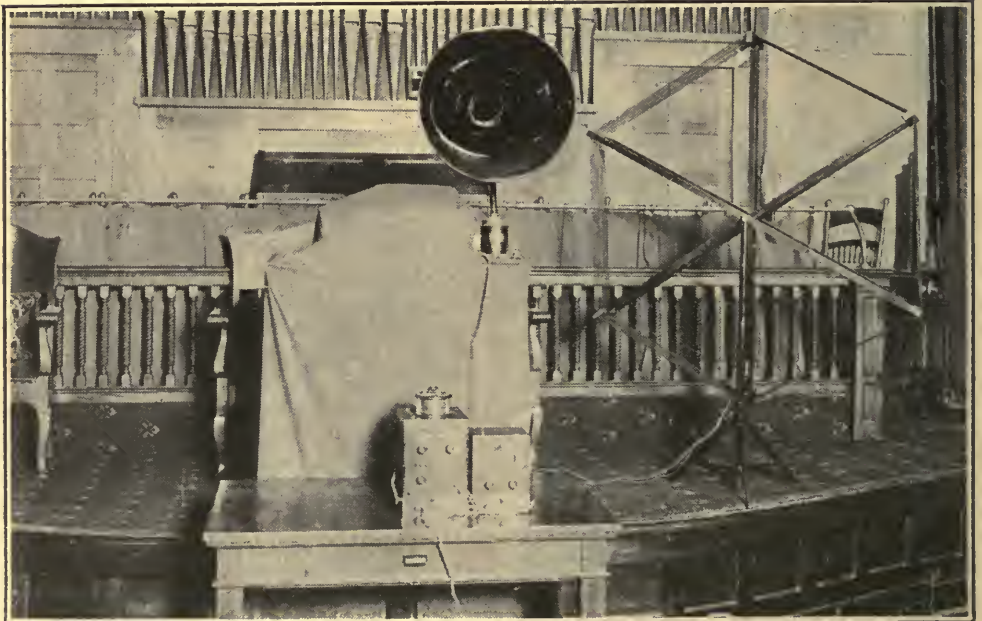
E. F. W. ALEXANDERSON

Consulting engineer of the General Electric Company, whose invention of the high-frequency alternator has made it possible to send wireless messages around the earth.



(Radio Corporation of America.)

Transatlantic operating room in New York City, where wireless messages are sent to and received from all parts of Europe by expert operators. The plant that furnishes the current is thirty or forty miles away



By means of this apparatus in a Pittsburgh church, the congregation listened to a preacher in another city, whose voice was transmitted perfectly through the horn-shaped "loud speaker" above the pulpit, by means of the kite-shaped antenna at the right.

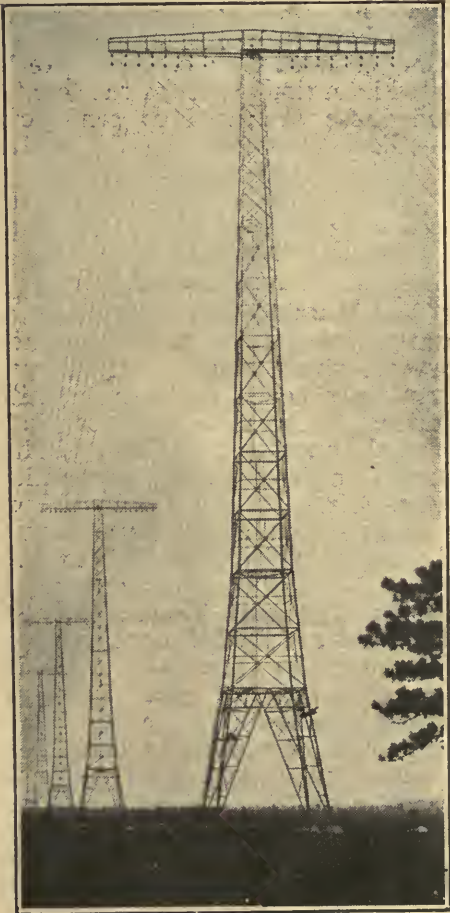
taneously. The receiving arm of the New Brunswick (N. J.) station is on Long Island. Here the transatlantic messages are detected by an experienced radio man, and after amplification the messages are placed on land wires and carried to the Broad Street office in lower Manhattan, where they are either read in the form of dots and dashes or registered on a fast-moving tape at the rate of from sixty to one hundred words a minute. Rapid transmission is possible by the use of a perforated tape, which is run through an automatic sender. This method of sending is gradually replacing the use of the hand key.

The business interests of the

United States are rapidly finding a place for radio. The Ford interests now have an interplant system, and many other large manufacturers, including the B. F. Goodrich Company, have come to realize that radio can be of use to them. Many of the power companies located in the mountain passes of the West keep in touch with their home offices by radio telegraphy, and large contractors who have construction work in isolated places manage to communicate with their home offices by radiophone. Newspapers are using radio. The New York Times now receives much of its transatlantic news by radio telegraphy. The messages are first recorded directly upon a phonographic cylinder at high speed and read off later. The New York Stock Exchange has been experimenting with radio, and radio communication between cities is now an established thing.

The night of Dec. 7, 1921, marked a new era in amateur wireless work, for on that and succeeding nights more than a score of American and Canadian amateur operators first realized their ambition of "getting across" the Atlantic. Though the law limits amateurs to comparatively short wave lengths, some of their messages during that historic test covered the 3,000 miles of ocean and were accurately recorded at an amateur receiving station in Scotland.

Toward the end of 1921 a photograph of President Harding was flashed across the Atlantic Ocean from Annapolis to Paris in twenty minutes. This feat was achieved with an ingenious apparatus invented by Edouard Bélin. The picture, of course, was not transmitted in material form, but was translated into radio-telegraphic impulses, which were recorded on the distant apparatus. The work done along this line opens up a new field. Within a few years we shall probably be transmitting important news pictures over great distances, and then how easy it will be even to sign checks and im-



A few of the seventy-two towers, each 410 feet high, which constitute the new and powerful central radio station near Port Jefferson, L. I.

portant papers through the ether! In fact, a signature sent by this method has already been recognized as legal in France. The possibility of criminal detection is also interesting in this connection. A criminal's likeness can be sent broadcast to any part of the country within the space of a few minutes.

Wireless telephone apparatus has reached a point of perfection that enables it now to be applied to commercial affairs. The human voice has been wafted across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In the not far distant future we shall be able to pick the telephone receiver off the hook and ask central to connect us by radiophone with any telephone subscriber in Europe or any vessel on the ocean. It will not require a very complicated system. The operator will simply connect us by wire with a radio telephone transmitting and receiving station. When we speak into the transmitter in our home it will be like speaking into the transmitter of the radio telephone station, though the station may be a good many miles away. One's voice will be sent forth across the sea by this radio telephone station, and on the other side it will be picked up and sent again into a land wire, through the telephone exchange, and on to the person with whom one wishes to talk. The gap is simply filled by radio telephony. Within ten years it will probably be a common thing for a person to be called to the telephone on a transatlantic liner to speak with his home or office.

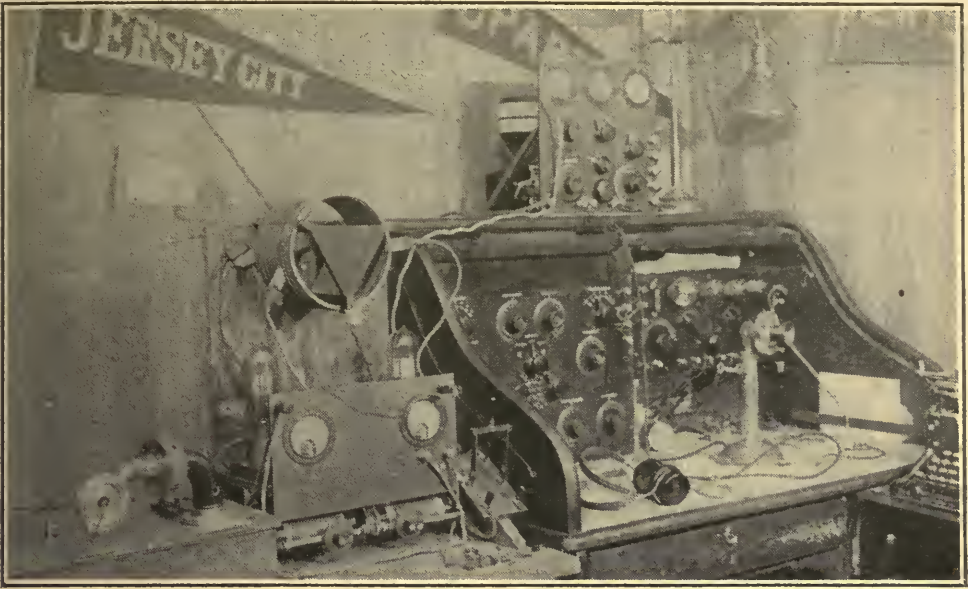
This system is in use today on a small scale between the Catalina Islands and the City of Los Angeles. A Los Angeles telephone subscriber, or any subscriber in the United States, for that matter, can call a person located on the Catalina Islands, which are off the coast of California. The intervening space has been covered by radio telephone for the last two years.

The use of radio in safeguarding sea travel has increased in the last

three years through the development and application of what is known as the radio compass. With this apparatus the captain of a vessel approaching a harbor in a fog can learn his exact bearings within five minutes. Several small "direction-finding" stations are located at different points. These stations are able to determine the exact direction of a sending station. They find the direction from which the ship's message is coming, and make their report to a central station; there the exact position of the vessel is computed, and the report is then sent to the captain of the inquiring vessel.

The United States Department of Agriculture recently inaugurated a radio farm service, which has proved to be both practical and profitable. Nine broadcasting stations are located in various parts of the country, and these are used to send forth weather and market reports, together with other information of value to tillers of the soil. With an outfit that need not cost over \$25 a farmer can "listen in" and take advantage of this valuable information.

The Westinghouse Company recently started a radio telephone broadcasting system which will eventually cover the entire United States. At present radiophone stations are operating in Newark, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Springfield, Mass. A musical and educational program is sent out daily. With an outfit ranging in price from \$25 to \$100, this music and speechmaking can be heard in any home. No unsightly outside wires are needed, nor is a knowledge of radio essential. Radio has reached a point of great popularity among amateurs in cities where radiophone service is in use. Thousands of outfits have been sold in the last few months. In fact, it is estimated that there are no less than 300,000 privately owned receiving stations in this country. In Newark, for instance, it is quite a common thing for Mrs. Jones to take her cretonne-covered phones along when she



A typical but elaborate amateur installation of wireless telephone apparatus, by which any one can hear the music and news sent broadcast through the air every evening.

goes to call on Mrs. Smith. She plugs her phones in on her hostess's receiving equipment, and they listen to the radio concerts while knitting and sewing. This service is so complete that the final number on the program consists of bedtime stories for the children.

Radiophone receiving outfits are now fighting for their place beside the phonograph. In fact, an enterprising manufacturer has already brought out a receiving equipment that greatly resembles a phonograph cabinet. By the use of a loud-speaking and amplifying apparatus the music or voice is made available for the entire household without the use of phones.*

Although the United States has taken the lead in the development and application of radio telegraphy,

England, France, Germany and Japan are by no means overlooking the value of this kind of communication. England has already started to carry out an ambitious plan which will give her an "All Red Chain" of wireless stations throughout the world. Japan recently completed the erection of a powerful transmitter which places her in direct touch with points as far distant as the United States. Germany's powerful Nauen station represents the latest advances in the art and keeps her in constant touch with the commercial activities of America. Many German brokers have small radio receivers in their offices, so that the information received at Nauen can be made instantly available for use. France has provided herself with a number of efficient radio stations for world-wide communication, and the Scandinavian Peninsula is in direct touch with America through the use of a newly erected station. Poland is now building a transatlantic station, which will enable her to avoid the cables in her communication with America. The radio era is here.

*The Department of Commerce on Feb. 3, 1922, issued a temporary order forbidding amateur radio sending stations to broadcast addresses and music until some system could be worked out for preventing the "interference" of these stations with other wireless activities. The boom in amateur work of this kind is thus checked for a time, but there is already a loud cry of protest. It is estimated that there are more than 14,000 amateur radio sending stations scattered over the country.—EDITOR.

FINAL FRUITS OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

Proceedings of the last sessions, in which the labors of twelve weeks were crystallized in five epoch-making treaties—Limits set on the world's great navies, and on submarines and poison gas—Shantung controversy settled and the open door assured in China

THE Conference on the Limitation of Armament, which had opened its sessions on Nov. 12, 1921, came formally to an end on the morning of Feb. 6, 1922, after the signing of five important treaties resulting from almost three months' incessant labors. The final session was marked by a valedictory address by President Harding, who had called the conference, and who declared that it had written "the first deliberate and effective expression of great powers, in the consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility."

Its greatest achievement was the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty, by which the perilous competition in naval armament between the great powers, notably the United States, Great Britain and Japan, and, secondarily, France and Italy, was definitely ended for at least the next decade. Next in importance was the signing of a five-power treaty prohibiting the use of the submarine against merchant shipping, and also the use of poison gas as an instrument of warfare. The Four-Power Pacific Treaty, which was signed early in December, was also momentous, in that it replaced and did away with the Anglo-Japanese treaty, which had alienated both the United States and China and had generally aroused suspicion of British policy in the Far East.

By the first of these main treaties the conference took a long stride toward its fundamental aim—the lifting of the world's gigantic burden of armament. By the second and third

it decreed the elimination of especially atrocious weapons developed in the World War, and the causes of suspicion and alienation produced by Britain's alliance with Japan. But the conference went still further: it boldly faced the colossal problem created by the situation in China and took effective action to do away with conditions which bore in them the seed of future wars.

Among its accomplishments in this field were the signing of the Open Door and Tariff Treaties. Under the first of these, the whole nine powers bound themselves to refrain from seeking any unfair or special privileges in China and to aid China to regain her sovereignty; a special permanent Board of Reference, furthermore, was created in Peking to maintain the open-door principle and to study and report on all disputes and controversies in that connection. Under the Tariff Treaty, the effective customs revenues of China were raised to 5 per cent. and special surtaxes were provided for to increase the financial resources of China's depleted Treasury.

Important resolutions were also passed with a view to correcting many abuses and injustices at foreign hands, of which China had been for many years the victim. Measures were adopted for the eventual elimination of extraterritorial rights; foreign Post Offices were made subject to removal within a year; resolutions for the taking over by China of foreign radio stations were passed;

all the powers pledged themselves to withdraw their military or police forces under a procedure to be determined by a mutual Chinese and foreign commission; China and all powers operating railroads in Chinese territory pledged themselves against unjust discrimination in rates, and the conference went on record as favoring the eventual unification of all Chinese railways under China's own control. All treaties, secret or otherwise, concluded by any of the powers with China or in respect to China were made subject to full publication and listing—a provision considered of the highest importance alike for the maintenance of the open door and for the prevention of mutual suspicion among the powers themselves.

Last, but not least, the long-standing and dangerous dispute between China and Japan over Shantung was finally settled on Feb. 4 by a treaty concluded under the auspices of the conference. The settlement of this controversy through the conference, if not directly by it, was considered by all as one of the most vital of its achievements.

Besides many general agreements to "consult" among themselves when troublesome questions arise, the conference powers as a Committee of the Whole set up a number of commissions qualified to deal with specific problems. Nine such commissions, conferences or boards were established, namely:

1. A five-power conference (created by the naval limitation treaty), to meet eight years hence to discuss the question of naval armament anew.
2. A five-power commission to revise the rules of warfare in the light of the World War.
3. A board of reference to consider economic and railway questions in China—what may be called the Open Door Commission.
4. A nine-power commission on "extra-territoriality" rights in China.
5. A special conference to prepare the way for Chinese tariff revision.
6. A separate commission to revise the existing Chinese tariff.
7. A conference of Chinese officials and foreign diplomats at Peking, to meet subject to China's request, in order to determine the procedure under which foreign

military or police troops shall be withdrawn from China.

8. A conference of the managers of foreign wireless stations in China and the Chinese Communications Minister, to work out the details of radio regulation.

9. A joint Sino-Japanese Shantung Commission to determine the procedure under which Japan shall restore Kiao-Chau and Shantung rights to China.

The results listed above were the concrete achievements. Action of various kinds was taken in many other directions. In cases like that of land armament and auxiliary craft limitation, as well as the twenty-one demands and the Japanese occupation of Siberia, the conference, guided wholly by the necessity of complete unanimity, had to limit itself to what was possible. All in all, its delegates adjourned with a sense of success achieved. Eloquent was the fact that both the Chinese and Japanese delegations issued statements expressing their appreciation of its work, and that Hsu Shih-chang, the President of China, sent a special message of thanks and appreciation to President Harding when the conference closed. President Harding himself, in his farewell address of Feb. 6, called the work of the conference "a truly great achievement, the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress."

PRESIDENT HARDING'S ADDRESS

The President's address of Feb. 6 summarizing the results of the conference was in full as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference: Nearly three months ago it was my privilege to utter to you sincerest words of welcome to the Capital of our Republic, to suggest the spirit in which you were invited, and to intimate the atmosphere in which you were asked to confer. In a very general way, perhaps, I ventured to express a hope for the things toward which our aspirations led us.

Today it is my greater privilege, and even greater pleasure, to come to make acknowledgment. It is one of the supreme compensations of life to contemplate a worth-while accomplishment.

It cannot be other than seemly for me, as the only chief of government so circumstanced as to be able to address the conference, to speak congratulations and to offer the thanks of our nation, our people; perhaps I dare volunteer to utter them for

the world. My own gratification is beyond my capacity to express.

This conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say, with every confidence, that the faith plighted here today, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress.

Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world? Gathered about this table nine great nations of the earth—not all to be sure, but those most directly concerned with the problems at hand—have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril. In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world, without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or affronted national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity, and today's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished. If the world has hungered for new assurance, it may feast at the banquet which the conference has spread.

I am sure the people of the United States are supremely gratified, and yet there is scant appreciation of how marvelously you have wrought. When the days were dragging and agreements were delayed, when there were obstacles within and hindrances without, few stopped to realize that here was a conference of sovereign powers where only unanimous agreement could be made the rule. Majorities could not decide without impinging on national rights. There were no victors to command, no vanquished to yield. All had voluntarily to agree in translating the conscience of our civilization and give concrete expression to world opinion.

And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties, and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn, and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

It is not pretended that the pursuit of peace and the limitations of armament are new conceits, or that the conference is a new conception either in settlement of war or in writing the conscience of international relationship.

Indeed, it is not new to have met in the realization of war's supreme penalties. The Hague conventions are examples of the one, the conferences of Vienna, of Berlin, of Versailles, are outstanding instances of the other.

The Hague conventions were defeated by the antagonism of one strong power whose indisposition to co-operate and sustain led it to one of the supreme tragedies which have come to national eminence. Vienna

and Berlin sought peace founded on the injustices of war, and sowed the seeds of future conflict, and hatred was armed where conference was stifled.

It is fair to say that human progress, the growing intimacy of international relationship, developed by communication and transportation, attended by a directing world opinion, have set the stage more favorably here. You have met in that calm deliberation and that determined resolution which have made a just peace, in righteous relationship, its own best guarantee.

It has been the fortune of this conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace. Too often heretofore the decades following such gatherings have been marked by the difficult undoing of their decisions. But your achievement is supreme, because no seed of conflict has been sown, no reaction in regret or resentment ever can justify resort to arms.

It little matters what we appraise as the outstanding accomplishment. Any one of them alone would have justified the conference. But the whole achievement has so cleared the atmosphere that it will seem like breathing the refreshing air of a new morn of promise.

WHAT HAS BEEN WROUGHT

You have written the first deliberate and effective expression of great powers, in consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility, and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction. You have halted folly and lifted burdens and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of enlightened civilization.

I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better serviced in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

How simple it all has been! When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation, except that which each delegation owed to the Government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling, and world opinion directing.

No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other

to common understanding has made new relationships among Governments and peoples, new securities for peace, and new opportunities for achievement and attending happiness.

Here have been established the contacts of reason, here have come the inevitable understandings of face-to-face exchanges when passion does not inflame. The very atmosphere shamed national selfishness into retreat. Viewpoints were exchanged, differences composed and you came to understand how common, after all, are human aspirations; how alike, indeed, and how easily reconcilable are our national aspirations; how sane and simple and satisfying to seek the relationships of peace and security.

When you first met I told you of our America's thought to see less of armament and none of war; that we sought nothing which is another's, and we were unafraid, but that we wished to join you in doing that finer and nobler thing which no nation can do alone. We rejoice in that accomplishment. It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, but I do not believe it.

Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strengthened by the new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction.

POINTS TO FUTURE CONFERENCES.

Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace today, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted, and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

Again, gentlemen of the conference, congratulations and the gratitude of the United States. To Belgium, to the British Empire, to China, to France, to Italy, to Japan, to the Netherlands and to Portugal, I can wish no more than the same feeling which we experience, of honorable and honored contribution to happy human advancement and a new sense of security in the righteous pursuits of peace and all attending good fortune.

From our own delegates I have known from time to time of your activities and of the spirit of conciliation and of adjustment and the cheering readiness of all of you to strive for that unanimity so essential to accomplishment. Without it there would have been failure. With it you have heartened the world.

And I know our guests will pardon me while I make grateful acknowledgment to the American delegation—to you, Mr. Secretary Hughes; to you, Senator Lodge; to you, Senator Underwood; to you, Mr. Root

—to all of you for your able and splendid and highly purposed and untiring endeavors in behalf of our Government and our people; and to our excellent Advisory Committee which gave to you so dependable a reflex of that American public opinion which charts the course of this Republic.

It is all so fine, so gratifying, so reassuringly full of promise, that above the murmurings of a world sorrow not yet silenced; above the groans which come of excessive burdens not yet lifted, but now to be lightened; above the discouragements of a world yet struggling to find itself after surpassing upheaval, there is the note of rejoicing, which is not alone ours or yours or of all of us, but comes from the hearts of men of all the world.

THE LAST WEEKS' SESSIONS

Three sessions of the Far Eastern Committee—Jan. 16, 17 and 18—were devoted to discussing the "open door" in China, the policy first defined by Secretary Hay in 1908, accepted by all the powers throughout the last twenty years, and variously confirmed by the American Government in recent times. The subject first came up at the session of Jan. 16, with which the record virtually closed in January CURRENT HISTORY.

At that session Secretary Hughes presented a series of four resolutions, restating the open-door principle and providing for a permanent commission of jurists in China, empowered to maintain it and to investigate and decide on all questions in connection with it. In the debate that followed, it soon became evident that both France and Japan were opposed to Mr. Hughes's fourth resolution, which opened the possibility that existing concessions might be referred to this permanent commission. The first three resolutions were finally adopted on Jan. 18, with only one slight modification; the fourth was omitted. The text of the three resolutions, as finally passed, was as follows:

I. With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the open door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the powers other than China represented at this conference agree:

(a) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their

interests any general superiority of right with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) Not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking any such monopoly or preferences as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any local authority* in any category or public enterprise which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that this agreement is not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

II. The Chinese Government takes note of the above agreement and declares its intention of being guided by the same principles in dealing with applications for economic right and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries whether parties to that agreement or not.

III. The powers, including China, represented at this conference agree in principle to the establishment in China of a Board of Reference to which any question arising on the above agreement and declaration may be referred for investigation and report. (A detailed scheme for the constitution of the board shall be framed by the special conference referred to in Article I. of the convention on Chinese customs duties.)

SECRETARY HUGHES'S PROPOSALS

All the powers, said Secretary Hughes in bringing up the resolutions, were in agreement regarding the desirability of maintaining this principle. Long discussions on the question of concessions or preferential economic privileges—the next item on the agenda—might be avoided, he said, if the conference would adopt “a statement of principle in amplification of the so-called open-door principle.” It was obvious, he added, that to grant to any one power special concessions of a monopolistic or preferential character was in opposition to the open-door principle. He then presented a draft resolution pledging the conference powers not to seek or to support their nationals in seeking such monopo-

listic or preferential rights, with the exception only of the acquisition of properties or rights necessary to the conduct of a particular undertaking. (Later interpreted by Mr. Balfour as referring to railroads, telephones, telegraph systems, &c.)

Sir Auckland Geddes and Mr. Balfour, in the ensuing discussion, took the stand that the resolution proposed was inadequate, in that it did not provide machinery to settle the inevitable disputes of interpretation that would arise from the exception laid down. These objections were carefully weighed by Secretary Hughes, and at the opening of the next session, Jan. 17, he presented his resolutions in a new and amended form, the text of which was that finally adopted. Resolution IV., which was eventually omitted, read as follows:

IV. The powers, including China, represented at this conference agree that any provisions of an existing concession which appear inconsistent with those of another concession or with the principles of the above agreement or declaration may be submitted by the parties concerned to the Board of Reference when established for the purpose of endeavoring to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment on equitable terms.

After reading all four resolutions Secretary Hughes explained that Article I. was intended to define, with as much precision as the subject allowed, the accepted understanding of what the open-door principle really is; it could not provide for all contingencies nor even attempt to state them. Article III., he said, set up machinery for resolving all questions in a sane and practical way; the permanent board it constituted would have no power to make decisions or to interfere in any way with the freedom and sovereignty of any State, but would be charged only with the duty of investigation and report; by mere elucidation of the facts, it would undoubtedly aid in finding a solution of any controversy. As for Article IV., that provided for inquiry and report and effects a readjustment where there existed conflicting claims.

*In the draft as originally proposed, the text read “any Provincial Government.”

INSUPERABLE OPPOSITION

This last article became the storm centre of the debate, implying as it did a retroactive construction for the revision of already existing concessions. So unexpected was this proposal that when Secretary Hughes completed his explanations there was an embarrassing interim of silence. This was finally broken by Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, who rose to ask further explanation of Article I. Secretary Hughes replied that Paragraphs (a) and (b) of this article, though consistent and even complementary, were different in scope: (a) related to a general superiority of rights in the development of designated regions (i. e., spheres of influence); (b) to particular concessions of a monopolistic or preferential character, which excluded other nations from undertakings either alone or in co-operation with the Chinese Government, and thus infringed the open-door principle.

Senator Schanzer was satisfied, and the Italian delegation accepted the American proposal. Sir Auckland Geddes voiced a similar assent for the British Empire delegation. Albert Sarraut, however, head of the French delegation, found objections. First of all, he wished to know if it was intended to make the revision power of the permanent board retroactive. Secretary Hughes replied that this was the intention, but emphasized the fact that the board was a purely advisory one, and that no power would be bound by its decisions. M. Sarraut then said that he agreed to all the resolution except Article IV., through which he thought the way might be opened to abuses through bad faith. Secretary Hughes assured him that his observations would receive due consideration. He had not, he admitted, expected any objection to Article IV., which merely set up machinery for the settlement of disputes over concessions now existing in China. M. Sarraut replied that the principle of

retroactivity had not been generally accepted at international conferences, and that he did not believe it wise to adopt the principle that existing contracts could be made subject to revision. Baron Shidehara for Japan declared himself in agreement with the general principles of the resolution, but wished more time to study it before any decisive action was taken.

At the next session, Jan. 18, the debate on the American proposals was resumed. Baron Shidehara asked how the proposed Board of Reference would be set up and composed. Under Article III. of the resolution this board was to be constituted by the special appointees on Chinese customs duties. Judging from the nature of the questions to be dealt with, the nine nations represented would have to appoint some of their ablest jurists, who would have to remain permanently in China or would have to be sent there whenever they were needed. The question arose, said Baron Shidehara, whether jurists of this calibre could be spared; there was also the consideration of expense for the maintenance of such a board. Sir Auckland Geddes rose to say that, so far as Great Britain was concerned, he thought his country could utilize the services of eminent British jurists already resident in Hongkong or Shanghai. He believed the other nations could solve the problem in a similar way. Before sitting down he asked the Chairman whether the resolution would affect the activities of the international consortium. Secretary Hughes replied that it was not so intended.

Baron Shidehara then pointed out that the resolutions embodied an entirely new definition of the open-door policy, differing from that first laid down by Secretary Hay in 1908; it seemed natural, therefore, he said, that this new definition should not have any retroactive force, for fear it should affect private parties unfairly. He proposed to substitute in Article IV. the words "of a concession which may hereafter be granted by

China," instead of the former wording, "an existing concession."

DEFEAT OF ARTICLE IV.

Secretary Hughes, to controvert Baron Shidehara's view that the amplification of the Hay open-door doctrine was new, read several international documents. The first of these was the communication of Ambassador Choate to Lord Salisbury in 1899, saying that the United States did not admit the right of any country to hold positions in China which interfered with the rights of American nationals. Subsequent statements were read by Secretary Hughes from the British, French and Italian Governments recognizing the American stand; then the restatement by Secretary Hay in 1900, in notes to the six powers holding leases in China, and finally the declaration by Great Britain and Germany in 1900 recognizing the principle. He also read the assent of various other Governments, including the American note to the Japanese Government in 1908, outlining the policy toward China, and ending with a sketch of the Root-Takahira correspondence.

In the light of all these confirmations, said Secretary Hughes, he could not agree that the restatement embodied in his resolutions contained anything new. It was rather a more precise and definite statement of a principle long admitted and to which the Governments had given their unqualified adherence for twenty years.

The first suggestion to eliminate the contentious Article IV. came from Sir Robert Borden, Canadian representative on the British Empire delegation. If this article were omitted, he pointed out, it would still be open for the powers, if they saw fit, to give consent to the determination or investigation of any relevant question by the Board of Reference to be established under Article III. Mr. Alfred Sze, speaking for China, thanked the delegates for their zeal on behalf of the open-door

principle, and made it plain that his delegation wished Article IV. to remain. When Mr. Hughes asked for opinions, Baron Shidehara veered from his former position in favor of emendation of Article IV., and said that Japan approved the suggestion of Sir Robert Borden in favor of its elimination. The French delegation also supported this. Senator Schanzer for Italy hesitated to express his view until he knew that of the American delegation. Secretary Hughes then said that in view of the prevailing attitude it would perhaps be best to omit Article IV. He put the remaining three articles to the vote, and they were adopted by all, the Chinese only making the reservation that they would be free to bring up Article IV. on a subsequent occasion.

Baron Shidehara made a statement urging China to open her doors fully to foreign capital and to foreign trade and enterprise. He referred to the important statement made by Mr. Sze at the meeting of Nov. 16, declaring that China wished to make her vast natural resources available to all people that needed them. He hoped that China would formulate a policy in favor of extending to foreigners, as far as possible, the opportunity of co-operation in the development and utilization of these resources. The rest of the session was taken up with discussion of Chinese railways.

RESOLUTIONS ON RAILROADS

The discussion which began at this point in the session of Jan. 18 resulted the next day in the adoption of two important resolutions on China's railways, and the commitment of the whole subject, including specifically the Chinese Eastern Railway, to a subcommittee for study. Secretary Hughes began it by stressing the extreme complexity of the question, especially in relation to the Chinese Eastern Railway. The United States, he declared, had no interest whatsoever in the ownership of this important line, and no desire to secure control; it wished only to

do all in its power to promote the proper conduct of the road, as one of the greatest instrumentalities of commerce in the East. He suggested that a subcommittee of experts be appointed, representative of all the nine powers present, "to consider at once whether there was anything that could be done at this conference which would aid in promoting the efficiency of the railroad and its proper management." Mr. Hanihara of the Japanese delegation made the point that not all the nine powers present were interested in the Chinese Eastern Railway. Secretary Hughes, however, held that it was advisable to have the views of as many powers as possible. The recommendation was then unanimously adopted. The personnel of the subcommittee, as announced at the close of the official communique of this session, was as follows:

United States—Dewitt C. Poole, chief of the division of Russian Affairs of the State Department, Chairman.

Belgium—M. Lemaire de Warzee.

British Empire—M. W. Lampson.

China—Dr. Hawklings Yen.

France—M. Kammerer.

Italy—Count Emilio Pagliano.

Japan—Mr. Matsudaira.

Netherlands—Mr. de Kat Engelino.

Portugal—Captain E. de Vasconcellos.

The Chairman called for resolutions on the subject of Chinese railways in general. Sir Auckland Geddes offered one which would commit the Chinese Government to practice no discrimination on any of its railroads. The avenue leading in through that open door which they had just been discussing, he said, was becoming more and more an avenue of railroads. It was in the common interest of all countries that there should be equality of treatment. He offered his resolution from this viewpoint. Secretary Hughes stressed the importance of adopting a definite stand as to railway operation by China in the future, and he therefore offered an additional resolution declaring that the powers wished to see China enabled as soon as possible to weld her rail-

roads into one unified system. Both resolutions were circulated among the delegations, and after some further debate were adopted with slight modifications at the following session on Jan. 19. The Geddes resolution, as finally passed, was as follows:

The Chinese Government declares that throughout the whole of the railways in China it will not exercise or permit any unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese railways.

The other powers represented at this conference take note of the above declaration and make a corresponding declaration in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

Any question arising under this declaration may be referred by any of the powers concerned to the Board of Reference, when established, for consideration and report.

The resolution for railway unification, as finally adopted, read thus:

The powers represented in this conference record their hope that, to the utmost degree consistent with legitimate existing rights, the future development of railways in China shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of the railways into a railway system under Chinese control, with such foreign financial and technical assistance as may prove necessary in the interests of that system.

In the debate Sir Auckland Geddes voiced the belief of the British Empire delegation that the resolution offered by it "would go far to make the open door a reality." He made it plain that there was no intention to charge China with having practiced discrimination in the past, further suggesting that a regime of absolute fairness and equality in respect to transportation would grow up in China if the Board of Reference created by the conference to maintain the principle of the open

door were also empowered to deal with any alleged cases of railway discrimination. He moved that the resolution presented by him should be incorporated in the convention on the open door. Mr. Sze for China asked and received assurance that there was nothing in the resolution which would impair China's right to classify railroad rates. At the suggestion of Baron Shidehara, the Chairman stated that it was understood that this classification of rates would be made in such a way as to avoid any unfair discrimination. Japan assenting, the resolution was then adopted. The Hughes resolution on unification was similarly adopted after the Chairman had explained that it was indicative of a general policy "to aid in the maintenance of a strong and stable administration in China, and of suitable control of the facilities essential to such an administration and to the prosperity of the people, and that it did not in any way suggest the slightest interference with any legitimate and existing rights."

REDUCING CHINA'S ARMIES

The Far Eastern Committee on Jan. 20 adopted a formal resolution asking the Chinese Government to reduce the forces of the Tuchuns, or military Governors of the Chinese provinces. The conference had made the recommendation that such a resolution be drafted after hearing the report of the subcommittee on the Chinese customs tariff (Jan. 5). Senator Underwood, the Chairman of that subcommittee, had drafted the resolution and presented it at the Jan. 20 session. This is its text as finally adopted:

Whereas the powers attending this conference have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on the public revenue of China through the maintenance in various parts of the country of military forces, excessive in number and controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces without coordination;* and

Whereas the continued maintenance of these forces appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions; and

Whereas it is felt that large and prompt reductions of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development, but will hasten her financial rehabilitation;

Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government, alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade; and being inspired by the spirit of this conference, whose aim is to reduce, through the limitation of armaments, the enormous disbursements which manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity; it is

Resolved, That this conference express to China the earnest hope that immediate and effective steps may be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditures.

THE MILITARY GOVERNORS

Prior to the adoption of the resolution, Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada on the British Empire delegation, spoke at considerable length on the conditions which made such an expression by the conference desirable. The Canadian spokesman, whose concluding words, expressing serene belief in China's future, were deeply appreciated by Mr. Koo and the whole Chinese delegation, spoke in part as follows:

The resolution now presented was inspired by a sincere and earnest desire to aid the purpose of the Chinese people in establishing stable government and in freeing the country from the incubus of excessive militarism. The appointment of Military Governors for the provinces, which was initiated shortly after the inception of the republic by the then President, Yuan Shih-kai, has had an unfortunate effect and operation since his death. The power of these Governors has increased to such an extent that the Central Government at Peking exercises very little control over a large part of the country.

In fact, the Military Governors have become military dictators within their respective provinces or spheres of influence; they recruit and maintain their own armies; they form combinations among themselves and struggle for ascendancy, and at inter-

*The original wording of this first section, as drafted by Senator Underwood, was "through the maintenance of excessive military forces in various parts of the country, most of which are controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces." The new wording was adopted at the suggestion of the Chinese delegation to meet certain difficulties brought up by one of the other delegations.

vals they dictate the personnel and policy of the Central Government.

This system has continued in force for several years, although it is entirely alien to the habits and traditions of the Chinese people. Up to the present there has been an unfortunate lack of such organizing capacity as would establish a strong and stable Central Government and bring the country once more under its effective direction and control. For such a purpose the provision of great revenues or the placing of large funds at the disposal of a weak administration is not of itself effective. So long as the Military Governors retain their present dominating authority and influence, such financial resources would probably be absorbed to a very great extent by these military chiefs, instead of being employed to cut down their power.

Exact accuracy in any statistics of military forces and expenditure in China at the present time cannot be expected; but reasonable estimates place the total number of men under arms at not less than 1,000,000; at least the payroll probably includes that number. It is confidently asserted that more than half of the total revenues of the country are employed in the upkeep of these forces. They have not been raised for the defense of the country against outside aggression; on the contrary, they are really maintained for the purpose of civil war, and when on active service they are fighting against their own countrymen enlisted under the banner of some other military chieftain.

In one province, which is said to be exceptionally well governed by a man who devotes his whole attention to the welfare and prosperity of his district, a considerable military force maintained as a necessity to his prestige is made to do duty in the construction of excellent roads. In that province the progress and advancement of the people are said to be quite remarkable and they give an illustration of what the Chinese people may accomplish under good government.

The forces enlisted under the various military chieftains are said to regard their military duties as entirely occupational, and it is believed that they would be quite ready to accept employment in the construction of railways, highways and otherwise, provided the arrears in their pay were made good. This weakness, and indeed impotency, of the Central Government, so far as a great portion of the country is concerned, must necessarily be a matter of concern to the other powers.

ALL CHINESE TREATIES TO BE REVEALED

Two important resolutions affecting the open-door principle, and making against secret commitments by any power in China, were adopted

by the Far Eastern Committee on Jan. 21, after three days of animated debate. The first of these was presented by Secretary Hughes at the session of Jan. 19, immediately after the adoption of the railway resolutions. His proposals embodied a sweeping demand that all the powers represented in the committee should list and reveal to the conference all treaties with the Chinese Government, as well as treaties concluded by their nationals with China and involving sums greater than \$1,000,000. During the long debate that followed, the original resolutions were considerably modified by amendments. The text of the Hughes resolution, as finally adopted on Jan. 21, read thus:

The powers represented in this conference, considering it desirable that there should hereafter be full publicity with respect to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China and of the several powers in relation to China, are agreed as follows:

I.

The several powers other than China will, at their earliest convenience, file with the Secretariat General of the conference for transmission to the participating powers a list of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes or other international agreements which they may have with China, or with any other power or powers in relation to China, which they deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to rely. In each case citations will be given to any official or other publication in which an authoritative text of the documents may be found. In any case in which the document may not have been published, a copy of the text (in its original language or languages) will be filed with the Secretariat General of the conference.

Every treaty or other international agreement of the character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty days of its conclusion to the powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

II.

The several powers other than China will file with the Secretariat General of the conference at their earliest convenience for transmission to the participating powers a list, as nearly complete as may be possible, of all those contracts between their nationals, of the one part, and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions or local authorities, of the other part, which involve any concession, franchise, option or preference with regard to

railway construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbor works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve a lien upon any of the purviews or properties of the Chinese Government or of any of its administrative subdivisions. There shall be, in the case of each document so listed, either a citation to a published text or a copy of the text itself.

Every contract of the public character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty days after the receipt of information of its conclusion to the powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

III.

The Chinese Government agrees to notify, in the conditions laid down in this agreement, every treaty agreement or contract of the character indicated herein which has been or may hereafter be concluded by that Government or by any local authority in China with any foreign power or the nationals of any foreign power, whether party to this agreement or not, so far as the information is in its possession.

IV.

The Governments of powers having treaty relations with China, which are not represented at the present conference, shall be invited to adhere to this agreement. The United States Government, as convener of the conference, undertakes to communicate this agreement to the Governments of the said powers, with a view to obtaining their adherence thereto as soon as possible.

TEXT OF ROOT RESOLUTION

The second resolution, which was similarly adopted, and virtually as an integral part of the Hughes proposals, was presented by Elihu Root. It bound the signatory powers not to give support to their nationals in respect to spheres of influence, and read as follows:

Resolved, That the signatory powers will not support any agreement by their respective nationals with each other designed to create spheres of influence or to provide for the enjoyment of exclusive opportunity in designated parts of Chinese territory.

Taken together, these two resolu-

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

BLEST BE THE TIE

tions were interpreted as insuring a new era of open dealing and fair play in all matters pertaining to China's economic development. Though all the delegations were in sympathy with the spirit of the original proposals, it was strongly felt by some of them, notably the Japanese, that it was asking too much of the respective Governments to demand that they list and publish all the engagements and contracts made in China by private individuals. Throughout the debate the Japanese clung tenaciously to their view that the Tokio Government, for one, had no power to compel its nationals to divulge details of their commitments in China; this difficulty, it was afterward said by the Japanese delegates, might be covered by the inclusion of the qualifying clause, "as nearly complete as may be possible."

An important amendment was made by omitting a clause that required the powers to list all engage-

[American Cartoon]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

THE MONSTER BRANDED AT LAST

ments of private individuals "on which their respective Governments propose to rely." It was felt by many delegates that this closed the door against Government support in the future for any contract not included in the proposed lists. Another important elimination was made in the case of a clause of the original text providing that all public utility concessions involving an obligation of more than \$1,000,000 silver on the part of the Chinese authorities must be included in the list. This elimination was voted on the strength of the British argument that it would be unfair to compel business interests to divulge the exact amounts involved in their contracts. Another alteration in the original proposals, made at the motion of the Japanese, transferred from the powers to China herself the task of publishing agreements made by the Chinese authorities with the nationals of any of the powers in respect to other than public utilities.

The whole tone of the debate indicated that the delegations were some-

what staggered by the proposal to publish all commitments and treaties in China. Few hopes were entertained of the possibility of completing the task before the end of the conference. Many queries were made, many difficulties pointed out, but Secretary Hughes remained steadfast in his view that no important progress could be made toward solving the tangled situation in China until all the treaties and commitments were exposed to the light of day in one common clearing house. The Chinese, naturally, hailed the resolutions enthusiastically from the start, but the adoption of them in their final form after so many amendments left them less satisfied.

One of the leaders of the Chinese delegation said after the session of Jan. 21 that his Government would probably not have knowledge of contracts made by private corporations or nationals of another country with local military Governors or nationals of China, and therefore could not make such agreements public. Many of the agreements made by Japanese nationals, therefore, he said, would probably never become known unless the Japanese Government forced their publication. (The Japanese delegates had specifically objected to such compulsion.) He thought it unlikely that the Japanese intended to secure publication of any agreements of doubtful character, made without the knowledge of the Tokio Government. The discussion which resulted in the final draft was not made public, though it was indicated that some very earnest exchanges had taken place; the official communique was one of the briefest ever issued by the committee, consisting only of the official version of the resolution as finally adopted.

CHINA PRESENTS SECRET PACT

PACT

The first nation to register a secret treaty, as provided under the above resolutions, was China herself. At the session of Jan. 24, Chairman Hughes announced that he had received from the Chinese delegation a telegraphic summary (sent by Peking) of the secret treaty of alliance between China and Russia concluded in May, 1896. It was presented provisionally to comply with a request of the conference that China disclose the text of this secret treaty, the full importance of which may be gauged by the fact that it is supposed to have been one of the direct causes of the Russo-Japanese war. The treaty was secretly negotiated after the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which terminated the Sino-Japanese war. Under Shimonoseki, Japan took over the southern portion of the Liaotung Peninsula, in which Dairen (Dalny and Port Arthur are situated. The protests and attitude of France, Russia and Germany became so threatening that Japan was intimidated for the moment, and compelled to disgorge her new territories. Russia at once moved in, and it was this action which impelled the Japanese later to declare war on the Czar's Government, the result being the first victory of an Asiatic over a first-class European power. The Japanese have declared that Russia's action was undertaken under the cloak of this secret treaty with China, with the aim of occupying Manchuria and Korea.

Japan, at all events, was the chief gainer by the treaty, for it enabled her to consolidate her power in Manchuria, while China, the main loser,

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN

ascribes to it most of her present troubles. The Chinese rely upon its publication to prove that Japan is an intruder in Manchuria. The object of the conference in asking for the text of this flagrant example of secret diplomacy was to make sure that it had lapsed through definite and formal Chinese declarations, so that no future Russian Government would be able to claim it as still valid. The telegraphic summary sent by Peking reads as follows:

Treaty of alliance between China and Russia—May, 1896.

Article 1.—The high contracting parties engage to support each other reciprocally by all their land and sea forces in case of any aggression directed by Japan against Russian territory in Eastern Asia, China or Korea.

Article 2.—No treaty of peace with an adverse party can be concluded by either of them without the consent of the other.

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

NOBODY CAN VERY WELL MISUNDERSTAND THIS

Article 3.—During military operations all Chinese ports shall be open to Russian vessels.

Article 4.—The Chinese Government consents to the construction of a railway across the Provinces of Amur and Kirin in the direction of Vladivostok. The construction and exploitation of this railway shall be accorded to the Russo-Chinese Bank. The contract shall be concluded between the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg and the Russo-Chinese Bank.

Article 5.—In time of war Russia shall have free use of the railway for the transport and provisioning of her troops. In time of peace Russia shall have the same right for the transit of her troops and provisions.

Article 6.—The present treaty shall come into force from the day on which the contract stipulated in Article 4 shall have been confirmed. It shall have force for fifteen years.

RADIO STATIONS IN CHINA

The question of the return to China of all foreign-owned and foreign-operated radio stations was settled at the session of Jan. 27. Debate on this subject had been reopened on Jan. 24, when Mr. Balfour brought up again

the Viviani resolution adopted on Dec. 7 (see January CURRENT HISTORY), and offered an alternative resolution based on the same fundamental plan. At the following session Mr. Balfour offered the resolution in still another form, in which were incorporated various suggestions which he had received from the other delegates. Both resolutions, as well as the original Viviani draft, were resubmitted to the Drafting Committee. At the session of Jan. 27 Mr. Root stated that the Drafting Committee now recommended the readoption of the Viviani resolution without change, but also recommended that two specific declarations which it had formulated be spread upon the record. The first of these set forth that nothing in Paragraphs 3 or 4 of the

Viviani resolution shall commit the conference to any opinion as to whether the radio stations maintained in China are or are not authorized by the Chinese Government. The other reservation declared that nothing in Paragraph 4 shall militate against the principle of the open door. The Viviani resolution, as readopted is as follows:

The representatives of the powers hereinafter named participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the conference on the limitation of armament, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal, have resolved:

1. That all radio stations in China, whether maintained under the provisions of the International Protocol of Sept. 7, 1901, or in fact maintained in the grounds of any of the foreign legations in China, shall be limited in their use to sending and receiving Government messages and shall not receive or send commercial or personal or unofficial messages, including press matter; provided, however, that in case all other telegraphic communication is interrupted, then, upon official notification ac-

accompanied by proof of such interruption to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, such stations may afford temporary facilities for commercial, personal or unofficial messages, including press matter, until the Chinese Government has given notice of the termination of the interruption;

2. All radio stations operated within the territory of China by a foreign Government or the citizens or subjects thereof, under treaties or concessions of the Government of China, shall limit the messages sent and received by the terms of the treaties or concessions under which the respective stations are maintained;

3. In case there be any radio station maintained in the territory of China by a foreign Government or citizens or subjects thereof without the authority of the Chinese Government, such station and all the plant, apparatus and material thereof shall be transferred to and taken over by the Government of China, to be operated under the direction of the Chinese Ministry of Communications upon fair and full compensation to the owners for the value of the installation, as soon as the Chinese Ministry of Communications is prepared to operate the same effectively for the general public benefit;

4. If any question shall arise as to the radio stations in leased territories, in the South Manchurian Railway zone or in the French concessions at Shanghai, they shall be regarded as matters for discussion between the Chinese Government and the Government concerned.

5. The owners or managers of all radio stations maintained in the territory of China by foreign powers or citizens or subjects thereof shall confer with the Chinese Ministry of Communications for the purpose of seeking a common arrangement to avoid interference in the use of wave lengths by wireless stations in China, subject to such general arrangements as may be made by an international conference convened for the revision of the rules established by the International Radio Telegraph Convention signed at London, July 5, 1912.

TEXT OF RESERVATIONS

The reservations, as approved by the committee and spread upon the record, read thus:

The powers other than China declare that nothing in paragraphs 3 or 4 of the resolution of Dec. 7, 1921, is to be deemed to be an expression of opinion by the conference as to whether the stations referred to therein are or are not authorized by China.

They further give notice that the result of any discussion arising under paragraph 4 must, if it is not to be subject to objection by them, conform with the principles of the open door, or equality of opportunity, approved by the conference.

In addition, Mr. Alfred Sze for China similarly spread upon the record the following declaration by China:

The Chinese delegation takes this occasion formally to declare that the Chinese Government does not recognize or concede the right of any foreign power or of the nationals thereof to instal or operate, without its express consent, radio stations in legation grounds, settlements, concessions, leased territories, railway areas or other similar areas.

To understand this declaration, as well as the other reservations affecting the interpretation of Clauses 3 and 4, it is necessary only to bear in mind the unchanging viewpoint of China—a viewpoint at odds with that held by the powers—that all radio stations maintained and operated on Chinese soil are so maintained and operated without China's consent, that the Chinese Government recognizes no such concession, and asserts vigorously that radio communication in China is a Government monopoly.

THE SIBERIAN ISSUE—JAPAN'S NEW PLEDGE

The question of Siberia, involving the possible withdrawal of the Japanese forces, had been considered one of the most important on the conference agenda. Considerable debate had been expected, and the discussion had been arranged under several heads. To the surprise of most of the delegations, the whole question was settled in two sessions of the committee.

Japan, at the first of these sessions, presented a formal statement reviewing the circumstances of her occupation and repeating her pledges to evacuate as soon as she received from a stable Siberian Government assurances of protection for the lives and property of Japanese nationals in Siberia (as well as indemnity for the massacre of Japanese at Nikolaievsk, as a guarantee for which Japan occupied part of Saghalin). At the following session Secretary Hughes presented a full statement of the American position regarding Japan's continued occupation of Siberia, and asked that both statements

be spread on the records. Both the statement by Baron Shidehara and that by Secretary Hughes were considered as of the greatest importance in their bearing upon the eventual restoration of normal conditions in Siberia.

The problem of Siberia was first brought up by Secretary Hughes at the session of Jan. 23. Fully half of this session was given up to a series of eulogies of Viscount Bryce, whose death had been announced. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Root, M. Jusserand and Mr. Balfour all spoke in praise of his personality and achievements for universal peace. Then Secretary Hughes opened the Siberian discussion. Baron Shidehara at once rose and announced that he would like to read a formal statement for Japan in regard to Siberia. If this problem was to be discussed, he said, it would be of interest to the committee to know exactly the intentions and aims of Japan in regard to Siberia. He then read a formal statement, the text of which follows:

The military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in co-operation with the United States in 1918. It was primarily intended to render assistance to the Czechoslovakian troops who in their homeward journey across Siberia from European Russia found themselves in grave and pressing danger at the hands of hostile forces under German command. The Japanese and American expeditionary forces, together with other allied troops, fought their way from Vladivostok far into the region of the Amur and the Transbaikial Provinces to protect the railway lines which afforded the sole means of transportation of the Czechoslovakian troops from the interior of Siberia to the port of Vladivostok. Difficulties which the allied forces had to encounter in their operations in the severe cold weather of Siberia were immense.

In January, 1920, the United States decided to terminate its military undertaking in Siberia and ordered the withdrawal of its forces. For some time thereafter Japanese troops continued alone to carry out the duty of guarding several points along the Transsiberian Railways, in fulfillment of interallied arrangements and of affording facilities to the returning Czechoslovaks.

The last column of Czechoslovakian troops safely embarked from Vladivostok in September, 1920. Ever since then Japan has been looking forward to an early moment

for the withdrawal of her troops from Siberia. The maintenance of such troops in a foreign land is for her a costly and thankless undertaking, and she will be only too happy to be relieved of such responsibility. In fact, the evacuation of the Transbaikial and the Amur Provinces was already completed in 1920. The only region which now remains to be evacuated is a southern portion of the Maritime Province around Vladivostok and Nikolsk.

OBSTACLES TO WITHDRAWAL

It will be appreciated that for Japan the question of the withdrawal of troops from Siberia is not quite as simple as it was for other allied powers. In the first place, there is a considerable number of Japanese residents who had lawfully and under guarantees established themselves in Siberia long before the Bolshevik era, and they were entirely welcome. In 1917, prior to the joint American-Japanese military enterprise, the number of such residents was already no less than 9,717. In the actual situation prevailing there, those Japanese residents can hardly be expected to look for the protection of their lives and property to any other authorities than the Japanese. Whatever districts those troops have evacuated in the past have fallen into disorder, and practically all Japanese residents have had precipitately to withdraw, to seek for their personal safety. In so withdrawing they have been obliged to leave behind large portions of their property, abandoned and unprotected, and their homes and places of business have been destroyed. While the hardships and losses thus caused the Japanese in the Transbaikial and the Amur Provinces have been serious enough, more extensive damages are likely to follow from the evacuation of Vladivostok, in which a larger number of Japanese have always been resident and a greater amount of capital invested.

There is another difficulty by which Japan is faced in proceeding to the recall of her troops from the Maritime Province. Due to geographical propinquity, the general situation in the districts around Vladivostok and Nikolsk is bound to affect the security of the Korean frontier. In particular, it is known that these districts have long been the base of Korean conspiracies against Japan. Those hostile Koreans, joining hands with lawless elements in Russia, attempted in 1920 to invade Korea through the Chinese territory of Chien-tao. They set fire to the Japanese consulate at Hunchun and committed indiscriminate acts of murder and pillage. At the present time they are under the effective control of Japanese troops stationed in the Maritime Province, but they will no doubt renew the attempt to penetrate into Korea at the first favorable opportunity that may present itself.

Having regard to those considerations, the Japanese Government have felt bound

to exercise precaution in carrying out the contemplated evacuation of the Maritime Province. Should they take hasty action without adequate provision for the future, they would be delinquent in their duty of affording protection to a large number of their nationals resident in the districts in question and of maintaining order and security in Korea.

It should be made clear that no part of the Maritime Province is under Japan's military occupation. Japanese troops are still stationed in the southern portion of that province, but they have not set up any civil or military administration to displace local authorities. Their activity is confined to measures of self-protection against the menace to their own safety and to the safety of their country and nationals. They are not in occupation of those districts any more than American or other allied troops could be said to have been in occupation of the places in which they were formerly stationed.

POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION

The Japanese Government are anxious to see an orderly and stable authority speedily re-established in the Far Eastern possessions of Russia. It was in this spirit that they manifested a keen interest in the patriotic but ill-fated struggle of Admiral Kolchak. They have shown readiness to lend their good offices for prompting the reconciliation of various political groups in Eastern Siberia. But they have carefully refrained from supporting one faction against another. It will be recalled, for instance, that they withheld all assistance from General Rozanov against the revolutionary movements which led to his overthrow in January, 1920. They maintained an attitude of strict neutrality and refused to interfere in these movements, which it would have been quite easy for them to suppress if they had so desired.

In relation to this policy of non-intervention, it may be useful to refer briefly to the past relations between the Japanese authorities and Ataman Semenov, which seem to have been a source of popular misgiving and speculation. It will be remembered that the growing rapprochement between the Germans and the Bolshevik Government in Russia in the early part of 1918 naturally gave rise to apprehensions in the allied countries that a considerable quantity of munitions supplied by those countries, and stored in Vladivostok, might be removed by the Bolsheviks to European Russia for the use of the Germans. Ataman Semenov was then in Siberia, and was organizing a movement to check such Bolshevik activities and to preserve order and stability in that region. It was in this situation that Japan, as well as some of the Allies, began to give support to the Cossack chief. After a few months such support by the other powers was discontinued. But the

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

A SEA DOG MUZZLED

Japanese were reluctant to abandon their friend, whose efforts in the allied cause they had originally encouraged, and they maintained for some time their connection with Ataman Semenov. They had, however, no intention whatever of interfering in the domestic affairs of Russia, and when it was found that the assistance rendered to Ataman Semenov was likely to complicate the internal situation in Siberia, they terminated all relations with him, and no support of any kind has since been extended to him by the Japanese authorities.

The Japanese Government are now seriously considering plans which would justify them in carrying out their decision of the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province, with reasonable precaution for the security of Japanese residents and of the Korean frontier regions. It is for this purpose that negotiations were opened some time ago at Dairen between the Japanese representatives and the agents of the Chita Government.

PROMISE OF WITHDRAWAL

Those negotiations at Dairen are in no way intended to secure for Japan any right or advantage of an exclusive nature. They have been solely actuated by a desire to adjust some of the more pressing questions with which Japan is confronted in relation to Siberia. They have essentially in view the conclusion of provisional commercial arrangements, the removal of the existing

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

Who Said America Had No Picturesque Ruin?

menace to the security of Japan and to the lives and property of Japanese residents in Eastern Siberia, the provision of guarantees for the freedom of lawful undertakings in that region, and the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda over the Siberian border. Should adequate provisions be arranged on the line indicated, the Japanese Government will at once proceed to the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province.

The occupation of certain points in the Russian province of Saghalin is wholly different, both in nature and in origin, from the stationing of troops in the Maritime Province. History affords few instances similar to the incident of 1920 at Nikolaievsk, where more than 700 Japanese, including women and children, as well as the duly recognized Japanese Consul and his family and his official staff, were cruelly tortured and massacred. No nation worthy of respect will possibly remain forbearing under such a strain of provocation. Nor was it possible for the Japanese Government to disregard the just popular indignation aroused in Japan by the incident. Under the actual condition of things, Japan found no alternative but to occupy, as a measure of reprisal, certain points in the Russian provinces of Saghalin, in which the outrage was committed, pending the establishment in Russia of a responsible authority with whom she can communicate in order to obtain due satisfaction.

Nothing is further from the thought of

the Japanese Government than to take advantage of the present helpless condition of Russia for prosecution of selfish designs. Japan recalls with deep gratitude and appreciation the brilliant rôle which Russia played in the interest of civilization during the earlier stage of the great war. The Japanese people have shown and will continue to show every sympathetic interest in the efforts of patriotic Russians as pointing to the unity and rehabilitation of their country. The military occupation of the Russian province of Saghalin is only a temporary measure and will naturally come to an end as soon as a satisfactory settlement of the question shall have been arranged with an orderly Russian Government.

In conclusion, the Japanese delegation is authorized to declare that it is the fixed and settled policy of Japan to respect the territorial integrity of Russia and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions.

STATEMENT BY MR. HUGHES

At the session of Jan. 24, Secretary Hughes read a long and detailed statement taking cognizance of the Japanese declarations and setting forth the American attitude as follows:

The American delegation has heard the statement by Baron Shidehara and has taken note of the assurance given on behalf of the Japanese Government with respect to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Maritime Province of Siberia and from the Province of Saghalin. The American delegation has also noted the assurance of Japan by her authorized spokesman that it is her fixed and settled policy to respect the territorial integrity of Russia, and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions.

These assurances are taken to mean that Japan does not seek, through her military operations in Siberia, to impair the rights of the Russian people in any respect, or to obtain any unfair commercial advantages, or to absorb for her own use the Siberian fisheries, or to set up an exclusive exploitation either of the resources of Saghalin or of the Maritime Province.

As Baron Shidehara pointed out, the military expedition of Japan to Siberia was originally undertaken in common accord and in co-operation with the United States. It will be recalled that public assurances were given at the outset by both Governments of a firm intention to respect

the territorial integrity of Russia and to abstain from all interference in Russian internal politics. In view of the reference by Baron Shidehara to the participation of the American Government in the expedition of 1918, I should like to place upon our records for transmission to the conference the purposes which were then clearly stated by both Governments.

The American Government set forth its aims and policies publicly in July, 1918. The purposes of the expedition were said to be, first, to help the Czechoslovaks consolidate their forces; second, to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance; and, third, to guard the military stores at Vladivostok.

The American Government opposed the idea of a military intervention, but regarded military action as admissible at the time solely for the purpose of helping the Czechoslovaks consolidate their forces and get into successful co-operation with their Slavic kinsmen, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance. It was stated that the American Government proposed to ask all associated in this course of action to unite in assuring the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that none of the governments uniting in action either in Siberia or in Northern Russia contemplated any interference of any kind with the political sovereignty of Russia, any intervention in her internal affairs, any impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or thereafter, but that each of the associated powers had the single object of affording such aid as should be acceptable and only such aid as should be acceptable to the Russian people in their endeavor to regain control of their affairs, their own territory and their own destiny.

What I have just stated is found in the public statement of the American Government at that time.

The Japanese Government, with the same purpose, set forth its position in a statement published by the Japanese Government on Aug. 2, 1918, in which it was said:

"The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desires of the American Government and also to act in harmony with the Allies in this expedition, have decided to proceed at once to dispatch suitable forces for the proposed mission. A certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok. In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain unshaken in their constant desire to promote relations of enduring friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that, upon the realization of the projects above indicated, they will immediately withdraw all

Japanese troops from Russian territory and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military."

JAPAN'S COURSE REGRETTED

The United States of America withdrew its troops from Siberia in the Spring of 1920 because it considered that the original purposes of the expedition had either been accomplished or would no longer be subserved by continued military activity in Siberia. The American Government then ceased to be a party to the expedition, but it remained a close observer of events in Eastern Siberia and has had an extended diplomatic correspondence upon this subject with the Government of Japan.

It must be frankly avowed that this correspondence has not always disclosed an identity of views between the two Governments. The United States has not been unmindful of the direct exposure of Japan to Bolshevism in Siberia and the special problems which the conditions existing there have created for the Japanese Government, but it has been strongly disposed to the belief that the public assurances given by the two Governments at the inception of the joint expedition nevertheless required the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from all Russian territory—if not immediately after the departure of the Czechoslovak troops, then within a reasonable time.

As to the occupation of Saghalin in reprisal for the massacre of the Japanese at Nikolaievsk, the United States was not unimpressed by the serious character of that catastrophe; but, having in mind the con-

[German-Swiss Cartoon]



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

DISARMAMENT

Then spake the British Walrus: "Do away with your quills." Then said the French Porcupine: "Walrus, do away with your tusks." And there the matter rested

ditions experienced by both Governments at the outset of the joint expedition, of which the Nikolaievsk massacre must be considered an incident, it has regretted that Japan should deem necessary the occupation of Russian territory as a means of assuring a suitable adjustment with a future Russian Government.

The general position of the American Government was set forth in a communication to Japan of May 31, 1921. In that communication appears the following statement:

"The Government of the United States would be untrue to the spirit of co-operation which led it, in the Summer of 1918, upon an understanding with the Government of Japan, to dispatch troops to Siberia, if it neglected to point out that, in its view, continued occupation of the strategic centres in Eastern Siberia—involving the indefinite possession of the Port of Vladivostok, the stationing of troops at Khabarovsk, Nikolaievsk, De Castries, Mago, Sophiesk and other important points, the seizure of the Russian portion of Saghalin, and the establishment of a civil administration, which inevitably lends itself to misconception and antagonism—tends rather to increase than to allay the unrest and disorder in that region.

"The military occupation in reprisal for the Nikolaievsk affair is not fundamentally a question of the validity of procedure under the recognized rules of international law.

"The issue presented is that of the scrupulous fulfillment of the assurances given to the Russian people, which were a matter of frank exchanges and of apparently

complete understanding between the Governments of the United States and of Japan. These assurances were intended by the Government of the United States to convey to the people of Russia a promise on the part of the two Governments not to use the joint expedition, or any incidents which might arise out of it, as an occasion to occupy territory, even temporarily, or to assume any military or administrative control over the people of Siberia."

Further in the same note, the American Government states its position as follows:

"In view of its conviction that the course followed by the Government of Japan brings into question the very definite understanding concluded at the time troops were sent to Siberia, the Government of the United States must in candor explain its position and say to the Japanese Government that the Government of the United States can neither now nor hereafter recognize as valid any claims or titles arising out of the present occupation and control, and that it cannot acquiesce in any action taken by the Government of Japan which might impair existing treaty rights or the political or territorial integrity of Russia.

"The Government of Japan will appreciate that in expressing its views the Government of the United States has no desire to impute to the Government of Japan motives or purposes other than those which have heretofore been so frankly avowed. The purpose of this Government is to inform the Japanese Government of its own conviction that, in the present time of disorder in Russia, it is more than ever the duty of those who look forward to the tranquilization of the Russian people and a restoration of normal conditions among them, to avoid action which might keep alive their antagonism and distrust toward outside political agencies. Now, especially, it is incumbent upon the friends of Russia to hold aloof from the domestic contentions of the Russian people, to be scrupulous to avoid inflicting what might appear to them a vicarious penalty for sporadic acts of lawlessness, and, above all, to abstain from even the temporary and conditional impairment by any foreign power of the territorial status which, for them as for other peoples, is a matter of deep and sensitive national feeling, transcending perhaps even the issues at stake among themselves."

To that American note the Japanese Government replied in July, 1921, setting forth in substance what Baron Shidehara has now stated to this committee, pointing out the conditions under which Japan has taken the action to which reference was made, and giving the assurances, which have here been reiterated, with respect to its intention and policy.

RESOLUTION ON SIBERIA

While the discussion of these matters has been attended with the friendliest feeling, it has naturally been the constant and earn-

[Italian Cartoon]



—11 420, Florence

How France understands disarmament and European pacification

est hope of the American Government—and of Japan as well, I am sure—that this occasion for divergence of views between the two Governments might be removed with the least possible delay. It has been with a feeling of special gratification, therefore, that the American delegation has listened to the assurances given by their Japanese colleague, and it is with the greatest friendliness that they reiterate the hope that Japan will find it possible to carry out within the near future her expressed intention of terminating finally the Siberian expedition and of restoring Saghalin to the Russian people.

My suggestion would be, if it is not desired otherwise by the delegates, that the statement made on behalf of the Japanese Government by Baron Shidehara and the one that I have made setting forth the position of the American Government, which is as stated in its communication of May 31, 1921, which I have read, should be communicated to the conference for the purpose of being spread upon its records.

I suggest the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved that the statements by the Japanese and American delegations in respect to the presence of foreign troops in Siberia be reported to the conference at its next plenary session to be spread upon its records."

This resolution was then put by the Chairman to a vote. All the nine delegations formally assented, and it was unanimously passed. In signifying the assent of the French delegation, M. Sarraut declared that it was with "peculiar satisfaction" that he had heard the formal assurance given by Japan that she would withdraw her troops as soon as possible, and would not interfere in the domestic affairs of the Russian people. He recalled the fact that France was one of the oldest allies of Russia, and declared that France was still grateful to the Russian people for the part they had played in the world war, still loyal to that friendship, and to Russia's hopes of future regeneration. When that time arrived, he said, it would be good for Russia "to find unimpaired the patrimony that had been kept for her by the honesty and loyalty of her allies."

FINAL SESSIONS

The final sessions of the conference were marked by a large number of positive achievements, including

the approval of several important treaties and decisions on many matters that had been worked out in committee. The Far Eastern Committee continued its labors to the very end, and all outstanding issues affecting China were adjusted at its last session on Feb. 3. The question of the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the long controversy between China and Japan over the famous twenty-one demands, and last-minute declarations by China on the "open door" and on leased territories, were some of the matters settled. The conference, meeting as a Committee of the Whole, held two plenary sessions on Feb. 1 and Feb. 4, at which many questions of importance were finally disposed of.

At the plenary session of Feb. 1 the conference took the following action: Adoption of the Five-Power Naval Treaty, providing for abolition of competition in capital ships; fixing the ratio of such ships in the American, British, Japanese, French and Italian navies; limiting the tonnage of aircraft carriers; specifying the maximum size and armor permitted to capital ships; laying down the status quo for the possession by any power of naval bases in the Pacific; adoption of the Five-Power Treaty binding the same nations to refrain from the use of submarines as commerce destroyers and from the employment of poison gas in warfare. A number of resolutions on China approved by the Far Eastern Committee were formally adopted.

At the sixth plenary session, Feb. 4, the conference adopted the two nine-power treaties on the open door and the Chinese tariff. It also adopted a resolution for the establishment of a Board of Reference in Peking to consider questions arising from the application of the open-door principle; adopted resolutions on the Chinese Eastern Railway, approved a supplement to the four-power treaty which removed Japan's "homeland" from its scope, naming Formosa, the Pescadores, the Japanese half of Saghalin and the mandated islands as the only Japa-

nese insular possessions specified in the treaty; approved a declaration by China that she would not alienate any of her territory, and finally passed a supplementary resolution to the Naval Treaty intimating that the five signatory powers would consider it a breach of honor for any of those powers to sell or otherwise dispose of any of the warships designated for scrapping between the present and the date of ratification of the treaty. These and other decisions will be found treated under separate heads. The text of the treaties finally approved and signed at the seventh plenary session of Feb 6—the closing meeting of the conference—as well as of the separate treaty on Shantung (signed on Feb. 4)—will be found further along in these pages.

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

Resolutions were passed by the Far Eastern Committee on Feb. 2 regarding the future administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The subcommittee of experts charged with the problem of what should be done in the case of this important line, which China is holding and operating through the Russo-Asiatic Bank, pending the establishment of a stable Government in Russia, had recommended that the supervision of finances and protection for the road be intrusted to the Interallied Technical Commission, which has exercised a moral trusteeship since 1919. The strong objections of Dr. Hawuling Yen, the Chinese member of the subcommittee, led to an impasse, many resolutions being drafted and failing to meet the Chinese objections. The net result was embodied in this double resolution, presented to the main committee at the Feb. 2 session:

Resolved. That the preservation of the Chinese Eastern Railway for those in interest requires that better protection be given to the railway and the persons engaged in its operation and use, a more careful selection of personnel to secure efficiency of service, and a more economical

use of funds to prevent waste of the property.

That the subject should immediately be dealt with through the proper diplomatic channels.

At the same time all powers other than China—that is to say, the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal—have united in the following reservation:

The powers other than China in agreeing to the resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway reserve the right to insist hereafter upon the responsibilities of China for performance or non-performance of the obligations toward the foreign stockholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, which the holders deem to result from the contracts under which the railroad was built and the action of China thereunder and the obligations, which they deem to be in the nature of a trust resulting from the exercise of power by the Chinese Government over the possession and administration of the railroad.

Mr. Koo defended the Chinese objection against giving financial control to the Interallied Technical Commission. He referred to the interallied agreement of 1919, to which China was a party, and to which five of the other powers represented at the Washington conference were also parties. Under this agreement provision had been made for supervision of the whole Transsiberian system, including the Chinese Eastern Railway; he feared, he said, that misgivings would be aroused in China if this particular railroad should be singled out for separate treatment. Any such special agreement, furthermore, he added, would be of slight value if it did not take in the Transsiberian Railway, which connects with Europe and the Ussuri Railway, and which assures its access to the sea. The line, furthermore, ran through Chinese territory, and Chinese sovereignty must be guaranteed. He pointed out the legal status of the contract under which China now assumed responsibility for this originally Russian line, though he emphasized the provisional nature of this responsibility. He admitted that there was opportunity for improvement in the Chinese Administration, but pointed out the unsettled conditions which prevailed, due to the political revolution in Russia, and

declared that China had done her best. The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS

In the Far Eastern Committee on Feb. 2 Japan offered three modifications in the famous twenty-one demands, including the withdrawal of Group 5, which had been reserved for further consideration when these demands were forced upon China by an ultimatum on May 25, 1915, following the Japanese seizure of Kiao-Chau from the Germans. Baron Shidehara, the spokesman for Japan, declared emphatically against revision of the treaties growing out of these demands, which gave Port Arthur and Dairen (Dalny) to Japan under extension of a lease formerly owned by Russia. These treaties had been signed by China, he declared, and any attempt to revise them would create a dangerous precedent. Japan, however, he explained, was willing, in view of the change in the situation, to make the following modifications:

1. Japan is ready to throw open to the international consortium the right of option, granted exclusively to Japanese capital, to loan for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

2. Japan will not exercise her preferential rights in questions concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military and police matters in South Manchuria.

3. Japan will withdraw the reservations, which she made in proceeding to the signature of the twenty-one demands, to the effect that Group 5 of the original proposals would be postponed for future negotiations.

These modifications, as well as the Japanese viewpoint, were regarded as unsatisfactory by the Chinese delegates, and the matter came up again at the next day's session, when Dr. Wang vigorously reasserted China's desire for a revision on the ground of essential injustice; the demands were forced on China, Japan gave no quid pro quo; the agreements are in violation of treaties between China and other powers, inconsistent with the principles adopted by the conference, dangerous to the peace between

China and Japan. This statement, he said, was made by China in order to place on record her unchanging view regarding the treaties of 1915. Secretary Hughes then explained the attitude of the American Government, as it was outlined in the note sent by Washington to Japan on May 13, 1915; this attitude, he said, remained the same. Group 1 of the demands, he added, had been eliminated by the Shantung settlement; Group 5 would not be pressed by Japan, while many of the other rigid features of the demands had been softened by the concessions now offered. In comment on the first of the three concessions offered by Japan, he expressed the hope that this might be interpreted to mean that Japan would not confine such undertakings by foreign capital to the consortium powers alone. At Mr. Hughes's suggestion, the various speeches made in the conference on the twenty-one demands were spread upon the record. The Chinese delegation assented to this, but reserved the right to seek a solution of the question on some future occasion. The controversy, so far as the action of the conference was concerned, was thus terminated.

THE OPEN-DOOR TREATY

The Open-Door Treaty was unanimously adopted at the sixth plenary session on Feb. 4. This agreement, considered one of the most important, incorporated in treaty form the original Root resolutions, which had pledged the powers to aid China to recover her equilibrium, to refrain from seeking any unfair or special advantages and to respect Chinese neutrality. The treaty also empowers any of the nations concerned, including China, to call a conference of all the signatories in case a situation arises "which in the opinion of any one of them" involves the application of the stipulations of the treaty. With this treaty a special resolution was passed for the creation of a Board of Reference in Peking to consider dis-

puted points in connection with the open-door principle.

In reference to this agreement, Baron Shidehara of Japan, at the session of the Far Eastern Committee of Feb. 2, took occasion to press the Chinese delegation for a statement regarding the development of China's vast resources by foreign capital under the open-door principle of equal co-operation. He had first asked for such a formal statement at the session of Jan. 18, but the matter had been laid over. Mr. Sze replied with a voluntary statement declaring China's entire willingness to throw this development open to foreign interests; her policy for some time, he said, had been in this direction, and had been based on China's consciousness "of mutual advantage which foreign trade brings." Such trade, he added, consisted mostly of natural products. In the railway transportation of such products and other articles of merchandise his Government had always followed the principle of strict equality of treatment between all foreign shippers, and it had also steadily encouraged the development of natural resources by the participation of foreign capital. Thanks to this liberal policy, said Mr. Sze, raw material and food supplies in China and Manchuria are now accessible to all nations on fair terms. He understood that Japan in pressing for this statement was not seeking any special consideration for herself, or even for the foreign powers as a whole, but merely wished to be assured that China was disposed to accord equal opportunities on the same terms as any other nations richly endowed with natural resources.

CHINESE TARIFF TREATY

The nine-power treaty on the Chinese tariff was approved at the plenary session, Feb. 4. It embodied resolutions that had been passed on Jan. 16. In reporting it, Senator Underwood reviewed the history of events leading to the adoption on Oct. 8, 1843, of the existing arrangement, under which China was technically to

receive a 5 per cent. quota of the revenues, but under which she receives a scant 3½ per cent. *ad valorem*. To give China an effective 5 per cent., he explained, it was necessary to provide for a revision of this arrangement; furthermore, in recognition of China's need of greater income, a special commission is to be charged with the levying of various surtaxes detailed in the treaty. Senator Underwood stressed the importance of the clauses of the treaty abolishing all unfair discriminations made in tariff treaties concluded by China in favor of Russia, Great Britain, France and Japan. He ended his reading of the terms of the treaty thus: "I can say that adoption of this treaty and putting it into effect will, in all probability, double the existing revenues of China received from maritime and inland customs."

Mr. Sze, for the Chinese delegation, then asked to have spread on the record the statements made by him on this subject at the sessions of Jan. 5, Jan. 16 and Feb. 3. He took special note of Senator Underwood's statement that the present treaty was drawn only to meet the present temporary conditions in China, and emphasized the fact that his country "looks eagerly toward the earliest restoration of full tariff autonomy." The treaty was then formally approved by all the delegations.

THE SHANTUNG TREATY

The long and dangerous controversy between China and Japan over Shantung was finally settled by the signing of a treaty between those two powers on Feb. 4. This was one of the most important things done at the Washington conference; its importance was in no way diminished by the fact that the action and influence of the conference were only indirectly exercised. Under the treaty China is to receive back from Japan the former German properties, concessions, railway, port, mining, maritime customs and other rights. Thus was written, apparently, the last chapter in a perilous controversy that had raged without cessation ever

since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. That treaty had confirmed Japan's claim to the former German rights in Shantung. China had refused, for that reason, to sign the Versailles Treaty. Many times since then, Japan had tried to get China to negotiate on this question, but the Chinese Government had steadfastly refused to accept the demands which the Japanese Government made the condition of an eventual return of Shantung. Meantime, Japanese military forces held the disputed peninsula.

At the conference the Chinese persisted in this refusal to negotiate, and as Japan remained inflexible in her demands, there seemed to be no hope of a settlement. The conference itself was hampered by the situation. It was only through the intervention of Secretary Hughes, Chairman of the conference, and of Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation, that the Chinese and Japanese delegates, after securing the consent of their respective Governments, consented to tackle the issue in separate negotiations outside the conference. The result of these "conversations," which were opened on Dec. 1, and which continued for nearly two months, was the treaty signed on Feb. 4.

The ceremony of signing took place in the presence of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, also of four Far Eastern experts, namely, John V. A. MacMurray and Edward Bell for the United States, and M. W. Lamson and F. A. Gwatkin for Great Britain, and lastly of a small group of newspaper men. The proceedings took place in the Hall of America, adjoining the room where the Chinese and Japanese delegates had wrestled over the problem so many weeks. The delegates and other participants met at 5 o'clock, and the signing occurred half an hour later. The two delegations, seated at opposite sides of the table, signed alternately, and in the following order for each delegation: China—Dr. Sze, Dr. Koo, Dr. Wang; Japan—Baron Kato, Baron Shidehara, Mr. Hanihara. The signatures were in English, not in Chi-

nese or Japanese characters. The annex was signed immediately after the treaty.

After the signing, Dr. Sze formally voiced, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, his thanks to Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour for their good offices, which had resulted in so happy a settlement. Baron Kato expressed also Japan's gratitude. Secretary Hughes replied simply: "I congratulate you both, gentlemen." Mr. Balfour said: "It is a source of deep satisfaction to me to see the matter so happily settled." The session then adjourned. Thus ended one of the most dangerous disputes in the Far East.

This agreement had not been achieved without a struggle. From the moment when the discussions opened on Dec. 1, almost up to the beginning of February, the difficulties of reaching a settlement were constantly in evidence. The terms on which Japan should hand over the Shantung Railway to China constituted the chief rock on which the negotiations threatened to be shattered. Several times a deadlock was established, and Japan ultimately declared that she had gone to the fullest extent of her power of concession. A report that President Harding had intervened personally, in view of the importance of a settlement to the Arms Conference itself, proved to be erroneous. The Chinese delegation leaders had seen and talked with the President at the White House, but they had sought this interview of their own volition. The deciding factor in securing a settlement of the embittered controversy was the unwearied effort of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour to aid the conflicting delegations to compose their differences. The main dispute was over the desire of the Chinese to obtain absolute possession of the Shantung Railway by purchase; the Japanese wished to retain financial control for a number of years, and also desired joint operation under a Japanese traffic manager, which meant Japanese administrative control.

CHINA BUYS THE RAILWAY

Under the agreement finally reported to the fifth plenary session of the conference on Feb. 1, and signed three days later, China is to pay to Japan 53,406,141 gold marks (the assessed value of the properties taken by the Japanese from the Germans during the World War, plus the value of the improvements added by Japan, and making allowance for depreciation). Payment is to be made in Chinese treasury notes, and the instalments may be spread over fifteen years, China being given an option to complete payment within five years. Pending the redemption of the treasury notes, a Japanese traffic manager and Japanese auditor are to be sanctioned by the Chinese Government. Under a statement of understandings reached at the conversations and read by Secretary Hughes at the session of Feb. 1, the entire subordinate staff of these two Japanese officials is to be appointed by the Chinese Managing Director, the Japanese employes to be gradually eliminated by substitution; China is also to have the right to appoint an assistant traffic manager of Chinese nationality within two years and a half after the transfer of the railway is effected.

Japan pledges herself, furthermore, to withdraw all her military forces from Shantung as soon as China sends her own troops to guard the railway. Special agreements were reached on the following questions: transfer of public properties and of the maritime customs; disposition of the mines lying along the railway, opening of the former German leased territory, purchase by China of the salt industry, return to China of the former German cables, transfer to China of the Japanese wireless stations under fair compensation, and Japanese military withdrawal from these stations. The full text of the Shantung treaty will be found further along in these pages.

The importance of the treaty was stressed by both Baron Shidehara

and Dr. Sze. Before all the delegations they formally voiced their gratitude to Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour for so powerfully aiding in the settlement. "Of supreme importance," said Baron Shidehara, "is it that this vexatious question of long standing between Japan and China should be definitely removed. The atmosphere of unrest and tension which it has created in the popular mind must be set forever at rest. That desirable end, indeed, has been achieved fully and completely." Dr. Sze said in part: "The Chinese delegation rejoices in the settlement of this question, not only because a source of friction between its Government and that of Japan has been removed, but also because the Chinese Government is able to aid in the realization of the beneficent object for which this conference was convened." Secretary Hughes extended "most cordial congratulations of the conference to the representatives of the Japanese and Chinese Governments upon the successful conclusion of these conversations, and upon the fact that they have been able to reach a satisfactory basis of agreement with regard to this most serious subject of controversy."

Mr. Balfour, after making similar appropriate comment, gave utterance to a formal statement for the British Government, of great importance in its bearing on the Shantung treaty. He announced that Great Britain was now ready to complete the purpose of that treaty by handing back the British concession of Wei-hai-wai, which also lies within the Shantung borders. He reviewed the events which first led the British to acquire this concession at a moment when both Germany and Russia were attempting to dominate the Chinese Empire. The necessity which thus arose had disappeared, and his country was now ready to hand this strip of Chinese territory back to its rightful owner, China. (The intention to do this was first announced by the British delegation at the session of Dec. 3.) Thus the complete sovereignty of her most

populous province would be restored to China. This statement was warmly applauded by all the delegations.

LEASED TERRITORIES

The subject of leased territories which had thus arisen again, was finally closed at the session of the Far Eastern Committee held on Feb. 2, when Mr. Sze declared that the Chinese delegation would cordially welcome a similar statement from the French delegation with regard to the French concession of Kwang-chow-wan. M. Sarraut in reply pointed out that France had been the first to offer to restore her leased territory to China, and reminded Mr. Sze that M. Viviani, speaking for France on Dec. 4, had stated in the most definite way that this return would be made on condition that all the other powers having leased territories should restore them to Chinese sovereignty. The French Government, added M. Sarraut, still had this intention, and was now willing to do so, irrespective of whether the condition stipulated was fulfilled or not. Mr. Sze, in reply, stated this would be greatly appreciated by the Chinese people.

COMMISSION ON RULES OF WAR

The conference on Jan. 27 created a commission to study the rules of warfare in the light of the World War. Though certain decisions had been reached in regard to submarines, gas warfare, and the use of airplanes, the American delegation still advocated a future parley to revise international war rules in general, and Secretary Hughes made a formal proposal to that effect on Dec. 9. His plan, he explained, contemplated only a commission of expert jurists, because a general conference would be as greatly handicapped by its lack of technical preparation as was the conference at Washington. Objection to a juristic personnel was overcome, but new opposition arose from an unexpected quarter when Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation, pointed out that the scope as-

signed by Secretary Hughes to the contemplated commission was altogether too broad. He referred to the many complex ramifications of the whole subject of the international rules of war, and intimated that no one commission would ever be able to compass an investigation of such magnitude. He then suggested that the field of study be limited to rules of war as affected only by the new weapons. The commission was accordingly created on these lines by a resolution approved on Jan. 27; it is to be composed of ten members, two each for the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and is to report its findings to each of these powers, which shall consider collectively the steps necessary to make the adoption of the new rules universal. The resolution, as finally adopted, included a special reservation exempting submarines and chemical warfare from the inquiry. The text follows:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan have agreed:

1. That a commission composed of not more than two members representing each of the above-mentioned powers shall be constituted to consider the following questions:

(a) Do existing rules of international law adequately cover new methods of attack or defense resulting from the introduction or development, since the Hague conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare?

(b) If not so, what changes in the existing rules ought to be adopted in consequence thereof as a part of the law of nations?

2. That notices of appointment of the members of the commission shall be transmitted to the Government of the United States of America within three months after the adjournment of the present conference, which after consultation with the powers concerned will fix the day and place for the meeting of the commission.

3. That the commission shall be at liberty to request assistance and advice from experts in international law and in land, naval and aerial warfare.

4. That the commission shall report its conclusions to each of the powers represented in its membership. Those powers shall thereupon confer as to the acceptance of the report and the course to be followed to secure the consideration of its recommendations by the other civilized powers.

The reservation, cast in the form

of a supplementary resolution, read thus:

Resolved. That it is not the intention of the powers agreeing to the appointment of a commission to consider and report upon the rules of international law respecting new agencies of warfare that the commission shall review or report upon the rules or declarations relating to submarines or the use of noxious gases and chemicals already adopted by the powers in this conference.

ADOPTING THE NAVAL TREATY

The fifth plenary session, held on Feb. 1, was one of the most momentous in the whole life of the conference. This session was marked by the final adoption of the Five-Power Naval Treaty embodying, in a somewhat modified form, the American proposals with which Secretary Hughes had electrified the world in November. The salient features of the compact, as passed, are these: Abolition of competition in capital ships; a fixed ratio for such ships in the British, American, Japanese, French and Italian navies; limitation of the tonnage of aircraft carriers; specification of the maximum size and armament permitted to non-capital ships; a special Anglo-American-Japanese agreement to abstain from further construction of naval bases and fortifications in the islands of the Western Pacific. The official text of the treaty will be found elsewhere in these pages.

The treaty, which had been distributed to the delegations in both an English and a French version, proved to be a long document, and Mr. Hughes, who reported its final completion after weeks of arduous labor on the part of the Subcommittee on the Limitation of Naval Armament, made no attempt to read it. In lieu of this, he presented a very full analysis of it, pointing out the differences between the original American proposals and the version finally reported. The main features of Secretary Hughes's explanation, elaborated and clarified, are as follows:

In the original American proposals of Nov. 12 these four principles were laid down, under which the limitation of capital ship tonnage should proceed:

1. That all capital ship building pro-

grams, whether actual or projected, should be abandoned.

2. That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.

3. That, in general, regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the powers concerned.

4. That the capital ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies, and that a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft should be prescribed.

THE ORIGINAL PLAN

The original American plan for naval limitation had been briefly as follows:

United States—(a) Retention of eighteen capital ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 500,650. (b) Scrapping of fifteen capital ships now under construction, representing a total of 618,000 tons; these fifteen ships included six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways, and two battleships already launched. (c) Scrapping of all the older battleships up to, but not including, the Delaware and the North Dakota—a total of 227,040 tons. (d) Total number of capital ships to be scrapped, 30; total tonnage to be scrapped, 845,740.

Great Britain—(a) Retention of twenty-two capital ships, with an aggregate of 604,450 tons. (b) Scrapping of four projected battleships of the Hood type, not yet laid down, but on which money has been spent, representing a total tonnage of 172,000. (c) Scrapping of her pre-dreadnoughts, second and first line battleships up to, but not including, the King George V. class, a total of nineteen capital ships, with an aggregate of 411,375 tons. (d) Total number of ships to be abandoned or scrapped, twenty-three; total tonnage to be scrapped, 583,375.

Japan—(a) Retention of ten capital ships with an aggregate of 299,700 tons. (b) Abandonment of her building program for ships not yet laid down, viz., the Kii, the Owari, battleships No. 7 and No. 8, battle cruisers Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8. (c) Scrapping of three capital ships (the Mutsu, launched, and the Tosa and Kago, in course of construction), also of four battle cruisers (the Amagi and Akagi, in course of building, and the Atoga and Takao, not yet laid down, but material for which has been assembled); whole number of ships under this heading, seven, totaling 288,100 tons. (d) Scrapping of all pre-dreadnoughts and battleships of the second line, up to, but not including, the Settsu, a total of ten old-type battleships, with an aggregate of 159,828 tons. (e) Total number of ships to be scrapped, 17; total tonnage to be scrapped, 448,928.

France and Italy—The American proposals stated, in respect to France and Italy, that "in view of the extraordinary conditions due to the World War, affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy," the proportion in capital ships

to be allotted to these nations would be subject to later adjustment.

In the long committee debates following the presentation of the American proposals, Japan, though accepting the proposals in principle, held fast to her contention that she should be allowed to retain the Mutsu, recently launched and partly built by popular subscription. This claim was finally allowed, though the change necessitated a readjustment of plan for both the United States and Great Britain.

THE TREATY AS IT STANDS

The plan, as modified by the treaty, now stands thus:

The United States, Great Britain and Japan are to retain the same number of capital ships as in the original proposals, viz.: The United States, 18; Great Britain, 22, and Japan, 10. For the United States, the tonnage figures remain roughly the same, that is, 500,650, but the following changes are provided for: Two ships of the West Virginia type are to be completed, and on their completion two of the ships originally to have been retained, viz., the North Dakota and the Delaware, are to be scrapped, bringing the total tonnage retained to 525,850. Great Britain retains the same ships as in the original proposal, except that the Thunderer is substituted for the Erin, bringing down the original tonnage estimate from 604,450 to 580,450 tons. She is, however, given the right to construct two new ships of 35,000 tons each, on the understanding that she will scrap the following ships: The Thunderer, the King George V., the Ajax, and the Centurion. When these four ships are scrapped and the two new ships are completed, the total tonnage for Great Britain will be 558,950.

For Japan, the only difference is that the Mutsu is to be retained, and the Settsu scrapped, making a total tonnage of 301,320 tons, as against the 299,700 tons originally proposed, and diminishing the tonnage to be scrapped in a similar proportion.

As for France and Italy, for which the principle of approximate parity has been applied, each of these nations is to retain the ships which it now possesses, viz.: France, 10 ships (three of these are pre-dreadnoughts of the old type), with a total tonnage of 221,170 tons; Italy, also ten ships, with a total tonnage of 182,800 tons. Secretary Hughes made the following explanation:

"In view of the reduced condition of the navies of France and Italy, it was recognized at the outset that they could not fairly be asked to scrap their ships in the proportion in which the United States of America, the British Empire and Japan were to scrap their ships. In the case of these three powers, the scrapping roughly amounts to about 40 per cent. of the capi-

tal ship strength, and it was not thought, in view of the reduction of the navies of France and Italy, that they could be asked to scrap in anything like that proportion."

The number and tonnage of ships to be retained, as laid down by the treaty for all the five powers concerned, as well as the number and tonnage of the ships to be scrapped, are shown in the following table:

Country.	No. of ships retained.	Amount of tonnage retained.	No. of ships scrapped.	Amount of tonnage scrapped.
United States.	18	500,650 (*525,850)	28	845,740
Great Britain.	22	580,450 (*558,950)	†23	583,375
Japan	10	301,320	17	†447,308
France	10	221,170	None	None
Italy	10	182,800	None	None

* The eventual tonnage.

† Including the four projected but unbuilt Hoods.

‡ Excluding the difference of tonnage between the Mutsu and the Settsu.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Secretary Hughes pointed out that the prescribed process of scrapping was not left to conjecture or to individual decision, and that special provisions had been inserted to cover the procedure in Part II. of the treaty under Chapter II., "Rules for Scrapping Vessels of War." He emphasized Article 4, which fixes the maximum replacement tonnage as follows: United States, 525,000 tons; Great Britain, 525,000 tons; Japan, 315,000 tons; France, 175,000 tons; Italy, 175,000 tons. He also referred to the special provisions for aircraft carriers under Articles 7, 8, 9 and 10. Mr. Hughes stressed the importance of the definition of this type of ship as "a vessel of war, with a displacement in excess of 10,000 tons standard displacement, designed with the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft." It must be so constructed, under the treaty terms, that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon, and not designed and constructed to carry a more powerful armament than that allowed to it. Provision for replacement without regard to age had been made owing to recognition of the experimental nature of existing aircraft carriers. Tonnage had been generally limited to 27,000 tons, but a special arrangement had been made authorizing the contracting powers to build not more than

two of these craft, each of a tonnage of not more than 33,000 tons. Furthermore, it was provided that any nation might convert two ships slated for scrapping into aircraft carriers, not to exceed 33,000 tons each.

Secretary Hughes also explained the insertion of certain provisions "of a protective nature, that is, to protect the faithful execution of the agreement." No vessel of war laid down by any of the contracting powers (save capital ships) may carry a gun in excess of eight inches; no vessel slated to be scrapped may be converted into a vessel of war; no merchant ship in time of peace shall be prepared for conversion into a war vessel, other than the stiffening of decks necessary for the mounting of 6-inch guns; no vessels built for any foreign power may exceed the limits laid down in the treaty for vessels of a similar type; no aircraft carrier so constructed may exceed 27,000 tons; information is to be given by any signatory nation of orders for the construction of such ships; no such nation shall seize any such ship in process of construction for a non-signatory nation in the event of war; none of the signatory nations may dispose "by gift, sale or transfer" of any vessel usable as a warship.* Lastly, Secretary Hughes referred to the special article regarding fortifications in the Pacific Ocean (Article 19) embodying a special agreement—already published—between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, to maintain the status quo in respect to fortifications and naval bases established on any of the Pacific islands held by these powers. His final remarks, summing up the results of the treaty and stressing its value, were repeatedly applauded. He said in part:

May I say, in conclusion, that no more extraordinary or significant treaty has ever been entered into? It is extraordinary because we no longer merely talk of the desirability of diminishing the burdens of naval armaments, but we actually limit

them. It is extraordinary because this limitation is effected in that field in which nations have been most jealous of their power and in which they have hitherto been disposed to resent any interference with their power.

I shall not enlarge upon the significance of the engagement. Of course, it is obvious that it means an enormous saving of money and the lifting of the very heavy and unnecessary burden from the peoples of the countries who unite in this agreement. This treaty ends—absolutely ends—the race in competition in naval armament. At the same time it leaves the relative security of the great naval powers unimpaired. * * * In other words, we are taking perhaps the greatest forward step to establish the reign of peace.

FRANCE'S ACCEPTANCE

The naval treaty, as thus reported and clarified, was approved and adopted by all the delegations. The French delegation, through M. Albert Sarraut, seized the opportunity to say a final word in defense of France's attitude throughout the discussions. Both M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador to Washington, and M. Sarraut had made strong pleas against what they deemed unfair criticism of the French policy regarding submarines and auxiliary vessels. M. Sarraut now pointed out the necessity, if the moral effect desired were to be obtained, that the treaty should be given to the world sanctioned by the full acquiescence, the loyal conviction, the unreserved assent of all those who have signed it. "It must not," he said, "appear threatened with a precarious existence and exposed in the future to the reaction and fermentation of ill-disguised disappointments or persistent spite."

He wished above all to state clearly that the minds of the French delegates were free from any such feelings. The French delegation had yielded what they felt they should yield, and resisted on the points where they had to resist. "We marked the line to show how far we could go, and traced the limit which we would not pass; and, therefore, when today we come and say, 'I assent,' everybody must know that

*A supplementary resolution in amplification of this provision (Article 18) was passed on Feb. 4. Its text will be found at the end of the treaty.

what France has signed will be respected and defended by her with the same sincerity and the same good will." As to the shadows which the debate on naval disarmament had left on American public opinion so far as France was concerned, he was confident that in the course of time a proper perspective would be secured, and the ghost of "French Imperialism" would finally be laid. The destruction of German ambition had cost France the lives of 1,500,000 of her best sons and the devastation of her most prosperous regions. Should she have made this frightful sacrifice only to recommend now the crime which she has helped to chastise? He then gave the whole crux of the French argument regarding both her

If France keeps a strong enough army, which she is now reducing; if she must still fear the crushing burden of military charges, is it not because her territory, twice invaded in fifty years by the same enemy, still remains exposed to the threat of revenge and because the world is menaced along with us? And if, together with this army, France needs an adequate naval strength, is it not because without those naval means she cannot maintain her army, she cannot muster on her frontiers effectives that are not all found within the mother country, but are scattered abroad in distant colonies? Nor can she without warships insure the safety of transport vessels that bring to the assistance of the home forces the indispensable colonial contingents which during the last war supplied the mother country in its hour of peril with nearly a million men, hastening from all French possessions beyond the seas, through the dangers of oceans infested by German pirates whom we could find there again if we did not take proper precaution. * * * Yet so great was the desire of France to co-operate in the great work initiated by the Washington conference that she did not recoil before sacrifices the extent of which should not pass unnoticed on a day like this. Two figures, more eloquent than any words, will allow you to appreciate the importance of her share in the reduction of naval armament. In 1914, on the eve of the war, France was fully occupied in carrying out a naval plan through which, if war had not interfered, she would now possess 700,000 tons of capital ships. Instead of this my country reduces to 175,000 tons her strength in capital ships—a reduction of three-fourths of her program. France, had it not been for the war, would possess since the first of November last twenty-eight capital

ships; with the treaty of Washington she is now content with five. Thus does France, represented as an imperialistic country, abandon the essential arm of aggressive militarism. * * *

France has only preserved, she only wishes to keep a defensive force (submarines and auxiliary craft) for the protection of her coasts, her colonies, ports and lines of communication with her distant possessions, and even in this it is only a possibility, an opportunity, which she eventually reserves. She does not assert her intention, her will, to build such a defensive force. It is certain she will not want to incur the burden if circumstances turn out so that she can give it up without danger. Furthermore, France gives a spontaneous adhesion to the resolutions so loftily expressed by Senator Root, which brand the abominable use made by Germany of offensive weapons in naval and submarine warfare, and unite all of us in a gentlemen's undertaking, binding each to repudiate those infamous practices forever.

ANNEX TO PACIFIC TREATY.

One of the last acts of the conference was to pass a special agreement supplementary to the Four-Power Pacific Treaty, the text of which was published in the January CURRENT HISTORY. This agreement had been drafted with the intention to define precisely the extent of the guarantee given under that treaty to the integrity of the Japanese "homeland," doubts concerning which had been expressed even by President Harding. The new agreement was adopted on Feb. 4, and was one of the five treaties signed on Feb. 6. It reads as follows:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan have, through their respective plenipotentiaries, agreed upon the following stipulations supplementary to the quadruple treaty signed at Washington on Dec. 13, 1921:

The term "insular possessions and insular dominions" used in the aforesaid treaty shall, in its application to Japan, include only Karafuto (or the southern portion of the Island of Saghalin), Formosa and the Pescadores and the islands under the mandate of Japan.

The present agreement shall have the same force and effect as the said treaty, to which it is supplementary.

The provision of Article IV. of the aforesaid treaty of Dec. 13, 1921, relating to ratification, shall be applicable to the present agreement, which, in French and English,

shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to each of the other contracting powers.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement. Done at the City of Washington, Feb. 6, 1922.

President Harding's farewell address, which summed up the achievements of the conference before the departure of the delegates on Feb. 6, is given in full near the beginning of this article. The text of the treaties will be found on the following pages.

THE FIVE-POWER NAVAL TREATY

Full official text of the treaty under which the United States Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan agree to abolish competition in capital ships—One of the greatest achievements of the Arms Conference

THE adoption by the Arms Conference at Washington on Feb. 1, 1922, of the Five-Power Naval Treaty, the text of which is published herewith, was one of its most momentous achievements. By this treaty competition in capital ships is abolished; a ratio for ownership of such ships is fixed for the British, American, Japanese, French and Italian navies; the tonnage and armament of aircraft carriers are limited, the maximum size and armament permitted to non-capital ships are specified, and the status quo in respect to fortification and naval base construction in the islands of the Pacific is agreed upon by the powers concerned. An account of the reporting of the treaty by Secretary Hughes, as Chairman, to the fifth plenary session on the date given, and a summary of his clarifying explanations, will be found in preceding pages describing the sessions of the conference. The official text of the treaty follows:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan,

Desiring to contribute to the maintenance of the general peace, and to reduce the burdens of competition in armament,

Have resolved, with a view to accomplishing these purposes, to conclude a treaty to limit their respective naval armament, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:
Charles Evans Hughes,
Henry Cabot Lodge,
Oscar W. Underwood,
Elihu Root,
Citizens of the United States;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

The Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P., Lord President of his Privy Council;

The Right Hon. Baron Lee of Fareham, G. B. E., K. C. B., First Lord of his Admiralty;

The Right Hon. Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K. C. B., his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

and for the Dominion of Canada:

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, G. C. M. G., K. C.;

for the Commonwealth of Australia:

Senator the Right Hon. George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories;

for the Dominion of New Zealand:

The Hon. Sir John William Salmond, K. C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand;

for the Union of South Africa:

The Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, O. M., M. P.;

for India:

The Right Hon. Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, member of the Indian Council of State;

The President of the French Republic:

M. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister of the Colonies;

M. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honor;

His Majesty the King of Italy:

The Hon. Carlo Schanzer, Senator of the Kingdom;

The Hon. Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Senator of the Kingdom, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington;

The Hon. Luigi Albertini, Senator of the Kingdom;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the first class of the Imperial Order of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower;

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Joshii, a member of the first class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun;

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the second class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun,

who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

General Provisions Relating to the Limitation of Naval Armament

ARTICLE 1—The contracting powers agree to limit their respective naval armament as provided in the present treaty.

ARTICLE 2—The contracting powers may retain respectively the capital ships which are specified in Chapter II., Part 1. On the coming into force of the present treaty, but subject to the following provisions of this article, all other capital ships, built or building, of the United States, the British Empire and Japan shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II., Part 2.

In addition to the capital ships specified in Chapter II., Part 1, the United States may complete and retain two ships of the West Virginia class now under construction. On the completion of these two ships the North Dakota and Delaware shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II., Part 2.

The British Empire may, in accordance with the replacement table in Chapter II., Part 3, construct two new capital ships not exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement each. On the completion of the said two ships, the Thunderer, King George V., Ajax and Centurion shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II., Part 2.

ARTICLE 3—Subject to the provisions of Article 2, the contracting powers shall abandon their respective capital ship building programs, and no new capital ships shall be constructed or acquired by any of the contracting powers except replacement tonnage which may be constructed or acquired as specified in Chapter II., Part 3.

Ships which are replaced in accordance with Chapter II., Part 3, shall be disposed of as prescribed in Part 2 of that chapter.

ARTICLE 4—The total capital ship replacement tonnage of each of the contracting powers shall not exceed in standard displacement, for the United States 525,000 tons (533,400 metric tons); for the British Empire 525,000 tons (533,400 metric tons); for France 175,000

tons (177,800 metric tons); for Italy 175,000 tons (177,800 metric tons); for Japan 315,000 tons (320,040 metric tons).

ARTICLE 5—No capital ship exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any of the contracting powers.

ARTICLE 6—No capital ship of any of the contracting powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 16 inches (406 millimeters).

ARTICLE 7—The total tonnage for aircraft carriers of each of the contracting powers shall not exceed in standard displacement, for the United States 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for the British Empire 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for France 60,000 tons (60,960 metric tons); for Italy 60,000 tons (60,960 metric tons); for Japan 81,000 tons (82,296 metric tons).

ARTICLE 8—The replacement of aircraft carriers shall be effected only as prescribed in Chapter II., Part 3, provided, however, that all aircraft carrier tonnage in existence or building on Nov. 12, 1921, shall be considered experimental, and may be replaced, within the total tonnage limit prescribed in Article 7, without regard to its age.

ARTICLE 9—No aircraft carrier exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by or constructed by, for or within the jurisdiction of, any of the contracting powers.

However, any of the contracting powers may, provided that its total tonnage allowance of aircraft carriers is not thereby exceeded, build not more than two aircraft carriers, each of a tonnage of not more than 33,000 tons (33,528 metric tons) standard displacement, and in order to effect economy any of the contracting powers may use for this purpose any two of their ships, whether constructed or in course of construction, which would otherwise be scrapped under the provisions of Article 2. The armament of any aircraft carriers exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be in accordance with the requirements of Article 10, except that the total number of guns to be carried in case any of such guns be of a calibre exceeding 6 inches (152 millimeters), except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (126.7 millimeters), shall not exceed eight.

ARTICLE 10—No aircraft carrier of any of the contracting powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimeters). Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 9, if the armament carried includes guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimeters) in calibre, the total number of guns carried, except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (126.7 millimeters), shall not exceed ten. If alternatively the armament contains no guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimeters) in calibre, the number of guns is not limited. In either case the number of anti-aircraft guns and of guns not exceeding 5 inches (126.7 millimeters) is not limited.

ARTICLE 11—No vessel of war exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, other than a capital ship or aircraft car-

rier, shall be acquired by or constructed by, for or within the jurisdiction of any of the contracting powers. Vessels not specifically built as fighting ships, nor taken in time of peace under Government control for fighting purposes, which are employed on fleet duties or as troop transports or in some other way for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of hostilities otherwise than as fighting ships, shall not be within the limitations of this article.

ARTICLE 12—No vessel of war of any of the contracting powers hereafter laid down, other than a capital ship, shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimeters).

ARTICLE 13—Except as provided in Article 9, no ship designated in the present treaty to be scrapped may be reconverted into a vessel of war.

ARTICLE 14—No preparations shall be made in merchant ships in time of peace for the installation of warlike armaments for the purpose of converting such ships into vessels of war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of guns not exceeding 6-inch (152 millimeters) calibre.

ARTICLE 15—No vessel of war constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the contracting powers for a non-contracting power shall exceed the limitations as to displacement and armament prescribed by the present treaty for vessels of a similar type which may be constructed by or for any of the contracting powers; provided, however, that the displacement for aircraft carriers constructed for a non-contracting power shall in no case exceed 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement.

ARTICLE 16—If the construction of any vessel of war for a non-contracting power is undertaken within the jurisdiction of any of the contracting powers, such power shall promptly inform the other contracting powers of the date of the signing the contract and the date on which the keel of the ship is laid; and shall also communicate to them the particulars relating to the ship prescribed in Chapter II., Part 3, Section I. (b), (4) and (5).

ARTICLE 17—In the event of a contracting power being engaged in war, such power shall not use as a vessel of war any vessel of war which may be under construction within its jurisdiction for any other power, or which may have been constructed within its jurisdiction for another power and not delivered.

ARTICLE 18—Each of the contracting powers undertakes not to dispose by gift, sale or any mode of transfer of any vessel of war in such a manner that such vessel may become a vessel of war in the navy of any foreign power.

ARTICLE 19—The United States, the British Empire and Japan agree that the status quo at the time of the signing of the present treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, shall be maintained in their respective territories and possessions specified hereunder:

(1) The insular possessions which the United States now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of the United States, Alaska and the Panama Canal Zone, not including the Aleutian Islands, and (b) the Hawaiian Islands;

(2) Hongkong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, east of the meridian of 110 degrees east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its territories, and (c) New Zealand;

(3) The following insular territories and possessions of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, to wit: the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Amami-Oshima, the Loochoo Islands, Formosa and the Pescadores, and any insular territories or possessions in the Pacific Ocean which Japan may hereafter acquire.

The maintenance of the status quo under the foregoing provisions implies that no new fortifications or naval bases shall be established in the territories and possessions specified; that no measures shall be taken to increase the existing naval facilities for the repair and maintenance of naval forces, and that no increase shall be made in the coast defenses of the territories and possessions above specified. This restriction, however, does not preclude such repair and replacement of worn-out weapons and equipment as is customary in naval and military establishments in time of peace.

ARTICLE 20—The rules for determining tonnage displacement prescribed in Chapter II., Part 4, shall apply to the ships of each of the contracting powers.

CHAPTER II.

Rules relating to the execution of the treaty —Definition of terms

PART I.

Capital Ships Which May Be Retained by the Contracting Powers

In accordance with Article 2, ships may be retained by each of the contracting powers as specified in this part.

Ships which may be retained by the United States:

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Maryland	32,600	Nevada	27,500
California	32,300	New York	27,000
Tennessee	32,300	Texas	27,000
Idaho	32,000	Arkansas	26,000
New Mexico	32,000	Wyoming	26,000
Mississippi	32,000	Florida	21,825
Arizona	31,400	Utah	21,825
Pennsylvania	31,400	North Dakota	20,000
Oklahoma	27,500	Delaware	20,000

Total tonnage 500,650

On the completion of the two ships of the West Virginia class and the scrapping of the North Dakota and Delaware, as provided in Article 2, the total tonnage to be retained by the United States will be 525,850.

Ships which may be retained by the British Empire:

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Royal Sovereign	25,750	Emper. of India	25,000
Royal Oak	25,750	Iron Duke	25,000
Revenge	25,750	Marlborough	25,000
Resolution	25,750	Hood	41,200

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Ramilles	25,750	Renown	26,500
Malaya	27,500	Repulse	26,500
Valiant	27,500	Tiger	28,500
Barham	27,500	Thunderer	22,500
Queen Elizabeth. 27,500		King George V. 23,000	
Warspite	27,500	Ajax	23,000
Benbow	25,000	Centurion	23,000
Total tonnage		580,450	

On the completion of the two new ships to be constructed and the scrapping of the Thunderer, King George V., Ajax and Centurion, as provided in Article 2, the total tonnage to be retained by the British Empire will be 558,950 tons.

Ships which may be retained by France:

Name. (Metric Tons).	Tonnage	Name. (Metric Tons).	Tonnage.
Bretagne	23,500	Jean Bart	23,500
Lorraine	23,500	Courbet	23,500
Provence	23,500	Concorcet	18,890
Paris	23,500	Diderot	18,890
France	23,500	Voltaire	18,890

Total tonnage.....221,170

France may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929 and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section 2.

Ships which may be retained by Italy:

Name. (Metric Tons).	Tonnage	Name. (Metric Tons).	Tonnage
Andrea Doria.....	22,700	Dante Alighieri. 19,500	
Cal Duilio.....	22,700	Roma	12,600
Conte di Cavour. 22,500		Napoli	12,600
Giulio Cesare.....	22,500	Vittorio Eman- uele	12,600
Leonardo da Vin- ci	22,500	Regina Elena.....	12,600

Total tonnage.....182,500

Italy may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929 and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section 2.

Ships which may be retained by Japan:

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Mutsu	33,800	Fu-So	30,600
Nagato	33,800	Kirishima	27,500
Hiuga	31,260	Haruna	27,500
Ise	31,260	Hiyel	27,500
Yamashiro	30,600	Kongo	27,500

Total tonnage.....301,320

PART II.

Rules for Scrapping Vessels of War

The following rules shall be observed for the scrapping of vessels of war which are to be disposed of in accordance with Articles 2 and 3:

1. A vessel to be scrapped must be placed in such condition that it cannot be put to combatant use.

2. This result must be finally effected in any one of the following ways:

(a) Permanent sinking of the vessel.

(b) Breaking the vessel up. This shall always involve the destruction or removal of all machinery, boilers and armor, and all deck, side and bottom plating.

(c) Converting the vessel to target use exclusively. In such case all the provisions of Paragraph 3 of this part, except Subparagraph 6, in so far as may be necessary to enable the

ship to be used as a mobile target, and except Subparagraph 7, must be previously complied with. Not more than one capital ship may be retained for this purpose at one time by any of the contracting powers.

(d) Of the capital ships which would otherwise be scrapped under the present treaty in or after the year 1931, France and Italy may each retain two seagoing vessels for training purposes exclusively; that is, as gunnery or torpedo schools. The two vessels retained by France shall be of the Jean Bart class, and of those retained by Italy one shall be the Dante Alighieri, the other of the Giulio Cesare class. On retaining these ships for the purpose above stated, France and Italy respectively undertake to remove and destroy their conning towers, and not to use the said ships as vessels of war.

3. (a) Subject to the special exceptions contained in Article 9, when a vessel is due for scrapping, the first stage of scrapping, which consists in rendering a ship incapable of further warlike service, shall be immediately undertaken.

(b) A vessel shall be considered incapable of further warlike service when there shall have been removed and landed, or else destroyed in the ship:

(1) All guns and essential portions of guns, fire-control tops and revolving parts of all barbettes and turrets;

(2) All machinery for working hydraulic or electric mountings;

(3) All fire-control instruments and range-finders;

(4) All ammunition, explosives and mines;

(5) All torpedoes, warheads and torpedo tubes;

(6) All wireless telegraphy installations;

(7) The conning tower and all side armor, or alternatively all main propelling machinery; and

(8) All landing and flying-off platforms and all other aviation accessories.

4. The periods in which scrapping of vessels is to be effected are as follows:

(a) In the case of vessels to be scrapped under the first paragraph of Article 2, the work of rendering the vessels incapable of further warlike service, in accordance with Paragraph 3 of this part, shall be completed within six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, and the scrapping shall be finally effected within eighteen months from such coming into force.

(b) In the case of the vessels to be scrapped under the second and third paragraphs of Article 2, or under Article 3, the work of rendering the vessel incapable of further warlike service in accordance with Paragraph 3 of this part shall be commenced at later than the date of completion of its successor, and shall be finished within six months from the date of such completion. The vessel shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with Paragraph 2 of this part, within eighteen months from the date of completion of its successor. If, however, the completion of the new vessel be delayed, then the work of rendering the old vessel incapable of further warlike service in accordance with Paragraph 3 of this part shall be commenced within four years from the laying of the

SECTION II.—Replacement and Scrapping of Capital Ships.
[Comprising the tables on this and following pages]

REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS—

UNITED STATES

Year.	Ships Laid Down.	Ships Completed.	Ships Scrapped (Age in Parentheses.)	Ships Retained. Summary.	
				Pre- Jutland.	Post- Jutland.
			Maine (20), Missouri (20), Virginia (17), Nebraska (17), Georgia (17), New Jersey (17), Rhode Island (17), Connecticut (17), Louisiana (17), Vermont (16), Kansas (16), Minnesota (16), New Hampshire (15), South Carolina (13), Michigan (13), Washington (0), South Dakota (0), Indiana (0), Montana (0), North Carolina (0), Iowa (0), Massachusetts (0), Lexington (0), Constitution (0), Constellation (0), Saratoga (0), Ranger (0), United States (0)*.....	17	1
1922	A, B†... Delaware (12), North Dakota (12).....		15	3
1923			15	3
1924			15	3
1925			15	3
1926			15	3
1927			15	3
1928			15	3
1929			15	3
1930			15	3
1931	C, D.....		15	3
1932	E, F.....		15	3
1933	G.....		15	3
1934	H, I.....C, D.....	Florida (23), Utah (23), Wyoming (22).....	12	5
1935	J.....E, F.....	Arkansas (23), Texas (21), New York (21).....	9	7
1936	K, L.....G.....	Nevada (20), Oklahoma (20).....	7	8
1937	M.....H, I.....	Arizona (21), Pennsylvania (21).....	5	10
1938	N, O.....J.....	Mississippi (21).....	4	11
1939	P, Q.....K, L.....	New Mexico (21), Idaho (20).....	2	13
1940	M.....	Tennessee (20).....	1	14
1941	N, O.....	California (20), Maryland (20).....	0	15
1942	P, Q.....	2 ships West Virginia class.....	0	15

*The United States may retain the Oregon and Illinois for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III. (b).

†Two West Virginia class.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement, laid down and completed in the years specified.

keel of the new vessel, and shall be finished within six months from the date on which such work was commenced, and the old vessel shall be finally scrapped in accordance with Paragraph 2 of this part within eighteen months from the date when the work of rendering it incapable of further warlike service was commenced.

PART III

Replacement

The replacement of capital ships and aircraft carriers shall take place according to the rules in Section I. and the tables in Section II. of this part.

SECTION I.—Rules for Replacement

(a) Capital ships and aircraft carriers twenty years after the date of their completion may, except as otherwise provided in Article 8 and in the tables in Section II. of this part, be replaced by new construction, but within the limits prescribed in Article 4 and Article 7. The keels of such new construction may, except as otherwise provided in Article 8 and in the tables in Section II. of this part, be laid down not earlier than seventeen years from the date of completion of the tonnage to be replaced, provided, however, that no capital ship tonnage, with the exception of the ships referred to in

the third paragraph of Article 2, and the replacement tonnage specifically mentioned in Section II. of this part, shall be laid down until ten years from Nov. 12, 1921.

(b) Each of the contracting powers shall communicate promptly to each of the other contracting powers the following information:

(1) The names of the capital ships and aircraft carriers to be replaced by new construction;

(2) The date of governmental authorization of replacement tonnage;

(3) The date of laying the keels of replacement tonnage;

(4) The standard displacement in tons and metric tons of each new ship to be laid down, and the principal dimensions, namely, length at waterline, extreme beam at or below waterline, mean draught at standard displacement;

(5) The date of completion of each new ship and its standard displacement in tons and metric tons, and the principal dimensions, namely, length at waterline, extreme beam at or below waterline, mean draught at standard displacement, at time of completion.

(c) In case of loss or accidental destruction of capital ships or aircraft carriers, they may immediately be replaced by new construction subject to the tonnage limits prescribed in

REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS—

GREAT BRITAIN

Year.	Ships Laid Down.	Ships Completed.	Ships Scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships Retained. Summary.	
				Pre- Jutland.	Post- Jutland.
			Commonwealth (16), Agamemnon (13), Dreadnought (15), Bellerophon (12), St. Vincent (11), Inflexible (13), Superb (12), Neptune (10), Hercules (10), Indomitable (13), Temeraire (12), New Zealand (9), Lion (9), Princess Royal (9), Conqueror (9), Monarch (9), Orion (9), Australia (8), Agincourt (7), Erin (7), 4 building or projected*	21	1
1922	A, B†			21	1
1923				21	1
1924				21	1
1925	A, B	King George V. (13), Ajax (12), Centurion (12), Thunderer (13)		17	3
1926				17	3
1927				17	3
1928				17	3
1929				17	3
1930				17	3
1931	A, D			17	3
1932	E, F			17	3
1933	G			17	3
1934	H, I	C, D	Iron Duke (20), Marlborough (20), Emperor of India (20), Benbow (20)	13	5
1935	J	E, F	Tiger (21), Queen Elizabeth (20), Warspite (20), Barham (20)	9	7
1936	K, L	G	Malaya (20), Royal Sovereign (20)	7	8
1937	M	H, I	Revenge (21), Resolution (21)	5	10
1938	N, O	J	Royal Oak (22)	4	11
1939	P, Q	K, L	Valiant (23), Repulse (23)	2	13
1940		M	Renown (24)	1	14
1941		N, O	Ramillies (24), Hood (21)	0	15
1942		P, Q	A (17), B (17)	0	15

*The British Empire may retain the Colossus and Collingwood for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III. (b).

†Two 35,000-ton ships, standard displacement.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement laid down and completed in the years specified.

Articles 4 and 7, and in conformity with the other provisions of the present treaty, the regular replacement program being deemed to be advanced to that extent.

(d) No retained capital ships or aircraft carriers shall be reconstructed except for the purpose of providing means of defense against air and submarine attack, and subject to the following rules: The contracting powers may, for that purpose, equip existing tonnage with bulge or blister or anti-air attack deck protection, providing the increase of displacement thus affected does not exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) displacement for each ship. No alterations in side armor, in calibre, number or general type of mounting of main armament shall be permitted, except:

(1) In the case of France and Italy, which countries within the limits allowed for bulge may increase their armor protection and the calibre of the guns now carried on their existing capital ships so as to exceed sixteen inches (406 millimeters), and (2) the British Empire shall be permitted to complete, in the case of the Renown, the alterations to armor that have already been commenced but temporarily suspended.

[Here follows Section II. of Part III., giving the replacement and scrapping schedules of all five countries—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. These tables are printed separately at the tops of pages 1021-1024.]

PART IV

Definitions

For the purposes of the present treaty the following expressions are to be understood in the sense defined in this part:

Capital Ship

A capital ship, in the case of ships hereafter built, is defined as a vessel of war, not an aircraft carrier, whose displacement exceeds 10,000 tons, (10,150 metric tons) standard displacement, or which carries a gun with a calibre exceeding 8 inches (203 millimeters).

Aircraft Carrier

An aircraft carrier is defined as a vessel of war with a displacement in excess of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement designed for the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft. It must be so constructed that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon, and not designed and constructed for carrying a more powerful armament than that allowed to it under Article 9 or Article 10, as the case may be.

Standard Displacement

The standard displacement of a ship is the displacement of the ship complete, fully manned, engined and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions and fresh water for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements of every description that are intended to be carried

REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS—

FRANCE

Year.	Ships Laid Down.	Ships Completed.	Ships Scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships Retained. Summary.	
				Pre- Jutland.	Post- Jutland.
1922				7	0
1923				7	0
1924				7	0
1925				7	0
1926				7	0
1927	35,000 tons			7	0
1928				7	0
1929	35,000 tons			7	0
1930		35,000 tons	Jean Bart (17), Courbet (17)	5	*
1931	35,000 tons			5	*
1932	35,000 tons	35,000 tons	France (18)	4	*
1933	35,000 tons			4	*
1934		35,000 tons	Paris (20), Bretagne (20)	2	*
1935		35,000 tons	Provence (20)	1	*
1936		35,000 tons	Lorraine (20)	0	*
1937				0	*
1938				0	*
1939				0	*
1940				0	*
1941				0	*
1942				0	*

*Within tonnage limitations; number not fixed.

NOTE.—France expressly reserves the right of employing the capital ship tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and that the total capital ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present treaty.

REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS—

ITALY

Year.	Ships Laid Down.	Ships Completed.	Ships Scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships Retained. Summary.	
				Pre- Jutland.	Post- Jutland.
1922				6	0
1923				6	0
1924				6	0
1925				6	0
1926				6	0
1927	35,000 tons			6	0
1928				6	0
1929	35,000 tons			6	0
1930				6	0
1931	25,000 tons	35,000 tons	Dante Alighieri (19)	5	*
1932	45,000 tons			5	*
1933	25,000 tons	35,000 tons	Leonardo da Vinci (19)	4	*
1934				4	*
1935		35,000 tons	Giulio Cesare (21)	3	*
1936		45,000 tons	Conte di Cavour (21), Duilio (21)	1	*
1937		25,000 tons	Andrea Doria (21)	0	*

*Within tonnage limitations; number not fixed.

NOTE.—Italy expressly reserves the right of employing the capital ship tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and the total capital ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present treaty.

In war, but without fuel or reserve feed water on board.

The word "ton" in the present treaty, except in the expression "metric tons," shall be understood to mean the ton of 2,240 pounds (1,016 kilos). Vessels now completed shall retain their present ratings of displacement tonnage in accordance with their national system of measurement. However, a power expressing displacement in metric tons shall be considered for the application of the present treaty as owning only the equivalent displacement in tons of 2,240 pounds. A vessel completed hereafter shall be rated at its displacement tonnage when in the standard condition defined herein.

CHAPTER III.

Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 21.—If, during the term of the pres-

ent treaty, the requirements of the national security of any contracting power in respect of naval defense are, in the opinion of that power, materially affected by any change of circumstances, the contracting powers will, at the request of such power, meet in conference with a view to the reconsideration of the provisions of the treaty and its amendment by mutual agreement.

In view of possible technical and scientific developments, the United States, after consultation with the other contracting powers, shall arrange for a conference of all the contracting powers, which shall convene as soon as possible after the expiration of eight years from the coming into force of the present treaty to consider what changes, if any, in the treaty may be necessary to meet such developments.

REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS—

JAPAN

Year.	Laid Down. Ships	Completed. Ships	Ships Scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships Retained. Summary.	
				Pre- Jutland.	Post- Jutland.
			Hiszen (20), Mikasa (20), Kashima (16), Katori (16), Satsuma (12), Aki (11), Settsu (10), Ikoma (14), Ibuki (12), Kurama (11), Amagi (0), Akagi (0), Kaga (0), Tosa (0), Takao (0), Atago (0). Projected program 8 ships not laid down.*		
1922.....				8	12
1923.....				8	12
1924.....				8	12
1925.....				8	12
1926.....				8	12
1927.....				8	12
1928.....				8	12
1929.....				8	12
1930.....				8	12
1931.....	A.....			8	12
1932.....	E.....			8	12
1933.....	C.....			8	12
1934.....	D.....	A.....	Kongo (21).....	7	3
1935.....	E.....	B.....	Hiyei (21), Haruna (20).....	5	4
1936.....	F.....	C.....	Kirishima (21).....	4	5
1937.....	G.....	D.....	Fuso (22).....	3	6
1938.....	H.....	E.....	Yamashiro (21).....	2	7
1939.....	I.....	F.....	Ise (22).....	1	8
1940.....		G.....	Hiuga (22).....	0	9
1941.....		H.....	Nagato (21).....	0	9
1942.....		I.....	Mutsu (21).....	0	9

*Japan may retain the Shikishima and Asahi for noncombatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III. (b).

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement, laid down and completed in the years specified.

NOTE APPLICABLE TO ALL THE TABLES IN SECTION II.

The order above prescribed in which ships are to be scrapped is in accordance with their age. It is understood that when replacement begins according to the above tables the order of scrapping in the case of the ships of each of the contracting powers may be varied at its option; provided, however, that such power shall scrap in each year the number of ships above stated.

ARTICLE 22—Whenever any contracting power shall become engaged in a war which, in its opinion, affects the naval defense of its national security, such power may, after notice to the other contracting powers, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present treaty, other than those under Articles 13 and 17, provided that such power shall notify the other contracting powers that the emergency is of such a character as to require such suspension.

The remaining contracting powers shall, in such case, consult together with a view to agreement as to what temporary modifications, if any, should be made in the treaty as between themselves. Should such consultation not produce agreement, duly made in accordance with the constitutional methods of the respective powers, any one of said contracting powers may, by giving notice to the other contracting powers, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present treaty, other than those under Articles 13 and 17.

On the cessation of hostilities, the contracting powers will meet in conference to consider what modifications, if any, should be made in the provisions of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 23—The present treaty shall remain in force until Dec. 31, 1936, and in case none of the contracting powers shall have given notice

two years before that date of its intention to terminate the treaty, it shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date on which notice of termination shall be given by one of the contracting powers, whereupon the treaty shall terminate as regards all the contracting powers. Such notice shall be communicated in writing to the Government of the United States, which shall immediately transmit a certified copy of the notification to the other powers and inform them of the date on which it was received. The notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on that date. In the event of notice of termination being given by the Government of the United States, such notice shall be given to the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the other contracting powers, and the notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on the date of the communication made to the said diplomatic representatives.

Within one year of the date on which a notice of termination by any power has taken effect, all the contracting powers shall meet in conference.

ARTICLE 24—The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at

Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other contracting powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present treaty, of which the English and French texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting powers.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the first day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

To the naval treaty was added a supplementary resolution, adopted at the plenary

session of Feb. 4. This addition was an amplification of Article 18 of the treaty, which binds the signatory powers not to dispose of war craft—in such condition that the vessels might be utilized as warships—"by gift, sale or transfer." The new resolution, which is to be taken as a part of the treaty, reads thus:

It should, therefore, be recorded in the minutes of the sub-committee (on naval limitation) and before the full conference that the powers signatory to the treaty of naval limitation regard themselves in honor bound not to sell any ships between the present date and ratification of the treaty, when such a sale would be a breach of Article 18.

SUBMARINES AND POISON GAS TREATY

Text of the Five-Power compact under which the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy bind themselves to refrain from the use of submarines as commerce destroyers, and of poison gas in warfare

THE treaty embodying the resolutions passed by the conference against the use of submarines as commerce destroyers, and also against the employment of poison gas in warfare, the text of which is given herewith, was presented by Mr. Root at the fifth plenary session of Feb. 1, and signed at the seventh and last plenary session on Feb. 6, 1922. Both subjects had been debated at length in previous sessions, and the decisions here translated into treaty terms were not reached without considerable discussion. [See February CURRENT HISTORY.] Mr. Root was sponsor for both of the original resolutions prohibiting these agencies of warfare. The text of this double treaty is as follows:

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan,

Hereinafter referred to as the signatory powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, and to prevent the use in war of noxious gases and chemicals, have determined to conclude a treaty to this effect, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries [here follows the list of names], who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1—The signatory powers declare that among the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, the following are to be deemed an established part

of international law: (1) A merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search to determine its character before it can be seized. A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuse to submit to visit and search after warning or to proceed as directed after seizure. A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety. (2) Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated; and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules, the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from seizure and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

ARTICLE 2—The signatory powers invite all other civilized powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law, so that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

ARTICLE 3—The signatory powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy, and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

ARTICLE 4—The signatory powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating, as

they were violated in the recent war of 1914-1918, the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants, and to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves, and they invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

ARTICLE 5—The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials and devices having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized powers are parties, the signatory powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby as between themselves and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.

ARTICLE 6—The present treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the signatory powers

and shall take effect on the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington. The Government of the United States of America will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications. The present treaty, in French and English, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America, and duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to each of the signatory powers.

ARTICLE 7—The Government of the United States of America will further transmit to each of the non-signatory powers a duly certified copy of the present treaty and invite its adherence thereto. Any non-signatory power may adhere to the present treaty by communicating an instrument of adherence to the Government of the United States of America, which will thereupon transmit to each of the signatory and adhering powers a certified copy of each instrument of adherence.

In Faith Whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty. Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-two.

TEXT OF THE "OPEN-DOOR" TREATY

Nine-Power Pact declaring for integrity of Chinese sovereignty and for equal opportunity in trade intercourse—Peking's rights respected

THE Treaty on Chinese Integrity, as it was entitled in the official version, or the treaty on the "Open Door," the text of which is given below, was presented by Secretary Hughes at the sixth plenary session of the arms conference on Feb. 4. This nine-power agreement, signed by the American, British, Chinese, Japanese, French, Belgian, Italian, Dutch and Portuguese delegations for their respective Governments, was based on the original Root resolutions and embodied further a number of resolutions passed by the Far Eastern Committee at various sessions. It was formally approved by the conference after Secretary Hughes had read the "substantive portions" and was signed, together with other treaties, at the seventh plenary session held on Feb. 6—the last meeting of the conference. All the delegations also unanimously approved a supplementary resolution, which had been adopted by the Far Eastern Committee on Feb. 3, and which provided for the establishment in China of a board of reference charged with

the maintenance of the "open-door" principle, as well as a special declaration by China binding her not to alienate any of her territory.

The main treaty pledges the nine signatory powers to help China to get on her feet, and not to seek for themselves any unfair or special advantages, and also to respect Chinese neutrality; it further authorizes all or any of them, including China herself, to call a conference of all the signatories in case a situation arises which involves the application of the terms of the treaty. The official text is as follows:

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal,

Desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity;

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their

respective plenipotentiaries [here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries], who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1—The contracting powers, other than China, agree:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

ARTICLE 2—The contracting powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement or understanding, either with one another, or individually or collectively with any power or powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article 1.

ARTICLE 3—With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the open door, or equality of opportunity, in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the contracting powers, other than China, agree not to seek or to support their respective nations in seeking:

(A)—Any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region in China;

(B)—Any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that the foregoing stipulations of this article are not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

China undertakes to be guided by the principles stated in the foregoing stipulations of this article in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries, whether parties to the present treaty or not.

ARTICLE 4—The contracting powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create spheres of influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

ARTICLE 5—China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discriminations of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are proceeding, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese railways.

The contracting powers, other than China, assume a corresponding obligation in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

ARTICLE 6—The contracting parties, other than China, agree fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality.

ARTICLE 7—The contracting powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which, in the opinion of any one of them, involves the application of the stipulations of the present treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the contracting powers concerned.

ARTICLE 8—Powers not signatory to the present treaty which have governments recognized by the signatory powers and which have treaty relations with China shall be invited to adhere to the present treaty. To this end the Government of the United States will make the necessary communications to non-signatory powers and will inform the contracting powers of the replies received. Adherence by any power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE 9—The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other contracting powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present treaty, of which the English and French texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting powers.

In Faith Whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

The supplementary resolution adopted by the conference at this same session read thus:

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal,

Desiring to provide a procedure for dealing with questions that may arise in connection with the execution of the provisions of Articles 3 and 5 of the treaty to be signed at Washington on Feb. 6, 1922, with reference to their general policy, designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between

China and the other powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity,

Resolve, That there shall be established in China a board of reference to which any questions arising in connection with the execution of the aforesaid articles may be referred for investigation and report.

The special conference, provided in Article 2 of the treaty to be signed at Washington Feb. 6, 1922, with reference to the Chinese customs tariff shall formulate for the approval of the powers concerned a detailed plan for the constitution of the board.

DECLARATION BY CHINA

The Chinese declaration regarding alienation of territory, also added to the Far Eastern treaty, was stated thus:

China upon her part is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any power.

TREATY ON THE CHINESE TARIFF

Text of the Nine-Power Agreement raising China's Customs Revenue to 5 per cent., and appointing a Revision Commission to meet at Shanghai

THE nine-power treaty on the Chinese tariff, like the treaty on the "open door," was presented to the arms conference at the sixth plenary session of Feb. 4, and was unanimously approved at that session. The reporter for the compact was Senator Underwood, who traced the series of events that had created the existing situation—a situation under which China received a quota of customs revenue far below the nominal 5 per cent. to which she was entitled. Mr. Sze asked that China's various statements on this subject—made at the sessions of Jan. 5, Jan. 16 and Feb. 3—be spread upon the record, and this was done. The treaty, which embodied the resolutions adopted Jan. 16, provides for the assembling at Shanghai as soon as possible of a special commission, whose duty it shall be to revise the Chinese tariff so as to make it equivalent to 5 per cent. ad valorem, instead of about 3.5 per cent., as at present. The treaty also provides for a special conference to take steps toward the abolition of the "likin" or internal customs in China, and authorizes the levying of a surtax, in most instances 2.5 per cent., on Chinese imports as soon as this is found advisable. A further revision is

to be made in four years to adjust the specific duties fixed by the revising commission to the ad valorem rates, and thereafter revisions are to take place every seven years instead of every ten years, as heretofore. Senator Underwood, in reporting the treaty, said that it might be expected to double the maritime customs revenue of China. A full account of the presenting address made by Senator Underwood, and the reply of the Chinese delegation, will be found in preceding pages. The text of the treaty, which was signed at the last session of the conference on Feb. 6, reads as follows:

The United States of America, Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal,

With a view to increasing the revenues of the Chinese Government, have resolved to conclude a treaty relating to the revision of the Chinese customs tariff and cognate matters, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries [here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries], who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1—The representatives of the contracting powers having adopted, on the 4th day of February, 1922, in the City of Washington, a resolution, which is appended as an annex to

this article, with respect to the revision of Chinese customs duties, for the purpose of making such duties equivalent to an effective 5 per centum ad valorem, in accordance with existing treaties, concluded by China with other nations, the contracting powers hereby confirm the said resolution and undertake to accept the tariff rates fixed as a result of such revision. The said tariff rates shall become effective as soon as possible, but not earlier than two months after publication thereof.

Annex—With a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, the powers represented at this conference, namely, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, agree:

That the customs schedule of duties on imports into China, adopted by the Tariff Revision Commission at Shanghai on Dec. 19, 1918, shall forthwith be revised so that rates of duty shall be equivalent to 5 per cent. effective, as provided for in the several commercial treaties to which China is a part.

A revision commission shall meet at Shanghai, at the earliest practicable date, to effect this revision forthwith and on the general lines of the last revision.

This commission shall be composed of representatives of the powers above named and of representatives of any additional powers having governments at present recognized by the powers represented at this conference and who have treaties with China providing for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per cent. ad valorem and who desire to participate therein.

The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible, with a view to its completion within four months from the date of the adoption of this resolution by the Conference on Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The revised tariff shall become effective as soon as possible, but not earlier than two months after its publication by the Revision Commission.

The Government of the United States, as convener of the present conference, is requested forthwith to communicate the terms of this resolution to the Governments of powers not represented at this conference, but who participated in the revision of 1918 aforesaid.

ARTICLE 2—Immediate steps shall be taken through a special conference to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and for the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article 8 of the treaty of Sept. 5, 1902, between Great Britain and China; in Articles 4 and 5 of the treaty of Oct. 8, 1903, between the United States and China, and in Article 1 of the supplementary treaty of Oct. 8, 1903, between Japan and China, with a view to levying the surtaxes provided for in these articles.

The special conference shall be composed of representatives of the signatory powers, and of such other powers as may desire to participate and may adhere to the present treaty, in accord with the provisions of Article 8 in sufficient

time to allow their representatives to take part. It shall meet in China within three months after the coming into force of the present treaty on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE 3—The special conference provided for in Article 2 shall consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in the articles of the treaties mentioned in Article 2; and it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports as from such date, for such purposes and subject to such conditions as it may determine.

The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of 2½ per centum ad valorem, provided that in case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the special conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, the total surtax may be increased, but may not exceed 5 per centum ad valorem.

ARTICLE 4—Following the immediate revision of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China, mentioned in Article 1, there shall be a further revision thereof, to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the aforesaid immediate revision, in order to insure that the customs duties shall correspond to the ad valorem rates fixed by the special conference provided in Article 2.

Following this further revision there shall be, for the same purpose, periodical revisions of the customs schedule of duties on imports into China every seven years, in lieu of the decennial revision authorized by existing treaties with China.

In order to prevent delay, any revision made in pursuance of this article shall be effected in accord with rules to be prescribed by the special conference provided for in Article 3.

ARTICLE 5—In all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all the contracting powers.

ARTICLE 6—The principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized. The special conference provided for in Article 2 shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle, and it is authorized to make equitable adjustments in those cases in which a customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic advantage.

In the meantime, any increase in the rate of customs duties resulting from tariff revision or any surtax hereafter imposed in pursuance of the present treaty shall be levied at a uniform rate ad valorem at all land and maritime frontiers of China.

ARTICLE 7—The charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of 2½ per centum ad valorem until the arrangements provided for by Article 2 come into force.

ARTICLE 8—Powers not signatory to the present treaty, whose Governments are at present recognized by the signatory powers and whose present treaties with China provide for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per

centum ad valorem, shall be invited to adhere to the present treaty.

The Government of the United States undertakes to make the necessary communications for this purpose and to inform the Governments of the contracting powers of the replies received. Adherence by any power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE 9—The provisions of the present treaty shall override all stipulations of treaties between China and the respective contracting powers which are inconsistent therewith, other than stipulations according most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE 10—The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting powers in accord with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other con-

tracting powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present treaty, of which the English and French texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting powers.

In Faith Whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty. Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

In connection with the tariff treaty, the Chinese delegation presented and caused to be spread upon the record a resolution which states that "the Chinese Government have no intention to effect any change which may disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs."

THE SHANTUNG TREATY

Text of the separate treaty between China and Japan which settled the long and bitter dispute over Shantung—The agreement a result of mutual concessions

THE treaty between China and Japan embodying the terms of transfer to China of Kiao-Chau and the Shantung Railway, together with all rights to public property, maritime customs, mining, port and other rights formerly held by Germany, was presented to the conference at its fifth plenary session on Feb. 1. The history of this whole episode, and of the conditions under which a final settlement was reached after two months' discussion outside the conference proper, has been told in the main article on the conference. The two Asiatic delegations attributed the final success of these long negotiations to the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour. The text of the treaty, which was signed at the seventh and last plenary session, Feb. 6, follows herewith:

China and Japan, being equally animated by a sincere desire to settle amicably and in accordance with their common interest outstanding questions relative to Shantung, have resolved to conclude a treaty for the settlement of such, and have to that end named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the Chinese Republic;

Soa Ke Alfred Sze, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

Vi Kvuin Wellington Koo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; and
Chung-Hui Wang, former Minister of Justice;
His Majesty the Emperor of Japan;
Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister of the Navy;

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; and

Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

1.—THE FORMER GERMAN-LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAO-CHAU

1. Japan shall restore to China the former German leased territory of Kiao-Chau.

2. The Governments of Japan and China shall each appoint a commission with powers to make and carry out detailed arrangements relating to the transfer of the administration and of public property in the said territory and to settle other matters equally requiring adjustment. For such purposes the Japanese and Chinese commissions shall meet immediately upon the coming into force of the present agreement.

3. The said transfer and adjustment shall be completed as soon as possible, and in any case not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of this agreement.

4. The Japanese Government agrees to hand over to the Chinese Government, upon the transfer to China of the administration of the former German leased territory of Kiao-Chau, such archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other

documents, in the possession of Japan or certified copies thereof, as may be necessary for the said transfer, as well as those that may be useful for the administration by China, after such transfer, of that territory, and of the fifty-kilometer zone around Kiao-Chau Bay.

II.—PUBLIC PROPERTIES

1. The Government of Japan undertakes to transfer to the Government of China all public properties, including land, buildings, works or establishments in the leased territory of Kiao-Chau, whether formerly possessed by the German authorities or purchased or constructed by the Japanese authorities during the Japanese administration of the said territory, save those indicated in this article (Paragraph 3) of this treaty.

2. In the transfer of such public properties no compensation will be claimed from the Government of China except (1) for those purchased or constructed by the Japanese authorities and also (2) for the improvement on or additions to those formerly possessed by the German authorities. With regard to cases under these two categories, the Government of China shall refund a fair and equitable proportion of the expenses actually incurred by the Government of Japan for such properties specified in (1) or such improvements or addition specified in (2), having regard to the principle of depreciation.

3. It is agreed that such public properties in the leased territory of Kiao-Chau as are required for the Japanese Consulate to be established in Tsing-tao shall be retained by the Government of Japan, and that those required more especially for the benefit of the Japanese community, including public schools, shrines and cemeteries, shall be left in the hands of the said community.

Details of such matters shall be arranged by the joint commission provided for in an article of this treaty.

III. JAPANESE TROOPS

The Japanese troops, including gendarmes now stationed along the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu Railway and its branches, shall be withdrawn as soon as the Chinese police or military force shall have been sent to take over the protection of the railway.

The disposition of the Chinese police or military force and the withdrawal of the Japanese troops under the foregoing provisions may be effected in sections. The date of the completion of such process for each section shall be arranged in advance between the competent authorities of Japan and China. The entire withdrawal of such Japanese troops shall be effected if possible within three months, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the signature of the present agreement.

The Japanese garrison at Tsing-tao shall be completely withdrawn, simultaneously, if possible, with the transfer of the administration of the leased territory of Kiao-Chau to China, and in any case not later than thirty days from the date of such transfer.

IV. THE MARITIME CUSTOMS

1. It is agreed that upon the coming into force of the present treaty the Custom House of Tsing-tao shall be made an integral part of the Chinese maritime customs.

2. It is understood that the provisional agreement of Aug. 6, 1915, between Japan and China relative to the maritime customs office at Tsing-tao will cease to be effective upon the coming into force of the present treaty.

V. THE TSING-TAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY

1. Japan shall transfer to China the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu Railway and its branches, together with all the properties appurtenant thereto, including wharves, warehouses and other similar properties.

2. China, on her part, undertakes to reimburse to Japan the actual value of the railway properties mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The actual value to be so reimbursed shall consist of the sum of 53,406,141 gold marks (which is the assessed value of such portion of the said properties as was left behind by the Germans), or its equivalent, plus the amount which Japan, during her administration of the railway, has actually expended for permanent improvements on or additions to the said properties, less a suitable allowance for depreciation. It is understood that no charge will be made with respect to the wharves, warehouses and other similar properties mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article, except for such permanent improvements on or additions to them as may have been made by Japan during her administration of the railway, less a suitable allowance for depreciation.

3. The Government of Japan and the Government of China shall each appoint three commissioners to form a joint railway commission, with powers to appraise the actual value of the railway properties on the basis defined in the preceding paragraph, and to arrange the transfer of the said properties.

4. Such transfer shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than nine months from the date of the coming into force of the present agreement.

5. To effect the reimbursement under Paragraph 2 of this article, China shall simultaneously with the completion of the transfer of the railway properties, deliver to Japan Chinese Government Treasury notes, secured on the properties and revenues of the railway, and running for a period of fifteen years, but redeemable at the option of China at the end of five years from the date of the delivery of the Treasury notes, or at any time thereafter upon six months' previous notice.

6. Pending the redemption of the said Treasury notes, the Chinese Government will select and appoint, for so long a period as the said notes remain unredeemed, a Japanese subject to the post of traffic manager and another Japanese subject to be chief accountant jointly with the Chinese chief accountant with co-ordinate functions. These officials shall all be under the direction, control and supervision of the Chinese managing director, and removable for cause.

7. Financial details of a technical character re-

lating to the said Treasury notes, not provided for in this article, shall be determined in mutual accord between the Japanese and Chinese authorities as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the coming into force of the present agreement.

VI. THE EXTENSIONS OF THE TSING-TAO-TSINANFU RAILWAY

It is agreed that the concessions relating to the two extensions of the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu Railway, namely, the Tsinanfu-Shunteh and the Kaomi-Hsuechowfu lines, will be thrown open for the common activity of an international financial group, on terms to be arranged between the Chinese Government and the said group.

VII. MINES

The mines of Tsechuan, Fangtse and Chinlingchen, for which the mining rights were formerly granted by China to Germany, shall be handed to a company to be formed by a special charter of the Chinese Government, in which the Japanese capital may not exceed the amount of the Chinese capital. The mode and terms of such arrangement shall be determined by the Chinese and Japanese commissions which are to be appointed for that purpose and which shall meet immediately upon the coming into force of the present agreement.

VIII. OPENING OF THE FORMER GERMAN LEASED TERRITORY

The Japanese Government declares that it has no intention of seeking the establishment of an exclusive Japanese settlement or of an international settlement in Tsing-tao.

The Chinese Government, on its part, declares that the entire area of the former German leased territory of Kiao-Chau will be opened to foreign trade, and that foreigners will be permitted freely to reside and carry on commerce, industry, and other lawful pursuits within such area.

The vested rights lawfully and equitably acquired by foreign nationals in said area, whether under the German régime or during the Japanese military occupation, will be respected.

All questions relating to the status or validity of such vested rights acquired by Japanese nationals shall be arranged by the Sino-Japanese Joint Commission.

IX. SALT INDUSTRY

Whereas, the salt industry is a Government monopoly in China, it is agreed that the interests of Japanese companies of Japanese nationals actually engaged in the said industry along the coast of Kiao-Chau Bay are to be purchased by the Chinese Government on payment of fair compensation, and that exportation to Japan of a quantity of salt produced by the said industry along the said coast is to be permitted on reasonable terms. Arrangements for the above purposes, including the transfer of said interests to the Chinese Government, shall be completed by the Chinese and Japanese commissions as soon as possible, and in any case

[English Cartoon]



—Passing Show, London

THEY WON'T BE HAPPY TILL THEY GET IT

not later than six months from date of the coming into force of the present agreement.

X. SUBMARINE CABLES

Japan declares that all the rights, titles and privileges concerning former German submarine cables between Tsing-tao and Chefoo, and between Tsing-tao and Shanghai, are vested in China, with the exception of those portions of the said two cables which have been utilized by the Japanese Government for the laying of a cable between Tsing-tao and Sasebo—it being understood that the question relating to the landing and operation at Tsing-tao and the said Tsing-tao-Sasebo cable shall be arranged by the Chinese and Japanese commissions as subject to the terms of the existing contracts to which China is a party.

XI. WIRELESS STATIONS

The Japanese wireless stations at Tsing-tao and Tsinanfu shall be transferred to China upon the withdrawal of the Japanese troops at those two places, respectively, with fair compensation for the value of these stations. The details of such transfer and compensation shall be arranged by the Chinese and Japanese commissions.

ANNEXES

I. Preferential Rights—Japan declares that she renounces all preferential rights with regard to foreign assistance in persons, capital and material, stipulated in the Sino-German Treaty of March 6, 1898.

II. Public Enterprises—Enterprises relating to electric light, telephone, stock yards, &c., shall be handed over to the Chinese Government, with the understanding that the stock yard, electric light and laundry enterprises are, in turn, to be handed over to the municipal government of Tsing-tao, which will form Chinese

corporations in conformity with the Chinese Company law to manage them under municipal supervision and regulations.

III. Telephones—1. The Japanese Government agrees to turn over to the Chinese Government the telephone enterprise in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow.

2. As regards such telephone enterprise, the Chinese Government will give due consideration to requests from the foreign community at Tsing-tao for such extensions and improvements as may be reasonably required by the general interests of the public.

IV. Public Works—The Chinese Government declares that in the management and maintenance

termination of such points the two Governments shall, if necessary, obtain recommendations of an expert or experts of a third power or powers who shall be designated in mutual agreement with each other.

VII. Extension of the Tsing-tao - Tsinanfu Railway—The Japanese Government has no intention of claiming that the option for the construction of the Chefoo-Weihsien Railway should be thrown open for the common activity of the international financial consortium if that railway is to be constructed with Chinese capital.

VIII. Opening of the Former Leased Territory—The Chinese Government declares that, pending the enactment and general application of laws regulating the system of local self-government in China, the Chinese local authorities will ascertain the views of the foreign residents in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow in such municipal matters as may directly affect their welfare and interests.

[American Cartoon]



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SPECIAL UNDERSTANDINGS

The four following special understandings, as recorded in the minutes of the conversations, and as explained by Secretary Hughes at the plenary session of Feb. 1, form a part of the conclusions reached:

1. It is understood that on taking over the railway, the Chinese authorities shall have full power and discretion to continue to remove the present employees of Japanese nationality in the service of the railway and that reasonable notice may be given before the date of the transfer of the railway. Detailed arrangements regarding the replacements to take effect immediately

[American Cartoon]



—© Kansas City Times

THE DOOR STAYS OPEN

And Next Time Maybe We Can Make It for Life

of the public works in Tsing-tao, such as roads, waterworks, parks, drainage, sanitary equipment, &c., handed over to the Chinese Government by the Japanese Government, the foreign community in Tsing-tao shall have fair representation.

V. Maritime Customs—The Chinese Government declares that it will move the Inspector General of the Chinese maritime customs to permit the Japanese traders at Tsing-tao to communicate with the said customs in the Japanese language, and, in the selection of a suitable staff for the Tsing-tao customs, to give consideration within the limits of its established service regulations to the diverse needs of the trade of Tsing-tao.

VI. The Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu Railway—Should the Joint Railway Commission fail to reach an agreement on any of the matter entrusted to its charge, the points at issue shall be taken up by the two Governments for discussion and adjustment by means of diplomacy. In the de-

on the transfer of the railway to China are to be made by the Chinese and Japanese authorities.

2. It is understood (1) that the entire subordinate staff of the Japanese traffic manager and of the Japanese chief accountant is to be appointed by the Chinese Managing Director; and (2) that after two years and a half from the date of the transfer of the railway, the Chinese Government may appoint an assistant traffic manager of Chinese nationality, for the period of two years and a half, and that such

assistant Chinese traffic manager may also be appointed at any time after six months' notice for the redemption of the Treasury notes is given.

3. The Japanese delegation declares that Japan has no intention to claim that China is under any obligation to appoint Japanese nationals as members of the said subordinate staff.

4. It is understood that the redemption of the said Treasury notes will not be effected with funds raised from any source other than Chinese.

ITALY'S TRADE AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA

All barriers except that in regard to alcohol are removed between the two countries—Abstention from political propaganda promised—Italian goods in Russia not to be requisitioned, and Russian gold not to be seized

A PRELIMINARY commercial agreement between the Italian Government and the Soviet Government of Russia was signed at Rome on Dec. 26, 1921, by M. Vorovsky, head of the Russian Commercial Mission to Italy, and Marquis della Torretta, the Italian Foreign Minister. The brief cabled summary of this agreement was printed in the February CURRENT HISTORY. The full text of the agreement, as given in the Russian Soviet press, reads as follows:

PREAMBLE—As it is in the interest of Russia and Italy to resume peaceful commercial intercourse immediately, and as it is necessary to establish a preliminary agreement between the Italian Government and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (hereinafter to be referred to as the Russian Soviet Government) to cover the period preceding the conclusion of a commercial agreement and of a formal general treaty between the Governments of these countries which shall regulate their economic and political relations in the future, the above-mentioned parties have, by mutual consent, concluded the following preliminary agreement with the object of the resumption of traffic and commerce between them.

The present convention is conditioned upon the fulfillment of the following:

(a) That each party shall abstain from any act or attempt hostile to the other party and shall abstain from carrying on, outside of its own borders, any direct or indirect propaganda against the institutions of the Kingdom of Italy or of the Russian Soviet Government. (By the term propaganda we include assistance or encouragement given by either party to any

propaganda whatsoever conducted outside of its own borders.)

(b) That all Italians, including natives of the redeemed provinces, who are now in Russia shall be allowed immediately to return to their home country, and that all Russian citizens living in Italy who may wish to return to Russia shall likewise receive full liberty to do so. The two parties obligate themselves immediately to give all necessary instructions to their agents or other persons subject to their authority so that they may conform to the conditions stated above.

ARTICLE 1—The two parties agree not to impose or maintain any blockade against each other, and agree that they will remove immediately all obstacles that have hitherto prevented the resumption of trade between Italy and Russia in goods that may be regularly exported from or imported into their respective territories from or to any other foreign country. They will not subject such commerce to any condition putting it at a disadvantage compared with commerce with any other country, and they will not hinder the banking, credit and financial operations connected with such commerce, but will apply the legislation ordinarily current in their respective countries. It is understood that this article does not deprive the parties concerned of the privilege of regulating traffic in arms and munitions by general legal rules that may later be applied to all importations of arms and munitions from foreign countries, as well as to their export.

No provision of this article shall be interpreted as derogatory to the general international conventions binding upon each party by which commerce in any specific kind of goods is now regulated, or may be regulated later.

ARTICLE 2—Italian and Russian ships and their commanders, crews and cargoes shall obtain in Russian and Italian ports precisely

the same treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities and protection in every respect as are granted habitually, by the practices established among commercial nations, to foreign merchant ships, their commanders, crews and cargoes visiting their ports, including the facilities customarily granted with regard to coal, water, pilots, anchoring, docks, cranes, repairing, stores and, in general, all the services, facilities and privileges connected with maritime commerce. In addition, the Italian Government undertakes the obligation not to participate in, or adhere to, any measure restricting or preventing, or tending to restrict or prevent, Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation on the high seas, straits and canals enjoyed by ships of other nations.

This article shall not impair the right of either party to take the action authorized by its laws connected with the admission of foreigners to its own territory.

ARTICLE 3—Each party shall name such number of its citizens as shall be determined from time to time as reasonably necessary for the execution of the present agreement, with due regard to the conditions under which commerce in its territories is being carried on. The other party shall permit such persons to enter its territory and to remain there and transact business. It shall furthermore remain within the discretion of each of the two contracting parties to limit the admission of the above-mentioned persons or individuals to any specific region and to refuse such admission and sojourn in its territory to any person whom it may consider non grata.

The persons admitted in conformity with this article to the territories of each of the two parties shall, during the time they may remain for commercial reasons, be exempt from all compulsory services of any kind, whether civil, naval, military or other, and from all contributions, whether in money or in kind, imposed as an equivalent for personal service; and they shall have the right to leave whenever they so desire. They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by mail and telegraph and to make use of telegraphic codes under the conditions and regulations fixed in the International Telegraphic Convention of 1876, in St. Petersburg (as revised at Lisbon in 1908).

Each party obligates itself to keep account and to pay the difference due to the other party for telegrams, direct and in transit, and for letters in transit, on the basis of the Regulations of the International Telegraphic Convention and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union. The resulting difference shall be paid in the currency of either country, according to the desire of the receiving party.

Persons admitted to Russia, under the terms of this agreement shall have the right to import freely goods (except goods, such as alcoholic beverages, the importation or production of which are, or may be, prohibited in Russia), destined solely for their own domestic use, or for consumption in quantities reasonably required for such domestic use.

ARTICLE 4—Each party may delegate one or more official agents, the number of whom shall

be mutually agreed upon, who may reside and exercise their functions in the territory of the other party. These agents shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities mentioned in the preceding article and also immunity from arrest and search and immunity for their office premises and dwellings; but it shall be understood that each party reserves for itself the right to refuse admission as an official agent to any person whom it considers persona non grata, and it may request the other party to recall such persons whenever acts have been committed contrary to the present agreement or to the customs of international law.

Such agents shall be accredited to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the execution of this agreement and protecting the interests of their nationals.

These official agents shall have the right to communicate freely with their own Governments and with the official representatives of their own Governments in other countries, by mail, telegraph and wireless, in cipher, and to receive and forward consignments in sealed pouches, subject to a limitation of eight kilograms a week, which shall be exempt from search.

The telegrams and wireless messages of these official agents shall enjoy all those rights of precedence over private dispatches as are generally granted to the dispatches of official representatives of foreign Governments in Italy and Russia.

The official Russian agents in Italy shall enjoy the same privileges regarding local and general taxation as are granted to the official representatives of foreign Governments. The official Italian agents in Russia shall enjoy similar privileges, which shall in no case, however, be less than those granted to the official agents of any other country.

The official agents shall be empowered to visa the passports of persons who may ask to be admitted to the territory of either of the two parties, in conformity with the preceding article.

ARTICLE 5—Each of the parties obligates itself in general to assure the persons admitted to its territory in accordance with the two preceding articles every protection and right and such facilities as may be necessary to carry on business, but such persons shall always remain subject to the regular laws effective in the respective countries.

ARTICLE 6—The two contracting parties agree, from the moment of the conclusion of the present commercial agreement, to resume the exchange of private mail and telegraphic correspondence between the two countries, as well as the forwarding and accepting of telegraphic messages and parcel post, in accordance with the laws and regulations in force up to 1914.

ARTICLE 7—Passports, identification papers, powers of attorney and other documents of like nature issued or certified by competent authorities in either of the two countries and by their official agents, for the purpose of making possible the carrying on of commerce in accordance with this agreement, shall be considered in the

other country as having been issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign Government.

ARTICLE 8—The Italian Government declares that it will not take any step toward sequestrating, or taking possession of, gold, funds, securities, or goods that have not been identified as the property of the Italian Government and which may be exported from Russia in payment, or as guarantees for imports. Nor shall any action be taken against the movable or real property that may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government in Italy.

The Italian Government renounces all special legislation not applying to other countries against the importation into Italy of precious metals from Russia, in coin, in bullion, or in finished articles, or against gold imported to be stored, analyzed, refined, or melted, and given as guarantees or for similar purposes in Italy.

ARTICLE 9—The Russian Soviet Government obligates itself not to advance any claim to the right to dispose in any way of the assets or property of the former Imperial Government or of the Provisional Russian Government, that may still exist in Italy. The Italian Government in turn obligates itself in the same way regarding the assets and property in Russia of the Italian Government. This article does not preclude the inclusion in the general treaty provided for in the preamble to this agreement of provisions regarding the subject of this article. The two parties agree to hold, and not to transfer to any claimant prior to the conclusion of the above indicated treaty, the assets and property mentioned and now under their control.

ARTICLE 10—By virtue of the declaration attached to the present convention regarding the claims of either of the two contracting parties and of its citizens upon the other party for property rights or for obligations assumed by the existing Governments, or by other Governments preceding them, in either country, and regarding the compensation of private Italian, or Russian, persons who may have furnished goods or services to Russia or to Italy, respectively, it is agreed that gold, funds, securities, goods, and in general property of all kinds of the two countries imported or acquired after the conclusion of this convention shall not be subject to sequestration in either country, or to legal action limiting their free disposal, by reason of obligations incurred by the existing Governments or those preceding them in either country prior to the present agreement.

ARTICLE 11—Goods, products and manufactured articles of one country imported into the other, in accordance with this agreement, shall not be subject to compulsory requisition by the Government or any local authority.

ARTICLE 12—It is agreed that all questions concerning rights or claims of the nationals of each of the two countries regarding patents, labels, copyrights, or other literary property in the territory of the other country shall be equitably adjusted in the treaty provided for in the preamble.

ARTICLE 13—The present preliminary agreement shall come into force immediately, and both parties shall at once take all measures nec-

essary for its execution. Immediately following the signing of this agreement the two parties shall begin a discussion of the commercial agreement mentioned in the preamble, which shall regulate the economic relations between the two countries until it is superseded by a general treaty. The commercial agreement shall be signed within six months after the signing of the present preliminary convention.

In case there is a violation by one of the two parties, at any time whatsoever, of any of the provisions of this agreement or of any of the conditions mentioned in the preamble, the other party shall be freed immediately from its contractual obligations. But it shall nevertheless be agreed that before taking any action contrary to the convention the injured party shall allow the other a reasonable time to furnish explanations or to make good the error.

It is mutually agreed that in the event of the cases covered by the preceding clauses each party shall offer all necessary facilities for the liquidation, in accordance with the principles of the agreement, of the transactions already effected, and the facilities necessary for the recall and departure from its territory of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their movable property.

In case the present convention should expire without being superseded by a commercial agreement a prolongation, not to exceed one year, shall be provided for the liquidation of business transactions in order to continue in force the immunities provided for in Article 3 in favor of such persons as are indispensable for such liquidation. Drawn up in Rome, Dec. 26, 1921.

(Signed) DELLA TORRETTA.
VOROVSKY.

A similar convention was signed on the same day between Italy and the Ukraine, the Ukrainian Soviet Government having given Vorovsky full power to act for it. The agreement was accompanied by this declaration of recognition of claims:

At the moment of signing this agreement both parties declare that all claims of each party and of its own nationals against the other party regarding property or rights or obligations assumed by the existing Government and the preceding Government of either party shall be equitably adjusted in the general definite treaty provided for in the preamble.

However, without prejudicing the general provisions of the treaty provided for above, the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle its own responsibility for the payment of compensation to private persons who may have furnished goods or services to Russia that may still remain unpaid. The details for the carrying out of this obligation shall be laid down in the treaty provided for in the preamble.

The Italian Government makes the same declaration for itself.

It is understood that the declarations given above do not actually imply that the claims in question shall have priority in the above-mentioned treaty over claims of other kinds which may be provided for in said treaty.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Presentation of the Arms Conference treaties to the Senate for ratification—Foreign debt to be refunded—Action of the Agricultural Conference—Resignation of Postmaster General Hays—Senator Kenyon a Judge

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1922]

PRESIDENT HARDING on Feb. 10 presented to the Senate in person the seven treaties resulting from the Conference on the Limitation of Armament. [See frontispiece.] He declared that they involved no alliances, and asked for their ratification in order to prove that the desire to end war was not a mockery. He said in part:

If we cannot join in making effective these covenants for peace and stamp this conference with America's approval, we shall discredit the influence of the Republic, render future efforts futile and unlikely, and write discouragement where today the world is ready to acclaim new hope.

There has been concern. There has been apprehension of territorial greed, a most fruitful cause of war. The conference has dissipated both, and your ratification of the covenant will stabilize a peace, for the breaking of which there is not a shadow of reason or real excuse. We shall not have less than before. There is no narrowed liberty, no hampered independence, no shattered sovereignty, no added obligation. We will have new assurances, new freedom from anxiety, and new manifestations of the sincerity of our own intentions: a new demonstration of that honesty which proclaims a righteous and powerful republic.

Immediately following his address, the President handed to the Senate the official report of the American delegation. The report, which went into the work of the conference and the reasons actuating the American delegation, was a printed document of 132 pages. It declared that the treaties embodied a "new state of mind" tending toward better relations in the East, and supplying a sense of security in connection with the naval agreements.

No announcement respecting American participation in the Genoa Conference had been made up to Feb. 15. It was understood that the latest developments in the situation had rendered it unnecessary for the American Government to hasten the announcement of its disinclination to have any complete participation in the work of that conference as long as there

were swollen land armaments and unbalanced financial budgets in various important countries of Europe. The position of the Administration was that this country, which was affected by anything that affected the general European economic and financial situation, had great sympathy with the problems that confronted Europe, but was reluctant to participate at Genoa in the making of treaties and agreements until necessary steps had been taken by other nations in the direction of stabilization.

PERSHING'S ARMY REFORMS

General Pershing informed the House Military Committee on Jan. 20 that elimination from the military service of inefficient officers would reduce the War Department's annual payroll approximately \$3,400,000. To provide retirement pay for officers of considerable service and one year's pay for younger officers dropped would require an expenditure of approximately \$2,000,000, making the net saving for the first year about \$1,500,000. By discharging inefficient officers of higher rank, \$4,000,000 would be lopped off the payroll, the committee was informed, and the appointment of needed Second Lieutenants at lower salaries would cost about \$600,000 in pay.

The Independent Offices Appropriation bill was passed on Jan. 30 by the House and sent to the Senate. The bill appropriated for the Veterans' Bureau \$377,474,622. The only change made in the bill as passed was the elimination of a provision which would have limited the number of camps at which training schools might be established to Camp Sherman, Ohio.

AN ALL-AMERICAN NAVY

Figures compiled by the Bureau of Navigation and made public on Jan. 16 show that among the 119,205 members of the United States Navy only 352 are aliens. Of the total enrolment at the end of the

fiscal year, 109,457 were natives, 5,829 were born in Guam, Samoa, the Philippines and Virgin Islands, and 3,567 were naturalized citizens. The care taken in recruiting was also shown by the fact that out of 135,993 applicants, only 72,386 were accepted. Of the total number of discharges, only 6.8 per cent. were dishonorable and but 6.08 per cent. of those in service during the year deserted. The good conduct medals in the service totaled over six thousand, some men having as many as eight to their credit.

FOREIGN DEBT BILL PASSED

The Senate on Jan. 31 passed, by a vote of 39 to 26, the bill authorizing the refunding of \$11,000,000,000 of foreign debt into securities maturing in not more than twenty-five years. All those who voted for the bill were Republicans, while the opposition was made up of twenty-three Democrats and three Republicans—Senators Borah, La Follette and Norris.

The bill, as passed, provides for a commission of five members, of which the Secretary of the Treasury shall be the Chairman. The other four will be named by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commission is authorized, subject to the approval of the President, to refund or convert and to extend the time of payment of the principal or the interest, or both, of "any obligation of any foreign Government now owing the United States, or any obligation of any foreign Government hereafter received by the United States."

It is stipulated, however, that the time of maturity of any obligation shall not be extended beyond June 15, 1947. The obligations which the commission is authorized to refund or convert include all those based on the Liberty and Victory loans, as well as the obligations held by the United States Grain Corporation, the Navy Department, and the American Relief Administration. On Feb. 3, the House, by an overwhelming majority, accepted the Senate measure.

BILL TO CURB LYNCHING

The Dyer bill, making lynching a Federal crime and providing penalties, was passed by the House on Jan. 26 by a vote of 230 to 119, with four members voting present. The vote was almost entirely partisan, although seventeen Republicans broke from their party ranks to vote with the Demo-



—© Harris & Ewing—

WILL H. HAYS

Who has resigned the position of Postmaster General to become arbiter of the moving-picture industry

crats against the bill, while eight Democrats joined the Republican majority. Under the original language of the bill a "mob" was constituted by five or more persons, but this was amended by having the number reduced to three. The chief argument used by the opponents of the bill was that it was unconstitutional, because it invaded the police powers of the State. The bill still awaits the action of the Senate. [See "The Lynching Infamy," p. 897.]

SAVINGS BY BUDGET SYSTEM

On Feb. 3, President Harding announced, at a meeting of the Business Organization of the Government, consisting of about 1,000 department heads and bureau chiefs in Continental Hall, that the expenditure of \$109,000 in the establishment of the Bureau of the Budget had accomplished the direct saving of \$32,000,000 and the indirect sav-

ing of \$104,000,000 in all branches of the Federal Government during the preceding four months. This example of Government thrift "has helped greatly to make saving fashionable," the President said, in commending the work of Charles G. Dawes, Director of the Budget Bureau, and the co-ordinating officials under him. He added:

In a business so great as that of the National Government unexpected receipts will not infrequently swell the total of calculated revenues. It seems likely that this will be true during the current year, but, despite this possibility, it now seems probable that the restrictions upon expenditure which have been possible by reason of the Administration's general policy and your splendid co-operation would have resulted in a surplus of receipts for the year. The prospect of such a surplus, when compared with the estimated deficiency of \$24,500,000 that was outlined in the budget figures submitted to Congress in December, is certainly the occasion of much satisfaction to all of us.

The President was followed by Mr. Dawes, who made a vigorous speech, in which he explained the way in which economies had been effected and denounced

the bureau chiefs who wound red tape around the Administration's efforts to economize.

LOSS IN EXPORT TRADE

Foreign trade reports, issued Jan. 30 by the Department of Commerce, showed that exports to Europe during the last year fell off by more than \$2,000,000,000 as compared with 1920. During the year 1921, exports to Europe aggregated \$2,364,000,000, as against \$4,466,000,000 in 1920, while imports for the year aggregated \$765,000,000 as against \$1,228,000,000 in 1920. Exports to South America for the year aggregated only \$273,000,000 as compared with \$624,000,000 in 1920, while imports from South America totaled \$296,000,000 as against \$761,000,000 in 1920.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Government financial operations since this country's entrance into the World War involved more than \$200,000,000,000, according to figures compiled Jan. 15 by the Treasury, on the basis of daily statements from April 6, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1921.

This stupendous sum consisted of receipts, both ordinary and public debt, of more than \$99,000,000,000, balanced against disbursements, of both classes, of a like total. Starting on the eve of the war, April 5, 1917, with a net balance in the general fund of \$92,000,000, receipts, exclusive of principal of public debt, from April 6, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1921, totaled \$24,018,000,000, while public debt receipts during the period amounted to \$75,643,000,000.

Disbursements, exclusive of public debt, for the period aggregated \$45,785,000,000, while public debt disbursements totaled \$53,481,000,000, and on Dec. 31, 1921, the net balance in the general fund was \$488,000,000.

For the war period the excess of disbursements, exclusive of principal of the public debt, over receipts of the same class was \$24,000,000,000. Over the same period the gross debt increased by \$22,000,000,000 from \$1,000,000,000 on April 5, 1917, to \$23,000,000,000 on Dec. 31, 1921.

Exclusive of foreign loans of \$9,597,000,000, ordinary disbursements of the Government from April 6, 1917, to the end of the past year aggregated \$36,187,000,000, these expenditures amounting to \$330,-



(Wide World Photos)

JUDGE WILLIAM S. KENYON
Iowa Senator, leader of the farmers' bloc,
who has been made Circuit Judge of the
Eighth Federal District Court

000,000 from April 6, 1917, to June 30, 1917, \$7,958,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1918, \$15,035,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1919, \$5,982,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1920, \$5,042,000,000 for the fiscal year 1921, and \$1,837,000,000 from July 1, 1921, to Dec. 31, 1921.

AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

The National Agricultural Conference met in Washington on Jan. 23. It was made up of 325 delegates, who included farmers, representatives of agricultural associations, bankers, packers, implement manufacturers, middlemen and Government officials. The conference was opened with an address by President Harding, who asserted that the whole country had an acute concern with the conditions and the problems which the conference had met to discuss. He declared that it was truly a national interest, and not entitled to be regarded as primarily the concern of either a class, a section or a "bloc." The President's recommendations were, in brief:

1. Provision for greater working capital for farmers.
2. Extension of co-operative marketing associations.
3. Better dissemination of scientific information.
4. Measures to protect farmer and consumer from violent price fluctuations.
5. Greater development and use of waterways and eventual electrification of all railroads.
6. Fuller development of natural resources through increased reclamation.

The conference continued in session for five days. In general, the resolutions adopted and the speeches made reflected the opinion of the delegates that there were three classes in this country—capital, labor and agriculture. For themselves and their efforts to force agricultural prices up to a level with other commodities, the farmers passed a resolution favoring the limitation of crop acreage until agricultural conditions in this country and in Europe should improve. An utterance from the report of the committee on costs, prices and adjustments, which was adopted by the conference, summed up the general view of the delegates as to the necessity that labor and capital should share in the deflation which had come to the farming industry. In addition to a general statement on the subject, a specific resolution was adopted in regard

to the railroad situation, which read as follows:

We insist that the railroad corporations and railroad labor should share in the deflation in charges now affecting all industry. This is essential to the restoration of normal conditions in agriculture, and it is essential to the welfare of the entire community. We earnestly appeal to those in authority to take such action as may be necessary in order to accomplish that result.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING

The Senate on Feb. 8, by a vote of 58 to 1, passed the Co-operative Marketing bill, which authorizes farmers, ranchers, dairy-men, planters and nut and fruit growers to act together in associations, corporate or otherwise, in collectively processing, preparing for market, handling and marketing in interstate and foreign commerce the products of their farms, dairies, groves and ranches. Whether or not such an association becomes a monopoly or unduly enhances prices in violation of law is a matter left to the decision of the Secretary of Agriculture instead of the Federal agencies created for that purpose. A substitute bill, which was reported from the Committee on Judiciary, and which stipulated that nothing in the bill shall be deemed to authorize or create a monopoly or to exempt any association organized under the provisions of the bill from any proceedings under the Federal Trade Commission act, was overwhelmingly defeated.

DECREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT

While the unemployment situation during January had its discouraging features, the United States Employment Service, in a survey made public Feb. 5, declared: "The feeling that there will be a decided change for the better by early Spring is manifested by every section of the country, and seems to be based on real evidence of prosperity and not mere optimism." Forty out of sixty-five cities reported employment increases over December. Most of the increases, however, were small. Twenty-five cities reported decreases in employment, the decrease in New York being 1.8 per cent.

President Harding on Jan. 27 sent a letter to the Secretaries of War, Navy, Agriculture, the Treasury, Interior and Commerce, asking them to aid in providing work for the jobless by pushing ahead all repair and construction plans which other-



(Wide World Photos)

Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State, signing the treaties (Feb. 6) that embody the results of twelve weeks' deliberations of the Conference on Limitation of Armament, over which he presided

wise would not be undertaken until later in the year.

Cotton manufacturers employing approximately 50,000 operatives in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Maine notified their employes on Feb. 2 of wage cuts amounting in most cases to 20 per cent., effective Feb. 13. New Hampshire plants also gave notice of an increase of from forty-eight to fifty-four hours in the weekly working schedule.

WAR-PLANE MAKERS SUED

The Department of Justice announced on Jan. 26 that suits would be started soon in Ohio and New York to recover \$7,260,439 which, it is alleged, represents over-payment made to the Dayton-Wright Company and the Wright-Martin Aircraft Corporation on cost-plus contracts for aircraft production during the war. The Attorney General intimated that a thorough investigation of aircraft production for the Government would be made as the result of information which had been supplied by accountants, who have been at work for some time. It was understood that the ac-

tion taken in New York State would be under the direction of United States Attorney Haywood.

The Attorney General stated that the work of investigating the war fraud cases generally would continue as fast as the magnitude of the undertaking would permit. He repeated the announcement, which he had previously made, that while the innocent need feel no alarm, the Government would exhaust every civil and criminal remedy to reach the guilty.

POSTMASTER GENERAL HAYS RESIGNS

Postmaster General Will H. Hays announced on Jan. 14 his intention of leaving the Cabinet on March 1 to become the head of a national association of motion-picture producers and distributors. His salary in his new office was said to be \$150,000 a year. After his interview with the President the latter gave out the following formal statement:

The Postmaster General and I have been discussing at considerable length the proposal which has been made to him to become the head of a national association of motion-picture

producers and distributors. If the arrangement proves to be, when the details are worked out, what it seems to be, I cannot well interpose any objection to Mr. Hays retiring from the Cabinet to take up a work so important. It is too great an opportunity for a helpful public service for him to refuse. I shall be more than sorry to have him retire from the Cabinet, where he has already made so fine a record, but we have agreed to look upon the situation from the broadest viewpoint and seek the highest public good.

The President intimated on Feb. 7 to a delegation from St. Louis that while he had

not definitely made up his mind as to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Hays, he looked with favor upon the recognition of the hard work and splendid service that had been rendered by Colonel Hubert Work of Pueblo, Colo., now First Assistant Postmaster General.

KENYON NAMED FOR BENCH

Senator William S. Kenyon of Iowa, leader of the farm bloc in the Senate, was nominated by President Harding on Jan.

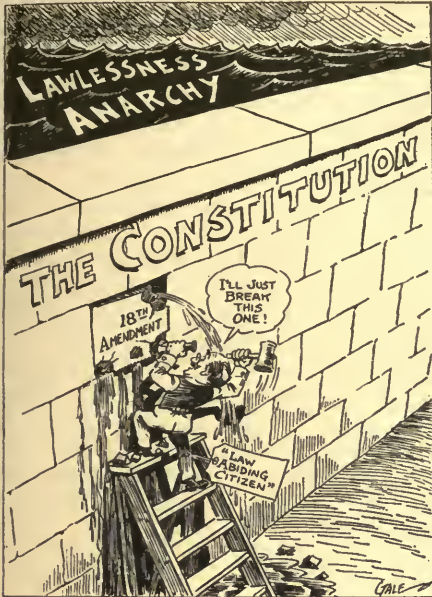
[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

IT'S FUNNY, THE DIFFERENCE THREE THOUSAND MILES MAKE'

[American Cartoon]



—Los Angeles Times

BUT IT WEAKENS THE WHOLE
STRUCTURE

31 to be Circuit Judge for the Eighth District, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate in open session, the Senators rising to vote.

The contention was raised that Senator Kenyon was ineligible for the position under the section of the Constitution which declares that no Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office which has been created or whose emoluments have been increased during such time. The salary of the Circuit Judgeship to which Senator Kenyon was appointed was increased from \$7,000 to \$8,500 by a law passed during the Senator's service. It was later declared, however, by Attorney General Daugherty, that the appointment was legal on the ground that the action in question had taken place before the beginning of Mr.

Kenyon's latest Senatorial term. The Senator thereupon announced his purpose to accept the new position at an early date.

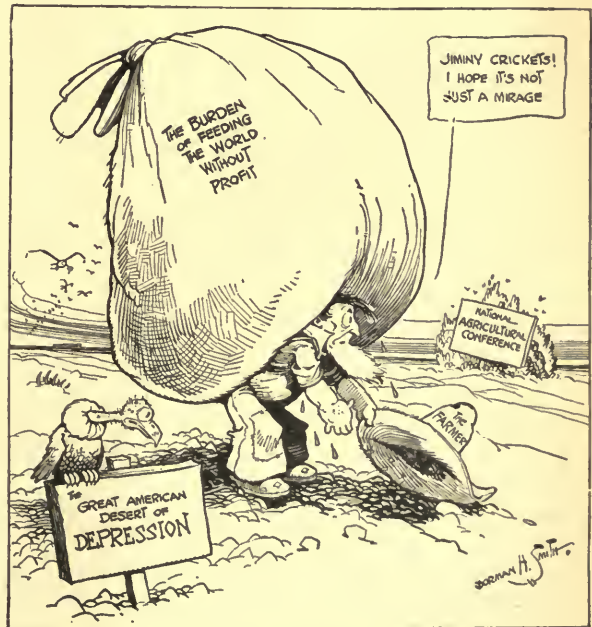
RULING ON RAILROAD EARNINGS

Railroads which earned more than 6 per cent. upon the value of their property used in transportation during the period from Sept. 1, 1920, to Jan. 1, 1921, were required, under an order issued Jan. 28 by the Interstate Commerce Commission, to turn half of the excess so earned over to the Government. The order, as issued by the commission, made effective sections of the Transportation act of 1920 and prescribed rules for the application of those sections. Railroads, during the four months specified in the order, were understood to have earned a considerable amount in excess of the 6 per cent. limitation prescribed by Congress, but the valuations not having been given out for the individual lines the amounts had not yet been calculated.

PORTO RICO

A bill to make Porto Rico a free State with an autonomous government, under which all administrative officers would be

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

THE WATER HOLE

elected by the Legislature, was introduced in the House by Representative Campbell of Kansas on Jan. 19. It is sponsored by the Unionist Party of Porto Rico, which sent a commission to back it. A United States Resident Commissioner is to have power to annul all laws for a period of ninety days, pending an appeal to the President. The Porto Rican Unionist Party on Feb. 10 issued a new platform pledging the party to work for the creation of a free State. On the same date Senator King of Utah introduced a bill in the Senate proposing to make Porto Rico a State of the Union, with a Governor and Legislature elected by the people.

Governor Reily's return to Porto Rico was marked by demonstrations of hostility similar to those attending his visit to the United States last November. Extra police protection was afforded at the pier in New York, whence he sailed on Jan. 20. His

chief opponent, Antonio R. Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate and head of the Unionist Party, left a few days later, saying that Mr. Reily's return had created a difficult situation.

George R. Shanton, Chief of Police at San Juan, requested authority of Federal Judge Odlin to destroy evidence in Volstead law cases. The court refused, but the liquor disappeared and Judge Odlin sentenced the Chief of Police to forty-eight hours in jail for contempt of court. Governor Reily and other officials petitioned the Judge to remit the sentence, but he indignantly declined, saying he did not have the power and, if he had, he could not exercise it without belittling the dignity of the United States in Porto Rico. He characterized the attempt of the executive to interfere with the judicial authority as "probably the most unusual occurrence" in the history of the Federal Courts.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK CONSTITUTION

BY E. F. PRANTNER

To the Editor of Current History:

In your issue of February, 1922, Raymond Leslie Buell, in commenting on the Czechoslovak Constitution, says: "In fact, the legislative powers of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have been suppressed by the Constitution of Czechoslovakia."

Objection is made to the use of the word "suppressed" in this extract. The reasons are obvious. The word implies the use of force, and surely no one will contend that any force was used in erecting what is now Czechoslovakia. Thus, Section 3, Subdivision 1, of the Czechoslovak Constitution provides: "The territories shall form a united and indivisible unit." Section 6, Subdivision 1, of the same instrument, says:

"The legislative power * * * shall rest in the hands of Parliament." And Section 7, Subdivision 1, of the same instrument, provides: "The legislative and administrative powers of the *former* Diets are hereby abolished." (The italic is mine.)

No hint of any suppression that I can see. Everything was done openly and above-board, and there was no one else to be satisfied except the people. If they did not want to surrender this power they would have spoken long ago.

For a State of 13,000,000 inhabitants it would be mad folly to maintain four legislative bodies of minor importance in the republic's Parliament. Suppose the State of New York were divided into five districts, four of them to enjoy legislative powers and be subordinate to a main Legislature. That would be not only wasteful but cumbersome. The Czechoslovak people wanted their State to be a "united and indivisible unit." For that purpose they centralized power of legislation in the Parliament. The republic is not a confederation, like Switzerland, but is more like Belgium. [See President Masaryk's New Year address, *Czechoslovak Review*, February, 1922.]

Then, on Page 865, you speak of Lány Castle as being in the Tyrol. Lány Castle is in Czechoslovakia, near Pilsen (Bohemia), and is the Summer home of President Masaryk. He is occupying it this Winter because of repairs to his quarters in Hradcany, Prague. In the circumstances, President Hainisch and Chancellor Johann Schober paid a visit to President Masaryk and Premier Benesh. The treaty was negotiated on Czechoslovak soil.

1479 Elmwood Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio, Feb. 4, 1922.

NEWS OF THE NATIONS

Birdseye view of the chief events and developments of the month in all countries, arranged alphabetically for convenience of ready reference—Survey of the world's political and social changes

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1922]

ABYSSINIA

TWO correspondents of the London Westminster Gazette assert that slave raiding and slave trading in Abyssinia have increased by leaps and bounds. The slave gangs are smaller than formerly because the border districts are becoming depopulated. In Southern Abyssinia, these correspondents say, there are to be seen men chained together and women and children dragging themselves painfully alongside them, many of them dying from exhaustion by the roadside. They are captured not only in Abyssinian territory but in British East Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. On one occasion the slave raiders advanced 120 miles into British territory. The correspondents describe a steady relapse into barbarism since Menelik's death. The situation as described by them is as follows:

The Central Government exerts no authority outside of the suburbs of the capital. Roads, bridges and water mains have sunk in decay and all pretenses at sanitation have disappeared. Brigandage is rampant and a majority of the inhabitants of Addis Abeba, the capital, are slaves. Bribery and corruption flourish among the officials, including the Judges, while the police condone theft and blackmail and do not protect the community. America is said to be to some extent responsible, on the ground that the slave traders get most of their ammunition from the United States. The only way to abolish the slave system in Abyssinia, these writers conclude, would be a demonstration in force by one or more of the European powers. Their charges were taken up and discussed seriously by several London papers and so far as the decay of the Abyssinian Kingdom was concerned their statements were confirmed.

AFGHANISTAN

Satisfactory progress is being made in putting the British-Afghan Treaty into force. A feature of the treaty peculiar to the frequently unsettled state of the frontier tribes makes it incumbent on each party to inform the other of any contemplated military activity of major importance to preserve order before commencing such operations. Announcement was made of the appointment of Abdul Hadi, a noted Kabul journalist, to be the first Afghan Minister at the Court of St. James's, and Major F. H. Humphreys, C. I. E., Indian Army, to be the first British Minister at Kabul. The British Minister's staff is made up of a Military At-

taché, two British Secretaries, an Oriental Secretary and a Surgeon. Previously the only medium of diplomatic intercourse between the British Empire and Afghanistan was through a representative of the Indian Government at Kabul, of late years usually a native military officer of high rank.

ALBANIA

The new Albanian Government, formed after the December coup d'état, is composed as follows:

DJAFFER UTI BEY, President of the Council.
MONSGNE FAN NOL, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
AHMID BEY MATI ZOGOLI, Minister of the Interior.
KOL THATCHI, Minister of Finance.
HUSEI BEY URIONI, Minister of Justice.
Colonel ISMAIL TAZARTI, Minister of War.
SPIRO KOLIKA, Minister of Public Works.
REDJTE BEY MITROIZTSA, Minister of Education.

ARGENTINA

A movement in Argentina to restrict the consumption of alcoholic beverages has materialized in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives. It proposes to regulate the consumption of intoxicants, even in centres of private reunion, such as clubs, &c. Selling liquor from Saturday at midnight until early Monday is forbidden. One of the bill's most important provisions is that from Jan. 1, 1923, no alcoholic beverage containing any ingredient other than the product of fermented grapes, apples and pears may be manufactured or sold in Argentina. * * * The Legislature of the Province of Cordoba has increased the tax on beer, establishing an even heavier toll on the imported article. * * * The French Government has expressed its appreciation to the Government of Argentina for having extended the time for payment of the loan advanced to France during the war. A similar loan offer has again been extended to the French Minister in Buenos Aires for an undetermined amount, which could be used as a credit in the purchasing of wheat, meat and other staples. * * * The Argentine Army has made a contract with the American firm of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. for more than a million dollars' worth of ammunition. This is the first purchase of American products of this kind ever made by Argentina, but it is expected that if the initial order proves

satisfactory others will follow. * * * The plan referred to in a former issue concerning the establishment of a Zeppelin line between Spain and Argentina will begin by regular flights between the Spanish coast and the Canary Islands. The type of dirigible definitely agreed upon is one with nine motors of 350 to 400 horsepower. The structure, 250 meters long by 33.8 wide and containing 125,000 cubic meters of gas, will be able to carry a cargo weighing 15,000 kilograms, exclusive of its fuel. The trip is expected to require: From Spain to the equatorial line 37 hours, to Cape Frio 31 additional hours, to Buenos Aires 20 hours more. The speed will be 120 kilometers per hour. The return trip is expected to take a longer time, but Dr. Eckner, the German engineer in charge of the plans, declared that he had observed that at a height of 1,800 to 2,500 meters the contrary winds can be avoided. * * * The condition of lawlessness in the Territory of Santa Cruz has been definitely suppressed, in the opinion of the local authorities. News of recent outbreaks are declared by the officials of the Territory to be merely delayed reports of former incidents. * * * The National Educational Council is prepared for the establishment of 1,000 new schools, which will be distributed throughout the Provinces and Territories of the republic. * * * There is great speculation in financial as well as industrial circles following the announcement that the German captain of industry, Hugo Stinnes, has asked for the incorporation under Argentine laws of the Hugo Stinnes Company, Limited. Among its plans are the development of agricultural, oil, lumber and transportation business and the establishment of a steamboat line in the Parana River for the opening up of virgin tracts in the Chaco Territory. * * * The improvement in the exchange situation has determined an increase in the imports, especially those from North America. A decisive influence for good is attributed in this connection to the recent loan of \$50,000,000 negotiated in the United States.

AUSTRALIA

Few countries have shown such a remarkable recovery in economic conditions as Australia. She entered 1921 under dense clouds of commercial and industrial depression. Wool, her chief product, seemed to have no market. But the resources of the country are so great that one or more industries are almost certain to offset the failure of others. First came a bumper wheat crop, with 100,000 bushels surplus. When wheat exports began to slacken, trade in wool revived. There followed abundant rain, and agricultural crops flourished beyond recent records. With only about \$250,000,000 in notes, backed up by one of the biggest gold reserves in the world, Australia occupies a very strong financial position. The Commonwealth is aiding in relieving the starving people of Europe to the extent of \$250,000 in supplies, principally wheat, shipped from stores in Great Britain. * * * It was announced on Feb. 4 in Berkeley, Cal., that astronomical observations to test the validity of the Einstein theory of relativity are to

be undertaken by an expedition which the University of California will send to Australia to observe the total eclipse of the sun on Sept. 21. Delegations from all over the world are preparing already to go there, as Australia contains the most favorable points for observation. * * * Australia's census shows a population of 5,436,796, of whom 2,762,758 are males and 2,674,038 females—one of the few countries in the world where the males are in excess of the females. * * * As a result of the Washington arms parity, Australia's single battle cruiser, the Australia, was placed in reserve on Feb. 9 in Sydney harbor, about 450 of her men being dismissed. * * * With the advance of the Australian Summer the bubonic plague in Queensland was reported on Jan. 21 to be slowly increasing and a plague of grasshoppers and ants has descended upon South Australia, even holding up trains by alighting on the rails and preventing the driving wheels of the locomotives from obtaining a traction hold. * * * Australia has elaborate plans for her mandated territory of New Guinea. The Central Labor Administration has perfected a scheme of technical education, with a view to equipping the island with skilled native labor. A site for a school building has been selected at Rabaul and instructors will be sent from Australia.

AUSTRIA

The currency crisis reached another high water mark early in January, when, in spite of a new issue of 17,000,000,000 kronen, increasing the total to over 160,000,000,000, many employers were unable to pay wages on account of shortage of bank notes. * * * The ratification of the treaties concluded with Czechoslovakia provoked a storm in the Federal Parliament, culminating in the resignation of Chancellor Schober. The Pan-Germans, whose support is essential to the Coalition Government, attacked the Chancellor bitterly for the clauses in which the two republics safeguard mutually their territorial integrity and in which the Austrian Government pledges itself to suppress any movement within its territory aimed against the safety of the Czechoslovak Republic. The former provision, the Pan-Germans felt, is intended to thwart Austria's union with Germany. The latter is aimed against the restorationists. Owing to these furious attacks, which charged him with betraying his country, Chancellor Schober tendered his resignation, but was later induced to withdraw it. The Cabinet was reorganized, Chancellor Schober yielding the foreign portfolio to Dr. Leopold Henghel and assuming the portfolio of the Interior instead. * * * The governmental crisis aggravated the financial uncertainty to such an extent that on Jan. 23 the dollar was quoted in Vienna at 10,000 kronen. This resulted in a panic. * * * A deputation of scholars, writers and artists called on the Government to protest against the reported sale of the Imperial gobelin collection. The President of the Republic informed the deputation that no such sale was contemplated. * * * The famous pearl necklace of Maria Theresa, which had been pawned by the ex-Emperor

Charles in Switzerland, was sold in Paris to Jefferson Davis Cohn of London for \$200,000. He is a godson of the late ex-President of the Southern Confederacy.

BELGIUM

Discussion of the Anglo-Belgian defensive compact, negotiated at Cannes by Foreign Minister Jasper and Lord Curzon, which the British Government had expressed willingness to sign, was still under way in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, Feb. 9. Practically, it renews the famous guarantee of Belgian territory against attack contained in the treaty of 1839, which the invading Germans, in 1914, treated as a scrap of paper, the difference being that Belgium has abandoned her technical neutrality and become an ordinary sovereign State. Chamber members objected to the absence of a definite declaration that the guarantee is against any possible attack by Germany; without this, it was held, the compact would amount to a British protectorate rather than protection. It was objected also that the clause prohibiting Belgium from concluding any other convention in conflict with this Anglo-Belgian compact was a restriction upon Belgium's sovereign rights, no treaty being acceptable that might compromise Belgium's independence. Unlike the proposed Anglo-French pact, this proposed Anglo-Belgian pact has not been officially published.

At the Cannes Conference, Belgium also obtained important financial advantages, notably in regard to her prior claim of the first 2,000,000,000 gold marks received from Germany over and above the costs of the allied armies of occupation on the Rhine. Out of the 1,000,000,000 gold marks (about \$250,000,000) paid by Germany in 1921, Belgium received only one-half—550,000,000 gold marks. She was looking forward to the payments of 1922 for needed funds. Lloyd George and M. Briand, however, in their conference at London on Dec. 22, 1921, recommended the reduction of German payments for the current year to 500,000,000 gold marks and the equivalent of 1,750,000,000 gold marks in kind, reducing thereby also Belgium's share to 250,000,000 gold marks (about \$62,500,000) in cash, plus an undetermined share of about 500,000,000 gold marks in kind. At Cannes, M. Theunis, Belgian Minister of Finance, and M. Jasper, Minister of Foreign Affairs, convinced the Reparations Commission that Germany would be able to pay 720,000,000 gold marks in cash. Deducting about 140,000,000 marks for the British Army of Occupation, this means that Belgium will receive 580,000,000 gold marks instead of the 250,000,000 proposed by the London Conference. As Belgium is well supplied with native building material, the major part of the payments in kind will go to France. The Belgian Government, apprehensive lest the German indemnity will be reduced or spread over a lengthy period, is looking anxiously to the forthcoming conference at Genoa.

Belgium also persuaded the British Exchequer not to press for post-war loans amounting to \$74,000,000, and to change these to long-time

obligations. In announcing this arrangement to the Belgian Parliament, the Prime Minister stated that the Belgian Ambassador at Washington had been instructed to obtain similar action in regard to the \$160,000,000 post-war loan made by the United States.

Negotiations between Belgian manufacturers having large properties in Russia and the Russian Trade Commission under General Ipatiev were still proceeding in February. The manufacturers' proposals of complete restoral of these properties and indemnities for damage done were transmitted by General Ipatiev to Moscow.

BOLIVIA

In response to the offer made by President Saavedra to the White House for Bolivian intervention in the negotiations to be held in Washington for the settlement of the difficulties pending between Chile and Peru, an answer from President Harding, worded in the most cordial and friendly terms, was received at La Paz on Feb. 28. President Harding begins his note by making it clear that the part played so far by the American Government has been limited to that of a friend and neighbor who thinks it a duty to offer a friendly and neutral ground for the discussion of the problems arising between American nations. There is nothing in the offer made by the United States to Peru and Chile, the note continues, which could possibly be construed as a move toward the mediation of the United States. It is, therefore, the President concludes, left to the Governments of Chile and Peru to decide whether they will consider it necessary to call Bolivia to participate in the forthcoming negotiations. (See Chile.)

BRAZIL

The Brazilian Federal Congress has passed a law prohibiting gambling in public and limiting it to clubs, water resorts and other places far from the centres of population. The alarming increase in public gambling has determined this measure. The next measure in Congress is study of means to replace in the public Treasury the great sums it derived from the tax on gambling. * * * President Pessoa has sent President Alessandri of Chile a marble bust of the late Secretary of State, Baron de Rio Branco. Señor Alessandri, in his answer, expressed his gratitude for a present that shall perpetuate in the Executive Mansion of Chile the memory of a great South American and a great worker in cementing the friendship existing between the two countries. * * * Great enthusiasm has been displayed during the ceremonies commemorative of the famous declaration of Emperor Dom Pedro I., who on being invited by the Lisbon Court to take up his residence at the metropolis answered: "It being necessary to the happiness of the Brazilian people, the Emperor has decided to remain in the capital of the colony." * * * The Executive has been authorized to undertake the work of linking the telegraphic and railway lines of Brazil with those of Paraguay and Bolivia, promoting at the same time improvements in

the navigation of the rivers Paraguay, San Lorenzo and Cuyabá. The Government has also been authorized to negotiate the necessary international conventions for this work of American rapprochement. * * * In retaliation for prohibitive custom measures in Argentina, the Brazilian Government had for some time made difficulties for the introduction of Argentinian fruit. An agreement has now been reached between the two Governments and importations have taken a new impetus.

BRITISH WEST INDIES

Bermuda is about to inaugurate automobile omnibus and freight service between Hamilton and St. George, on the main island, a majority of the House of Assembly having been won over to the plan. This is a settlement of the question which has disturbed the politics of the island for a score of years. An automobile was imported into Bermuda toward the close of the last century, but the Legislature bought it from the owner and deported it, passing a law forbidding future importations.

Jamaica, on Feb. 7, issued a statement of export trade for last year and for January, this year, showing clearly that the period of acute depression from which the island has been suffering is passing. Prices are low, but quantities exported are satisfactory, the banana output being 50 per cent. greater than last year. The authorities of Jamaica have taken steps to prevent emigration to Panama, where the condition of laborers who have gone there is reported to be serious. The Jamaica Government expects to repatriate the destitute men.

At a meeting of sugar interests of Jamaica and other Caribbean colonies on Jan. 10 resolutions were adopted stating that the industry was faced with ruin unless imperial assistance were given. A deputation was chosen to go to London to obtain Government aid in the crisis, due to abnormal overproduction in Cuba, enhanced by heavy import duties in the consuming countries such as proposed in the Fordney bill.

Dominica has been more seriously hit than other colonies by the prevailing depression. Lime fruit products are its principal crop. The island is also interesting as containing the Carib Reserve, where remnants of the original inhabitants of the West Indies still live. Mr. Wood, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has made a tour of the West Indies for the Colonial Secretary, was informed that Dominica favors the introduction of a small elective element in the Legislative Council, such as that granted to Grenada. Mr. Wood's Colonial Office delegation found the same sentiment in favor of representative government to be general in St. Vincent.

BULGARIA

A treaty to safeguard American interests in Bulgaria, in view of allied reparation claims against that country, was approved by the Bulgarian Cabinet and submitted to Parliament. This agreement, though drawn in the form of a treaty of commerce and amity, is really the after-war settlement between Bulgaria and the

United States. As the two countries have not been at war, no formal peace treaty is necessary. As soon as the treaty is passed by the Sobranje it will be forwarded to Washington. * * * A Greek commission has arrived in Sofia to receive from the Bulgarian Government valuable archaeological objects seized by the Bulgars during the war in Greek territory, and ordered returned to Greece by the peace treaty. * * * Following the decree of the Minister of Education, M. Omartchevsky, abolishing three letters of the Bulgarian alphabet, a conflict has arisen between that official and the Faculty of the university. The latter protested against the reform, whereupon the Minister tried to stop payment of the Professors' salaries; the Rector of the university, however, had withdrawn from the bank funds sufficient to meet current expenses. An effort of the university to secure publicity for its views failed when the Minister, who is also acting as censor, prohibited publication of the university statement.

CANADA

In the Quebec Legislature, Premier Taschereau, in continuing the debate on the speech from the throne, declared the Provisional Government's policy in control of the liquor traffic both a moral and financial success. He stated that the success in the administration of the liquor business and other retrenchments meant the probable elimination of the whole provincial debt within twenty years, while enabling the Government to spend much more on improvements, education, roads and the support of charities. For the present year he estimated the province's surplus at \$1,300,000, the largest but one in the history of Quebec. He added that the liquor law brought a profit of \$4,000,000 a year to the Government, which contemplated opening a wine-purchasing office in Paris to import the wines of France, Spain, Portugal and Italy direct, thus following the policy of encouraging the use of wine rather than "hard" liquors. Though the Premier issued a stern warning to breakers of the liquor laws, he emphatically cried "hands off Quebec" to the professional prohibitionists seeking Dominion prohibition. * * * A decrease in customs and excise collections of \$1,500,000 was reported for January, 1922, as compared with the corresponding month in 1921. Total revenues from these sources were \$17,195,744.77 for the month, and \$191,395,250.77 for the first ten months of the fiscal year ended Jan. 31. The same period of 1921 yielded \$253,990,790.50.

CAUCASUS STATES

Now that the new Transcaucasian Federation, sponsored by the Russian Soviet Government, is an accomplished fact, it is of interest to follow the effect of the Bolshevik rule on the various States included in this compulsory union. These States at present are limited to Azerbaijan, the adjoining autonomous district of Nakitchewan, Armenia, Georgia and the little Republic of Ajaristan, in the Moslem district of Georgia. The mountain republic of Daghestan on the Caspian and the Republic of Sukhum on the

Black Sea are not included. The federated States are held under strong military control by the Bolshevik forces. The famine conditions previously reported, partly as a consequence of drought conditions similar to those in the Volga region, and partly as the result of the influx of Bolshevik soldiers and refugees, are now said to have considerably improved. Finances are still bad, owing to the output of enormous masses of paper currency. According to H. C. Jacquith, a representative of the Near East Relief Committee, who returned from a year's visit to the cities of Angora, Tabriz, Erivan, Tiflis, Novorossisk and other Caucasus centres on Feb. 9, the Bolshevik rule is proving for Armenia, at least, a blessing in disguise, the common people showing actual relief at being protected by Russia and Russian armored trains from the nightmare of Turkish invasions and massacres. American money spent in Armenia, he said, was doing the maximum amount of good. The Russian Armenian Government had scattered the refugees among the country villages, thus preventing the worst cases of starvation and congestion in the cities. This official further declared, on the basis of his observations, that the whole Caucasus region had benefited by the Bolshevik conquest in its elimination of all previous frontiers and the facility of communication thus gained. * * * Great popular discontent was reported in Azerbaijan Jan. 1 against the sovietized Government of M. Narimanov. Mass meetings hostile to the Government have been held in Baku, and the unreconciled element of Tartar Azerbaijanis were maintaining their guerrilla warfare against the Bolshevik forces throughout the country. These partisans are called officially "brigand bands."

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

The Central American Federation collapsed on Jan. 29, the Provisional Federal Council sitting at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, dissolving voluntarily on that day, largely owing to the overthrow of the Herrera régime in Guatemala last December. The Provisional Government of General Orellana, who ousted Herrera, had repudiated the plan to become a member of the Federation. The flag of the Central American Union flying over Guatemala City was hauled down on Jan. 14 and the Guatemalan flag raised in its place. * * * General Orellana, it was announced on Jan. 26, would be a candidate of the Liberal Party for President of Guatemala. * * * Meanwhile officials of the Herrera Government abroad continued in office, and the ownership of \$1,000,000 deposited in the National City Bank, New York, in the name of Dr. Bianchi, Guatemalan Minister at Washington, was in dispute. The bank refused to disburse the money without a court order. * * * Manuel Dieguez, who was Consul General in New York, died suddenly on Jan. 11. Dr. Bianchi appointed Miguel Pardo to take charge, but Enrique Muñoz, who claimed to be acting for the new Government, took possession of the consulate, afterward removing the effects to another office. Thus there were two Guatemalan agencies in

New York, one representing a Government which had ceased to function and the other a Government not recognized by the United States. * * * Honduras on Feb. 11 resumed its status as a sovereign republic under its former Constitution, following the collapse of the federation.

CHILE

The identic notes sent on Jan. 17 by Secretary Hughes to the Ministers of Foreign Relations of Chile and Peru, by which President Harding extended to them an invitation to send representatives to Washington in order to reach an agreement on the unfulfilled clause of the Ancón Treaty, were answered after two days with acceptance, in the most appreciative terms, by both Peru and Chile. Although President Harding's note does not involve in any sense a suggestion of mediation by the United States, it clearly indicates, on the one hand, the possibility of using arbitration in case direct negotiations do not promise an understanding; while, on the other hand, the scope of the conferences is limited to finding a solution for the fulfillment of those articles of the Treaty of 1883 not yet complied with. Chile has already appointed Mr. Luis Izquierdo and Mr. Luis Aldunate as its plenipotentiaries in the negotiations.

Comparing the last two censuses the conclusion is reached that the foreign-born population of Chile has diminished by about 16,000 inhabitants since 1907. * * * The Minister of Bolivia, Señor Macario Pinilla, shortly before leaving Santiago, presented a demand for the extradition of former President Gutierrez-Guerra, who is at present a political refugee in Chile. The demand is based on charges of fraudulent bankruptcy of the banking institution founded by Señor Gutierrez. Claudio Pinilla, a brother of the Minister, but a political opponent to the present de facto government of Bolivia, and now in Santiago, has expressed his confidence that the Chilean Government will refuse the demand, considering that Gutierrez-Guerra had resigned his position as President of the bank a year before he assumed the Presidency of the Republic, and that the present first magistrate, Señor Saavedra, in his desire to persecute his legal predecessor, has gone so far as to amend the bank statute so as to build a foundation for his charges. * * * The Intendente (governor) of Santiago, Señor Mackenna, has succeeded in organizing a popular subscription for the purchase of the Colonial palace known as the Casa Colorada, with the purpose of converting it into a historical museum for the many relics and objects of art belonging to the families of the founders of the nation. * * * The Government of Argentina has communicated its agreement to the convention for a single management in the operation of the Chilean and Argentinean branches of the Transandean Railway. * * * A bill limiting the right of coastal trade to the national merchant marine has been amended by the Senate to include in that qualification any foreign firm which has established branches in Chile, and whose head has taken up resi-

dence in Chile and is actively engaged in commerce or industries.

CHINA

So far as actual results are concerned, the elevation of Liang Shi-yi on Dec. 25 to the Premiership at the dictation of General Chang Tso-lin, the "super-Tuchun" of North Manchuria, was a failure. The opposition of General Wu Pei-fu, one of the leaders of the Chihli faction and the strongest military leader at present in China, proved fatal to Liang Shi-yi's hopes; and, soon after General Wu sent Liang (Jan. 15) an ultimatum to resign under threat of a march on Peking, President Hsu Shi-chiang announced that he had granted a leave of absence to Liang, and had appointed Dr. W. W. Yen, the Foreign Minister, as Acting Premier (Jan. 23). Premier Liang and several members of his Cabinet were still technically on "sick leave" at the beginning of February, their attitude being that the President must either dismiss them or recall them to office. It was stated on Feb. 9 Premier Liang Shi-yi had "requested" an additional ten days' leave. Meanwhile, war was threatened between General Wu and General Chang, and the Chinese Premier found himself in a dilemma between the two. * * * A parade of 10,000 students in Peking on Dec. 19 was staged to protest against the Washington negotiations with Japan over the return of Shantung and to demand the abrogation of the twenty-one demands. Dr. Yen, who at that time was still the Foreign Minister, received representatives of the paraders and pointed out to them the importance of the Washington discussions. * * * The financial situation of the Government continued bad. The four-power consortium agreed toward the end of January that China should float a 14,000,000-tael domestic loan secured by the salt revenues. The consortium stipulated that the overdue Japanese loan of 20,000,000 yen should be redeemed in monthly instalments of \$700,000 from the salt surplus. The proceeds of the consortium loan were to be devoted to military and administrative expenses. Thus empowered, the Peking Government sought to raise the sum required, but an advance in discount and the refunding of small bank loans, together with other complications, reduced the available funds to 6,000,000 taels, insufficient even to enable the Government to pay the large totals of back salaries to Government officials. Meanwhile General Wu's reported seizure of the salt revenues in his Province of Hupeh (Jan. 22) led to preparations for the landing of British marines at Hankow to protect the salt administration office there (Jan. 28).

COLOMBIA

In the Presidential election, Feb. 12, the Conservative candidate, Señor Pedro Nel Ospina, obtained a majority of votes over the Liberal candidate, Don Benjamin Herrera. Dr. José Vicente Concha, who had been backed up by the Centre Conservative Party, withdrew at the last minute and lent his help to Señor Nel

Ospina. The Conservative candidate also, of course, had the backing of the authorities already in power, the police, the army and the clergy. Charges of fraud in some villages were made before the courts, but it was believed a recount would affect the announced result but little. It was thought in political circles that the showing made by the Liberals demonstrated that they must be reckoned with in the future. The election attracted much interest throughout Latin America, as representing a stride forward in democratic methods. Since 1885, when the Conservative Party went into power, the Liberals had abstained from participation in Presidential elections for alleged lack of guarantees. The election of Feb. 12 was held on account of the resignation of President Marco Fidel Suarez in November, 1921, caused by the opposition of Congress to his policies. Suarez was succeeded by Jorge Holguin as Provisional President. General Ospina was born in 1853 in the Presidential Palace at Bogotá, the son of former President Mariano Ospina. He was graduated as an engineer from the University of California. He has been Governor of the State of Antioquia, Representative in Congress and Senator, also President of the Council of State and Minister to the United States, England and Belgium.

CUBA

Prominent American capitalists paid a fortnight's visit to Cuba in January, with a view to possible large investments in the island. Among them were Percy Rockefeller, Guy Carey and Charles E. Mitchell, President of the National City Bank, New York, which already has a heavy lien on important sugar properties in Camaguey Province. They made a ten-day tour of the island and at its conclusion Mr. Mitchell addressed 200 of the principal business men and financiers at a luncheon given in his honor in Havana, saying the worst of Cuba's sugar crisis was over and admitting that Cuba was not being treated fairly in tariff regulations by the United States. On Jan. 27, with several others of the party, Mr. Mitchell returned to Miami by airplane and thence by train to New York, where he gave out an interview saying he believed the sugar industry in Cuba was bound to go through an evolution of combinations which would bring producing, manufacturing and distributing organizations under single managements. * * * A preliminary one-year loan of \$5,000,000 was made to Cuba on Jan. 25 by a syndicate of New York bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., the proceeds to be used for pressing needs. Later, it was stated, a long term loan of \$50,000,000 would be made, provided the Cubans can cut their budget to a point where they can meet all expenses and take care of the additional burden of the loan. * * * The budget has already been cut in regard to supplying food to prisons, the alternative as stated in the Cuban House on Feb. 8 being either to pay \$300,000 at once or let the prisoners go hungry. * * * Private D. J. Honey, an American marine, shot and killed Ramon Garcia, a Cuban, on a ranch outside of Camaguey on Jan. 21, claiming he shot in self-de-

fense. The Cuban Government had already asked for the removal of the 375 marines at Camaguey, who had been sent there during the war to protect local sugar interests. On Jan. 26, Secretary Denby ordered their removal and they arrived on Feb. 7 at the United States naval station at Guantanamo. * * * Gayety of the Winter season in Cuba is considered a sign of returning prosperity. Mme. Frieda Hempel made her debut in concert at the Capitolio Theatre on Feb. 6, winning a sensational success. On the following day John Philip Sousa, who had been welcomed to Cuba by President Zayas himself, appeared with his famous band at the National Theatre. * * * Forty prominent Masons left New York on Feb. 11 for Havana to take part in the unveiling of a bronze tablet to Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the Polar explorer, to be placed on a small house in Havana in which Dr. Kane died in 1857.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak Government has signed an agreement with the Franco-American Standard Oil Company, giving it a monopoly for oil prospecting and well sinking, and also to some extent a trading concession for thirty years. A local company will be created with Czechoslovaks as majority stockholders. * * * A loan of 500,000,000 Czech crowns was granted to the Austrian Government as an advance on the credits negotiated by the latter with France and England. * * * The Federation of Trade Unions issued its annual report, stating that in the year 1920 the total membership amounted to 822,561 persons associated with one or other of the fifty-three unions. This means an increase from the preceding year of 94,056 members. * * * The housing situation in Czechoslovakia is acute and is receiving attention from the Government. Recently 2,375 houses, with accommodation for 7,910 families, have been erected at a cost of 632,000,000 crowns. A further program of 2,178 houses, accommodating 4,836 families, at the cost of some 400,000,000 crowns, is being carried out.

DENMARK

Commercial treaty negotiations between Denmark and Soviet Russia were broken off again in January. Foreign Minister Scavenius said at a Liberal meeting in Copenhagen that the whole policy of separate trade arrangements had broken down, and that the only real basis for trade with Russia was shown in Mr. Lloyd George's plan of thorough international co-operation. Though the Bolsheviks would probably be suspicious of such a policy, he added, unity among the other powers would compel the Soviet to yield, as Russia could exist no longer in isolation. Certain Danish newspapers substantially agreed with him. * * * Dr. Krebs was recognized by the Soviet as representative of the Danish Red Cross. He was to act as Dr. Fridtjof Nansen's deputy at Saratov in controlling distribution of the foodstuffs bought by the Red Cross in the Baltic to supply 4,000 Russian children with meals for the next five months. * * * The eightieth birthday of Dr.

Wilhelm Thomsen, Denmark's distinguished authority on Classical and Oriental philology, especially on the influence of East European languages on Scandinavian tongues, was celebrated Jan. 25 by greetings from the royal family and from Oxford University, where he formerly lectured. The Royal Scientific Society of Denmark arranged for a special meeting in his honor. * * * Denmark mourned the death, on Jan. 25, of her greatest advocate of world peace, M. Frederik Bajer, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1908. He began his career as a cavalry officer in the Danish-German War of 1864, and afterward worked for international peace, republican government, and woman suffrage.

ECUADOR

Among the several festivities being prepared for the commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the battle of Pichincha, a victory by which Bolivar insured the independence of South America, the Government of Ecuador is organizing an agricultural exposition to be inaugurated on May 26. Official facilities in Custom Houses and railways will be tendered to every one who wishes to send products or manufactures for exhibition. Foreign concerns manufacturing agricultural implements, as well as those dealing in seeds or in live stock, are especially invited.

ENGLAND

Industrial reports for 1921 show in impressive figures the adverse influences of labor disputes and trade depression. Thus, according to a reliable computation, about 86,000,000 working days were lost through labor disputes, with about 1,800,000 workpeople involved. In the coal mining industry, the aggregate output for the year was estimated at 167,598,600 tons, and for the three months of the great strike only 179,100 tons. In shipping, the March, 1921, highest record of 3,798,593 tons under construction in the United Kingdom had been lowered by December, 1921, to 2,640,319 tons, a reduction of 1,158,274 tons in only nine months, while for the whole quarter ending in December only 55,000 tons of new vessels had been begun. In contrast with the foregoing adverse conditions, 1921 proved the healthiest year on record, the death rate being only 12.1 per 1,000, with infant mortality at 83 per 1,000, the lowest for any year except 1920. * * * On Jan. 26 the Labor majority on the Popular Borough Council, one of the poorest London districts already swamped by high local rates, doubled the dole allowed the unemployed to 91 shillings a week; this being more than breadwinners normally earned, but in line with the Labor Party's program for a modified form of Soviet government for the British metropolis. * * * At the reassembling of Parliament on Feb. 7, Premier Lloyd George voiced the national feeling when he called the Washington arms conference the greatest achievement for peace ever registered in history. * * * Prominent among deceased British subjects were Viscount Bryce, famous scholar and

former Ambassador to the United States, and Sir Ernest Shackleton, celebrated Antarctic explorer.

EGYPT

After the deportation of Zaglul Pasha (see CURRENT HISTORY for February, p. 866) a boycott manifesto was issued by his Nationalist Party on Jan. 23 modeled on Gandhi's non-co-operation movement in India. It included incitement of Government servants to insubordination and strikes, constituting a deliberate interference with public order. General Allenby retaliated the next day, arresting the signers of the manifesto and suspending four Cairo newspapers which published it. Among other points in the manifesto was one stating that "no Egyptian statesman should form a Ministry while the present policy obtains." Egypt was still without a Cabinet on Feb. 12. * * * On Jan. 29 the British Government issued a manifesto of its own, saying: "His Majesty's Government have explicitly stated their readiness to invite Parliament to terminate the protectorate, to recognize Egypt as a sovereign State and to agree to the re-establishment of an Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as soon as they were satisfied as to the following conditions: First, that imperial communications are assured; second, that Britain retain the right and power to afford protection to foreign communities; and, third, that Egypt is safeguarded against all foreign interference. As soon as an agreement satisfying these conditions has been drawn up, there will be no hesitation in inviting parliamentary sanction to such an accord." * * * General Allenby was ordered to return to England to report on the situation, and Lloyd George in his address on foreign policy in the House of Commons on Feb. 7 said: "We are prepared to abandon the protectorate upon clear, fundamental issues." He called Egypt a "corridor country" between the eastern and western parts of the empire. It was abnormally placed with reference to the empire and the world. It was not a country to which self-determination could be granted without reference to any external conditions. * * * Despite the disturbed state of the country, there seems to be no apprehension on the part of tourists, who are flocking to the land of the Nile in greater crowds than ever before in history, 350 excursionists leaving New York alone on Jan. 28 and 1,280 on Feb. 4, raising the total since the beginning of the season to 3,390.

ESTHONIA

The Ministers of the Baltic States held a conference at Reval at the end of December, 1921, to discuss economic questions and to agree

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

IT'S A GIFT

upon a common plan for the resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were represented. Considerable progress was made, and it was decided to convoke at Riga a new conference to consider the various commercial treaties concluded by the Baltic States with Russia. The Esthonia-Finland treaty of Jan. 29 provides for reciprocal customs preference and almost amounts to a customs union.

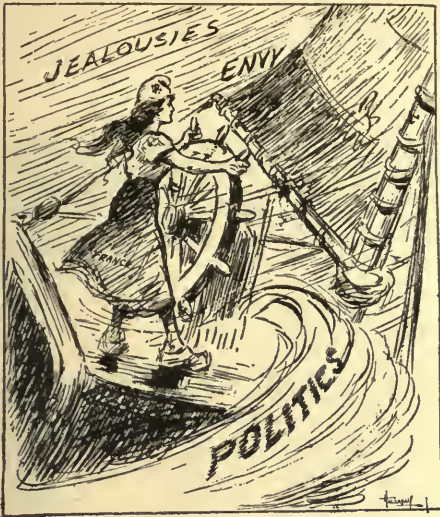
The signing by Esthonia of an important commercial treaty with France was announced on Jan. 7. Under this treaty, France is granted most-favored-nation treatment for her exports to Reval, together with a rebate for wines, silks and perfumes. France grants Esthonia the minimum tariff for certain goods and rebates of from 15 to 60 per cent. for others. The mutual raising of the embargo on imports forms the subject of a special agreement.

FINLAND

The uprising of the Finnish East Karelians against the Russian Soviet Government is creating a most difficult domestic crisis for the Finnish Government. Thus far the firm yet tactful attitude of the Finnish Foreign Minister, M. Holsti, had averted an international explosion. The belligerent tone of M. Tchitcherin's various communications to the Finnish Government, however, has deepened the public resentment in Finland.

General Sergius Kamenev, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army, announced on Feb. 8 that he had crushed the East Karelian insurrection

[American Cartoon]



—Providence Journal

STEADY, FRANCE!

on all fronts. He had made a similar announcement on Jan. 11, but on Jan. 24 the Karelians retook Kilmost-Järvi, inflicting a severe defeat on the Soviet forces. General Kameney's later announcement was borne out by a dispatch stating that the last of the Karelian strongholds, Ukhta, had been captured on Feb. 7, and the rebel bands had been driven over the Finnish frontier. Women and children crossing into Finland were being cared for in internment camps by the American Red Cross. Neither the Karelian autonomy question nor the friction between Finland and Soviet Russia over it was settled. The insurrection was caused by Moscow's failure to live up to the Soviet guarantee of full autonomy for East Karelia under the protocol of the Dorpat Treaty. The East Karelians tried to throw off the Soviet yoke as represented by the dictatorship in their commune of Edvard O. V. Gylling, whom Finland regards as a traitor in her war of independence, and who has been charged with the authorship of the Bolshevik revolutionary plot in Sweden and Norway in 1921.

When the Finnish delegates to the mixed commission, created by the Dorpat Treaty to arrange its details, tried to bring up the Karelian question in committee in January, the Soviet authorities ordered them out of Moscow in so many hours. At the same time the Finnish Minister to Moscow, M. Gyllenbögél, went home and resigned, leaving the Secretary of the Legation, M. Alexis Tchernykh, as Acting Chargé d'Affaires. His explanation was that it was impossible for the legation to function under Moscow's treatment.

When Finland referred the Karelian question to the League of Nations, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania all sent to the League their endorsement of Finland's action.

The League appointed Poland as arbitrator between Finland and Soviet Russia, deputing to Poland the task of seeking out means of solving the Karelian question and securing approval of the autonomy promised to East Karelia. The endorsement by the Baltic States was made in defiance of Trotzky, who, in a speech on Jan. 16, had alluded to the "attempt of the so-called League of Nations" to intervene in the Russo-Finnish conflict, and declared: "The Russian Government rejects the application to Russia of the covenant's stipulations about outside powers. Any participation in such attempt will be considered an unfriendly act."

FRANCE

The new French Premier, Raymond Poincaré, on Jan. 19 received full support for his announced policies in the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 472 to 107. The Premier's declaration that France would stay on the Rhine until Germany paid her reparations, restored the devastated provinces, and fulfilled the Versailles Treaty in respect to disarmament, punishment of war criminals, and other provisions, was cheered by the Deputies, and it was evident that this strongly Nationalist Chamber at last had a Premier after its own heart. M. Poincaré declared in favor of the projected Anglo-French alliance, but made it plain that France would not be represented at the Genoa economic conference agreed upon by Lloyd George with M. Briand at Cannes unless full guarantees respecting German and Russian demands were given. His speech was received with some misgivings in the British press and with a storm of vituperation in Germany, where his attitude was characterized as "pathological."

One of the new Government's first acts—the appointment of General Pétain as Inspector General of the army, but virtually as a member of the Ministry of War, was attacked in the Chamber on Jan. 21, not only by the Socialists, but by André Lefevre, former Minister of War, as an attempt to militarize the Government. The Premier set himself at once to work out the details of the alliance with Great Britain, holding parleys with Lord Curzon on Jan. 16 and preparing data to enable Count de St. Aulaire, the French Ambassador in London, to take up the subject with Lord Curzon there. He early made clear his attitude that he was opposed to further continuance of the Supreme Council, and intended to return to the methods of the old diplomacy. In the subsequent exchanges of notes, running through January into February, Great Britain declined to give the proposed compact the form of a general military instrument or to extend the Versailles provisions to a guarantee of the left bank of the Rhine. Great Britain also insisted on solidarity in the Near East in respect to Turkey. While these discussions were still going on, Premier Poincaré came out with a firm declaration against French participation in the Genoa conference without the guarantees he had already outlined in the Chamber and which he now elaborated in detail (Feb. 2). On Feb. 8 he asked that the conference be postponed for three months. Despite this note the British Premier announced in

Parliament that the date set for the Genoa parley—March 8—still held, and the rift between the two nations widened. In speaking for the new French Army bill, which provides for an army of 630,000 effectives, and which was approved by the Finance and Army Commissions, in the Chamber on Feb. 7, M. Poincaré declared that France must be a "military power, but not a militarist." In public interviews he had declared that so far as French relations with Great Britain were concerned, it would be his aim to make France's international attitude that of an equal among equals.

GERMANY

There was a complete tie-up of Germany's railroads on Feb. 2 because the Government refused to give an immediate answer to the demand of the men for an increase of 50 to 70 per cent. in pay. An increase of 15 to 20 per cent. had already been granted on Oct. 1, 1921. An acute economic crisis resulted from the strike, which received sympathetic support from public utility workers in some of the larger cities, though the General Federation of Labor Unions strongly condemned it. The Government made firm efforts to resist, but the food situation grew so desperate that it was forced to capitulate by practically granting the demands. The strike lasted six days. The wage increase will entail an additional annual expense to the railroad budget of fully 50,000,000,000 marks.

Germany made her first payment of 31,000,000 gold marks Jan. 18 in accordance with the decision of the Reparation Commission at Cannes; the second was made ten days later, and the third also in ten days. The Germans also have agreed to deliver 5,700,000 tons of coal and coke each three months.

Congressman A. B. Houghton of Corning, N. Y., was nominated by the President as Ambassador to Germany on Jan. 18 and was promptly confirmed by the Senate. He was born at Cambridge, Mass., in 1863, graduated from Harvard, and studied at Göttingen and Berlin. His appointment was well received by the German press. * * * Dr. Andreas Hermes, Minister of Food, who was offered the German Ambassadorship to the United States, declined, as his party desired him to retain his post in the Cabinet. * * * Dr. Walter Rathenau, former German Minister of Reconstruction, has been appointed German Foreign Minister, thus relieving Dr. Wirth, the present Chancellor, of his dual rôle. His appointment was fiercely assailed by Hugo Stinnes. There is a bitter feud between the two and a wide difference in policies.

Germany's merchant fleet is being rebuilt with phenomenal speed, and the shipping in German harbors is already back to three-fourths of its pre-war dimensions. Some of the more enthusiastic predict that in four years Germany will have 5,000,000 tons of shipping, and so will have regained a merchant fleet equal to that which in 1914 ranked second among those of the nations of the world. The chief explanation for the boom is that the Government in paying 12,000,000,000 marks indemnity to shipowners

for losses under the treaty required that 90 per cent. of this be spent in building new ships in German shipyards and permitted only 10 per cent. to be used in new purchases, the buying back of ships or the chartering of foreign vessels.



—© Harris & Ewing

ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

Member of Congress from New York, who has been named as United States Ambassador to Germany

In a letter written by the former German Crown Prince, dated Oct. 15, 1921, to his old teacher of political economy, he strongly condemned any agitation to restore the monarchy. He said that a republic for the present seemed to be the wish of a majority. He regarded all attempts such as the Kapp "putsch" as distinctly harmful. He expressed the hope that he might be permitted to return to Germany. * * * The main committee of the German student body gave a blow to anti-Semitism by deciding that membership in the student bodies in all colleges should be open to all German students regardless of race or religion. * * * The new tax plan, which is supported by a majority of the Reichstag, proposes: (1) A compulsory loan of one billion gold marks, bearing no interest for the first

three years, to cover the 1922 budget expenses except posts and railways; (2) no tax on post-war profits; (3) coal duty raised 40 per cent. and sugar duty increased to 50 marks; (4) an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. per 100 kilograms on sales. It is estimated that these new taxes will increase the receipts by 45,000,000,000 marks.

The German note to the Reparation Commission, in explaining the failure to meet reparation obligations in January and February, requests that Germany be relieved of all cash payments in 1922. The note points out the steps taken to increase revenues; it also asks for a reduction in cash payments and an increase in payments in kind. With the schedule of increased taxes, the note states, there will be a surplus of some 16,000,000,000 marks available for reparation payments.

GREECE

Recent events in Turkey have done nothing to improve the embittered feeling of the Greeks toward the Turks. By an order issued by Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish Nationalist leader, on Jan. 20, all the Greek residents of Konieh, in Anatolia, were deported to Erzerum. The Kemal authorities in Samsun, furthermore, on Jan. 30 arrested 300 Greek civilians and put them to death. On Feb. 6, Kemal Pasha had 22 Greeks hanged in Ak-Dagh; among the

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

THE CONTROL COMMISSION IN HEAVEN

"As sundry dangerous Germans are here, such as Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Moltke, &c., we wish to ascertain whether they are mobilizing the celestial armies!"

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

THE POSITION OF GERMANY Between Bankruptcy and Bolshevism

murdered were a priest and a boy. Fourteen more Greeks were hanged at Samsun on Feb. 14. The Turkish authorities still nominally in power in Constantinople confiscated large quantities of Greek goods; Greek Consular agents, in trying to prevent the seizure, were ill-treated by the Turkish police, and a clash followed, which terminated only when the British police appeared on the scene and drove the Turks back. (Feb. 5.) * * * Desultory fighting between the Kemalists and Greek forces continued. A Turkish force of 250 horsemen on Jan. 27 attempted to enter the Greek lines in Asia Minor, and was repulsed. On Feb. 8 the Greek auxiliary cruiser Naxos captured the steamship Berkshire, bearing a cargo of coal and oil consigned to Mustapha Kemal. Greek reservists of the 1910 and 1911 classes in Macedonia and the Aegean islands were mobilized on Feb. 4. * * * A widely ramified Kemalists conspiracy was discovered by the Greeks in Smyrna. The Greek Government ordered that the harbor of Smyrna should be

closed between sunset and sunrise. Plotting was also laid bare in Athens, and Colonel Jafar Tayar, the former Turkish commander of Adrianople, who was captured when that city fell, was banished to the Peloponnesus on Jan. 25 for espionage. * * * A mass meeting attended by fully 10,000 people was held in Adrianople on Feb. 8; Greek, Turkish, Armenian and Jewish speakers declared that they and their compatriots would resist to the bitter end any Entente attempt to transfer that province back to Turkey. * * * The Thracian Deputies in the Greek National Assembly on Feb. 2 presented a memorandum to the Ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, asking that Thrace should not be separated from Greece under any circumstances. * * * The conviction of the Rev. Meletios Metataxis by the Greek Ecclesiastical Court on the ground of usurpation of the Metropolitan throne of Athens in 1917 was confirmed by the Greek Government on Feb. 8. On the same day Metataxis, who is considered by his followers as the legally elected Ecumenical Patriarch, arrived in Constantinople. All the Greek officials, as well as the allied and American Commissioners, were conspicuous by their absence from the reception of welcome tendered him.

HAITI

Professor Pierre Hudicourt, a member of The Hague Court of Arbitration and a native of Haiti, told the National Popular Government League in Washington on Feb. 2 how his country is being bled by financial sharks and lesser grafters, with very little incidental benefit in the way of public improvements. He charged John A. McIlhenny, financial adviser to the Republic of Haiti, appointed by President Wilson, with being interested in a scheme to force upon Haiti a loan of \$14,000,000, which the people there do not want. He said McIlhenny gets \$10,000 a year and \$6,000 for traveling expenses from the Haitian Government for doing work which the Haitians do not want done. The National City Bank of New York, the Haitian-American Sugar Corporation and R. E. Forrest, President of the West Indies Trading Company, he said, were interested in the loan. He continued: "The proposition is made to the Haitian Government that the National City Bank shall loan it \$14,000,000, of which the Haitians would get \$12,880,000, for it is to be sold at 92. Out of this the railway interests represented by Vice President Farnham of the National City Bank are to get \$1,621,500 immediately in payment for a railway which the Haitians never bargained for. The Americans who have invaded Haiti propose to pay off the French debt of \$6,668,980 and the \$965,000 of internal debt. Of the proposed loan there will be left \$1,545,500. This, if the plans of the schemers go through, is to be devoted to irrigation projects and roads, not for the Haitians, but for the benefit of the American land-grabbers. I am here to protest against a treaty imposed by military pressure against the wishes of the people." He added: "The Haitian gourde, which was worth \$1 in American money, Admiral Caperton has arbitrarily fixed at 20 cents. The sugar and cotton

and other interests may pay their labor little more than 20 cents a day. By the most brutal and arbitrary methods these interests, working through the United States Government, have forced a new treaty, providing complete control of my country's finances and a Receiver General, who is a carpet-bagger from Louisiana. The country is now in complete vassalage." * * * Dr. Hudicourt was summoned before the Senate Investigating Committee on Feb. 8 and repeated his charges substantially as given above in his address of Feb. 2. Senator King on Feb. 6 introduced a resolution calling on the Secretary of State to inform the Senate by what authority a loan of \$14,000,000 was being negotiated in behalf of Haiti. * * * Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, it was stated on Feb. 8, would go as High Commissioner to Haiti to clear up the situation involving American occupation. Dr. Hudicourt protested against the appointment of a High Commissioner, especially a military man, declaring it would amount to the establishment of a protectorate. He described President Dartiguenave as the "rubber stamp" of the American forces of occupation.

HOLLAND

The Permanent International Court of Justice on Feb. 8 announced the acceptance by the Queen of the Netherlands, the Queen Mother and the Prince Consort of its invitation to be present at the meeting of the tribunal, Feb. 15, in the Great Hall of Justice in the Peace Palace, The Hague, to inaugurate the commencement of its functions. The municipality arranged a gala play at the Royal Theatre for Feb. 17, in honor of the opening, and presented to the Court seven inscribed crystal inkstands with a letter assuring the Judges of the city's unsparing efforts to make their stay agreeable. The costume adopted for the Judges comprised black velvet robes, lined with black silk, with ermine collars; black velvet birettas were also included, similar to those worn by Judges in French courts. Although the main lines of internal organization had been laid down, many details remained incomplete. * * * On Feb. 10 Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the last League of Nations Assembly, addressed the States General. He urged that the League should keep close to reality and follow its own essential aims. It need not, he said, be feared that the Supreme Council would eclipse the League from the world's sight. Competition between the two was disappearing. It was, however, undesirable for the Supreme Council to dissolve and leave to the League the burden of all questions of international dissension. The League should continue its efforts to persuade all nations to join, such universal co-operation being necessary for its success. Minister Van Karnebeek praised the work of the United States in the Washington conference. Holland, he said, had attended only in its colonial interests in connection with the Pacific question, and had not been invited on disarmament. He stressed the importance to Holland of the Four-Power Treaty, which respects Dutch colonial possessions. He also paid warm tribute in the House to the new Interna-

tional Court of Justice, and announced the forthcoming negotiations with Belgium regarding the Treaty of 1839, expecting soon a satisfactory solution. * * * Dutch commercial interests viewed with alarm the progress of the Stinnes interests in the Dutch East Indies.

HUNGARY

A great Carlist demonstration was held on the occasion of release from prison of the Legitimist leaders. When some of them appeared in Parliament they were loudly cheered and a dinner was given in their honor. M. Rakovsky, the ex-King's temporary Premier, proposed Charles's health, and Count Apponyi promised to take the leadership of the Carlist movement. * * * Count Bethlen, the Premier, and Count Banffy, the Foreign Minister, have been challenged to a duel by Count Sigray, one of the Carlist leaders recently freed from prison, on account of statements made in the White Book, published in connection with the Carlist coup, which Count Sigray regarded as injurious to his honor. * * * A wild scene took place in the Diet on Jan. 20, when a Legitimist Deputy delivered a violent attack on Regent Horthy. He was howled down by partisans of the Regent, one of whom rushed at him and struck him in the face. A general turmoil ensued, in which blows were showered right and left, and even a revolver was produced. A number of duels resulted and M. Gaal, the Speaker, who himself participated in the affray, resigned. * * * According to The Westminster Gazette's Geneva correspondent, the debts of the ex-King Charles had been paid before he left Switzerland.

ICELAND

Anglia is the name of a new society formed to promote intellectual intercourse and goodwill between the Icelandic people and the English-speaking world. Reykjavik is its headquarters; the British Consul stationed there is its President, and Mr. Snaebjorn Jonsson is its Secretary. Anglia's first task is to establish a lectureship in English at the University of Iceland, and to appoint a lecturer from England. This cultural enterprise is in pursuance of the Icelanders' endeavors to break their insular exclusiveness, since the separation of Iceland from Denmark as a sovereign State, by seeking relations with other countries besides Denmark, especially England and America. * * * A resolution, in which the United States Senate would express its profound regret at Spain's "reported threats" of creating prohibitive tariff duties on certain Icelandic products, in retaliation for Iceland's adoption of prohibition, was introduced on Feb. 2 by Senator Jones of Washington.

INDIA

With the capture of Varian Kunnath Kunhamad Haji, principal leader of the insurgent Moplahs, the Mohammedan uprising in the Malabar district was regarded as overcome.

The extent of the movement was made evident in a statement of figures given out on Jan. 24, from which it was gathered that 2,266 Moplahs were killed, 1,625 wounded, 5,688 captured and 38,256 voluntarily surrendered. * * * Of infinitely more potential gravity, the Gandhi campaign of non-co-operation continued to inflame the Hindu mind into resistance to British rule. It was reported that agitators were exciting the ignorant masses with assertions similar to those which stimulated the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Among notable figures to join Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience volunteers was Mrs. Sairojini Naidu, head of the woman's movement in India and a poet of distinction. * * * Early in February Mr. Gandhi delivered what was practically an ultimatum, in the form of a letter, to the Viceroy, in which he offered to postpone mass civil disobedience for reconsideration of the whole subject, if the Viceroy would liberate all political prisoners within seven days and restore liberty of association and freedom of the press. The India Office replied in an official communication of Feb. 7, in which Mr. Gandhi's terms were set aside as beyond even discussion, far less acceptance, and he was warned that stern rule would be introduced, to uphold the principles of civilized government. * * * Meanwhile arrests and rioting continued on an increasing scale in several parts of India. The most serious to date was the storming of the police post at Chauri on Feb. 4 by Indian Nationalist Volunteers and the killing of at least seventeen officials. On Feb. 10 conditions in the region of Madras were reported as decidedly worse, the police having been compelled to fire into a mob of 10,000 persons at Tiruvannamall. * * * The tour of the Prince of Wales through Southern India, up to Nagpur, which he entered in state, and thence to Bhopal was reported as entirely successful. His visit to the last named native State, ruled over by the Begum, or Queen, was made memorable by the granting of a constitution on the British plan. * * * On Feb. 11 the Working Committee of the National Congress of India adopted a resolution deploring the recent outbreak at Chauri-Chaura and calling for suspension of the "civil disobedience order" until the wave of violent feeling had passed. Another resolution ordered the cessation of activities provocative of arrests and imprisonment. The situation was considered so menacing that all Europeans in Madras, according to latest advices, were being enrolled as special constables, by order of the Government. * * * On Feb. 13 the strike on the East Indian Railway was continuing to spread, assuming most serious proportions at Allahabad, whence an armored train went to investigate the trouble between there and Cawnpore, where stations, in charge of Indians, had been deserted by their entire staffs.

IRELAND

Following upon the successful establishment of the Provisional Government, the transfer of executive powers went forward without interruption. On Jan. 16 Dublin Castle was handed over by Lord Fitzalan, the Lord Lieu-

tenant. On Jan. 19 custody of the Irish Post Office was turned over to Provisional Government Postmaster General, J. J. Walsh. * * * Mayoralty election returns of Jan. 20 placed opponents of the treaty in office in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Sligo, seated a Nationalist for Derry, and elected a candidate in favor of a direct vote on the treaty in Drogheda. The boycott against Ulster was called off by the Dail Eireann Cabinet on Jan. 24 as the result of a conference between Michael Collins and Sir James Craig, in which the latter agreed to remove the impositions of religious and political tests in Ulster. * * * Sitting in Paris, the Irish Race Congress, whose avowed object it is to work for full recognition of an Irish republic, on Jan. 27 elected Eamon de Valera President, and decided to open an office for the Central Committee at the Mansion House, Dublin, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor of that city. * * * Meanwhile evacuation of Ireland by British troops went on until, on Jan. 31, more than 12,000 had departed. No manifestation either of popular rejoicing or regret attended the passing of the British troops. * * * During the transfer of authority the criminal element took occasion to perpetrate country-wide crime, so that the Irish Republican Army was compelled to reimpose the rigid British curfew law, this time welcomed by the law-abiding public. * * * On Feb. 2 a deadlock occurred between Ulster Premier Sir James Craig and Michael Collins of the Free State Provisional Government during negotiations at City Hall, Dublin, for a settlement of the Ulster boundary question. After the meeting, Sir James Craig issued a statement saying that the discussion was almost entirely confined to the subject of a boundary commission. He pointed out, however, the serious difference in the two viewpoints, viz., that, though Ulster understood it was merely a boundary line question, the other side contended that large territories were involved. With the arrival of Sir James Craig in London on Feb. 3, and the summoning of Provisional Government leaders to the English capital by Premier Lloyd George, it was at once seen that a new crisis had developed in Irish affairs. Conferences on Feb. 5 and 7 merely indicated a wide impasse between the two sides. Premier Lloyd George, however, stated in the House of Commons on Feb. 7 that the boundary controversy might be postponed advisedly until after the framing of the Irish Constitution. * * * The Irish Free State bill, designed to put into effect the terms of the Anglo-Irish treaty, was introduced into the House of Lords on Feb. 9. * * * On Feb. 8, parts of Ulster became subject to wild raiding by Irish Republican bands from over the border, caused, it was said, by the British failure to release all Irish prisoners; result, police attacked, bridges blown up, 100 Ulster citizens kidnapped. The Ulster Government at once took measures to obtain release of the captives and to patrol the border with a large armed force to prevent further Sinn Fein incursions. On Feb. 10 Mr. Lloyd George made representations to Mr. Collins on the increasing

[American Cartoon]



—Los Angeles Times

"The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls"

gravity of the situation, and was assured that the captives would be gradually released. * * * On the afternoon of Feb. 11, four Ulster special constables were shot to death in the railroad station at Clones, in the Ulster Free State territory near the border, a number wounded and others of a party of twenty captured by a party of Irish Republican Army men with rifles and a machine gun. The aggressors then fled before a shot could be fired by those whom they surprised. Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, addressed an urgent remonstrance to Premier Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Viscount FitzAlan, demanding immediate action. On his arrival in Belfast from London, Sir James Craig announced that he had been assured of the immediate dispatch to Belfast of four additional battalions of troops. The Unionist prisoners recently kidnapped were still held. * * * On Feb. 13 Michael Collins cabled to Thomas W. Lyons, National Secretary of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, Washington, D. C., that the Republican extremists in Ireland were planning a coup d'état to overthrow the Provisional Government. Orders countermanding the evacuation plans were received from London at Dublin and Bantry, and the withdrawal of the British troops from parts of Ireland was stopped.

ITALY

Italy had a new Cabinet crisis on Feb. 2, when Signor Bonomi and all his colleagues resigned prior to the taking of a vote of confi-

[German Cartoon]



Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

THE SECRET

"This key, Messrs. Europeans, is the solution of the reparation problem. It is the key of my safe."

dence, Premier Bonomi preferring this solution to certain defeat. Important groups in the Chamber had passed over to the opposition because of objection to various Government policies. The causes of the majority defection were of both domestic and foreign origin, including the failure of the Italian delegation at Washington to have Italy included in the four-power Pacific treaty, the similar exclusion of Italy from the Anglo-French Treaty drafted (though not subsequently signed) at Cannes, and the Government's course in the recent Banca di Sconto failure. The most important cause of all, perhaps, was popular opposition to the Bonomi Cabinet's apparent desire to extend an olive branch to the Vatican on the occasion of the Pope's death. [See page 938.] Much dissatisfaction was expressed by the anti-Catholic groups over the Government's action in sending Minister of Agriculture Mauri, one of the Catholic members of the Cabinet, to the Vatican to convey condolences, and the half-masting of flags on the public buildings. Even the Catholic groups, however, were alienated from the Government, owing to its failure to have a eulogy of the late Pope read from the tribune of the Chamber by Signor de Nicola, its President, as had been promised. The exit of the Ministry at the opening of the conclave for the election of a new Pope created a great sensation in Rome. * * * The King, meanwhile, though not accepting at once the resignation, began a series of conferences with several ex-Premiers, including Orlando, Giolitti, Nitti, also with de Nicola and others, in an attempt to find a successor to Premier Bonomi. Signor de Nicola declined the post. Signor Orlando tried to form

a coalition Cabinet but failed. Despairing of any other solution, the King on Feb. 9 then summoned Premier Bonomi to the Quirinal and asked him to present himself again before Parliament for a vote of confidence. The result had not been made known when these pages went to press.

JAPAN

The results of the Washington Arms Conference had a wide reaction in Japan. Baron Takahashi, the Japanese Premier, in an address before the Diet on Feb. 7, and also in a special interview on the day following, extolled the results attained from the viewpoint of Japan's national interests and world peace. In answer to attacks upon the five-power naval treaty and the Pacific fortifications agreement, the Premier admitted that the results had not been complete, but declared that the main purpose, "to minimize the possibilities of warfare in the future and insure national development along more peaceful and productive lines," had been accomplished. He was followed by Foreign Minister Uchida, who repeated his strong assurances already given to the Diet on Jan. 21 regarding the evacuation of Siberia by Japanese troops; this withdrawal, he said, would take place as soon as the negotiations with Chita at Dairen had been completed, and the safety of Japanese nationals assured. Intense satisfaction over the results of the Washington discussions was shown throughout the commercial circles, which looked forward to an unprecedented era of prosperity in industrial and commercial development, access to raw materials and improved foreign trade relations, now that the hostility to the United States and the Chinese trade boycott were to be overcome. The Naval Department had formally ordered the dockyards to stop work on the eight battleships and battle cruisers which had been on the ways. * * * The Kokuminto Party introduced a bill in the Diet to cut down the army one half, and to confine conscription to one year (Jan. 25). * * * The advocates of universal suffrage were showing renewed activity. Plans were forming for the presentation of a new suffrage bill by various Parliamentary groups. Suffrage leaders on Dec. 26 ascribed the assassination of ex-Premier Hara to his failure to secure suffrage reform. Ozaki Yukio pointed out that of a total male adult population of 15,000,000 only 3,000,000 enjoyed the suffrage, viz., only 20 per cent. This issue, he declared, was far more important than the five-five-three naval ratio, and Japan could never hope to take her place among the progressive nations of the world until this situation was changed. Government opposition remained unchanged. * * * Prince Yamagata, one of the last of the Elder Statesmen, died in Tokio on Feb. 1, at 83 years of age. A great statesman and diplomat, a born aristocrat of immense popularity, his death was universally deplored.

JUGOSLAVIA

Owing to rumors that the visit of the ex-Empress Zita to her invalid son, the Archduke

Robert, at Zürich was merely a pretext for staging another Carlist coup d'état in Hungary. the Yugoslav Government took all precautions to intervene in case of a Hapsburg restoration attempt and ordered the mobilization of the army. At the same time the Government communicated with the Council of Ambassadors. This body took up the matter of Zita's mission, with the result that the Swiss Government asked the ex-Empress to cut short her stay in Switzerland by two days.

LIBERIA

Liberia has approved the draft of the agreement for the loan of \$5,000,000 which the United States promised to make to her during the war, but the draft has not received the requisite sanction of Congress. Of the \$5,000,000 only about \$35,000 was actually advanced. On the other hand Liberia suffered severely for joining the Allies, her capital, Monrovia, having been bombarded by a German submarine.

MEXICO

President Obregon characterized the ruling of Justice Donnelly of New York, dismissing a suit for \$500,000, brought by the Mexican Government on the ground that the Mexican Administration had not been recognized by the United States, as an injustice which puts a premium on fraud and tends to restrict trade, as there is no legal recourse if contracts are violated. * * * Thomas F. Lee, Executive Director of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, who wrote a letter promising aid to any "aggressive Mexican" in an attempt to overthrow Obregon, was forced to resign when the facts became public late in January. * * * Two resolutions were introduced in Congress to investigate charges that American interests were seeking to prevent recognition of Obregon, and President Harding, on Feb. 7, let it be known that he would welcome such investigation. * * * Norway, on Jan. 18, recognized Obregon. * * * A decree signed by President Obregon allows American citizens to enter Mexico without passports after Feb. 1. * * * Miguel Alesseo Robles was appointed Secretary of Commerce and Industry, and General Francisco Serrano Minister of War on Feb. 11. * * * Mexican oil export taxes set for payment Dec. 25 and postponed to Jan. 25 were postponed indefinitely; the amount involved is more than \$14,000,000. The original purpose of these oil export taxes was to enable Mexico to adjust her defaulted bond interest, and negotiations have been in progress to that end, the chief point of dispute being the amount of the bonds issued by Victoriano Huerta, which the Mexican Government will admit as valid. * * * An increase in Government taxes on all alcoholic beverages from 16 to 32 per cent. led to an inquiry as to President Obregon's views on prohibition. He replied that, though he thought a dry State would be a good thing for Mexico, he personally believed in eliminating vice through education rather than force. * * * A few revolutionary movements in Mexico have

been reported, one by General Francisco Murguia, who crossed the border from the United States with fourteen men, and another by General Miguel Aleman, who took refuge in the hills below Vera Cruz. * * * Revolutionists on Feb. 9 burned two bridges on the railroad between Juarez and Chihuahua City, about thirty miles from the former, and also destroyed parts of the track between Chihuahua City and Torreon. * * * Major José Anaya, a Federal army officer, connected with General Aleman's movement, was convicted and executed on Feb. 2. * * * Despite the efforts of the Rockefeller Foundation, yellow fever became epidemic at Vera Cruz in January; 116 deaths out of 217 cases were reported. * * * Racing was resumed in Mexico City on Jan. 15, after an interlude of ten years, under the auspices of the International Jockey Club. President Obregon and his Cabinet attended as the club's guests. * * * Mexico has placed a ban on motion pictures which contain Mexican "villains" or incidents that may portray Mexican life unfavorably, and has notified motion-picture companies that any pictures made by those who produce films derogatory to Mexico will also be prevented from entering Mexico and the companies will not be allowed to do business in Mexico.

NICARAGUA

A Sergeant of Marines and four Managua policemen were killed in a fight on Jan. 24, when the police overtook the Sergeant and three marine Corporals who had been reported as deserters from the marine detachment the previous day. This was the second disturbance in a few weeks, and the Navy Department, therefore, on Jan. 27 ordered the entire force of 100 men relieved by a new detachment from Haiti. In future, marines will be kept at the Managua barracks only for short periods. The American Minister has asked the Government for space on which to erect a canteen, dance hall, motion-picture theatre and other buildings to keep the marines away from Managua City. A petition was presented to the Nicaraguan Congress asking the Government to negotiate with the United States for the withdrawal of the marines.

NORWAY

King Haakon opened the Storthing Jan. 26 by reading the speech from the throne, in which he stated that the friendly relations with foreign powers were unchanged, and said that the mining legislation for Spitzbergen had been handed to the powers concerned in September, 1921. Negotiations were to be opened with Finland regarding Norwegian privileges in Petchenga, recently ceded to Finland by Russia. The Government was to submit to the Storthing bills for a State monopoly of the importation of cereals, flour, brandies and wines; for compulsory arbitration in labor conflicts, and for reform of the foreign Consular Service. The Communists were conspicuous by their absence. * * * The Norwegian Labor Party's annual report in January showed a loss of 41,000 members through the defeat last Summer of the ill-advised general strike

of organized labor against inevitable labor adjustments. This loss was one-third of the party's strength. * * * The Government estimated a cut of 76,000,000 kroner in its expenditures for the coming year. Civil service salaries are reduced by 33,000,000 kroner. No new taxes will be needed to balance the budget. * * * In

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

Which Is Safer, Weapons or Friends?

view of improved financial conditions, the Bank of Norway, Jan. 27, applied for Government permission to reduce its extraordinary issue of notes further by 25,000,000 kroner, the intention being to cancel this emergency issue as soon as possible. * * * Norway's recognition of the Oregon Government of Mexico was reported Jan. 18 by the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires at Christiania. * * * The appointment of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner of the League of Nations' International Commission for Russian Relief, as an honorary member of the Moscow Soviet was reported in a Reuter dispatch Feb. 7. In recognition of his work for war prisoners in Russia the Danish Interparliamentary Groups Committee unanimously decided, Jan. 28, to propose to the Norwegian Storting's committee that the Nobel Peace Prize for 1922 be awarded to Dr. Nansen.

PERSIA

The new Persian Cabinet, as announced by the Persian Legation in London, Jan. 26, is composed as follows:

MOCHIR-OL-DOWLEH, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

HAKIM-OL-MOLK, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

SARDAR-SEPAH, Minister of War.

NAYER-OL-MOLK, Minister of Education.

SARDAR-MOAZZAM, Minister of Justice.

ETTELA-OS-SALTAMEH, Minister of Post and Telegraph.

ABD-OS-SALTAMEH, Minister of Public Works.

MOHIB-OL-MOLK, Acting Minister of Finance.

The League of Nations has secured protection for the women and children working in the carpet factories of Persia. Protests addressed to

the Persian Government by the International Labor Office of the League resulted in an order forbidding the employment of children under 10 years of age in the carpet-making houses of Kerman, Persia, and the establishment of an eight-hour working day, as reported in the Labor Office Official Bulletin, issued in Geneva. The International Labor Office had received many complaints that women and children were compelled to work long hours for small wages. Atrophy of their arms and legs and other physical disorders resulted from the uncomfortable posture the workers had to assume. Following is the text of a message sent in December by the Persian Foreign Minister in reply to the League protests:

I have the honor to inform you that, pending definite measures on this subject, Kerman local authorities and others have been requested to enforce the following articles:

Engagement of workers to be effected with complete liberty on both sides.

Eight-hour day.

Prohibition of employment of boys and girls under age of 10 years.

Permission for workers to leave factory at midday for rest.

Provision of healthy sites and pure air for factories.

Preparation by local authorities of comfortable and suitable seats for women and children to allow work in normal positions, &c.

Authorities also requested to regulate wages and welfare of workers.

POLAND

Poland faces a new year of her existence as an independent republic full of hope and confidence. M. Skirmunt, Foreign Minister under the Ponikowski Cabinet, on Jan. 5 drew a most favorable picture of the political situation. The Government's efforts of the last year to establish peace with all her neighbors had been successful. The relations with Rumania, Czechoslovakia and France were fraternal. The rapprochement with Czechoslovakia was a guarantee of peace for all Central Europe. As for Lithuania and Russia, M. Skirmunt said:

"I do not lose hope that Polish-Lithuanian relations will also be harmonized, as the whole Polish Nation desires. It will be the same for Russia." Three days later the plebiscite elections occurred in Vilna, resulting in a sweeping victory for the Polish Unionists in the Vilna Assembly. Subsequently, however, the League of Nations refused to accept these elections, as undertaken without its sanction, and the whole dispute between Poland and Lithuania as to the disposition of the Vilna territory was turned back to the Polish and Lithuanian representatives for a new solution by agreement. Poland still hopes for an adjustment. * * * Late in January the Warsaw Government was preparing to open negotiations with Soviet Russia for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. Meanwhile representatives of the Russian Co-operatives have been permitted by the Polish Government to make purchases in Poland, and they have opened accounts in Warsaw banks for this purpose. The Polish customs authorities are facilitating the export of goods so purchased. * * * Repatriation from Russia of Polish nationals continues. Up to the end of 1921 some 400,000

Poles had been repatriated under the Riga treaty. Over 1,000,000 still remain in Russia. * * * The Ponikowski Cabinet, which replaced the Witos Peasant Government in September, 1921, and which it was thought would be in office only for a short time, still remains in the saddle, though M. Skirmunt as Foreign Minister is exposed to the attacks of the Peasant Party in the Diet Commission for Foreign Affairs. * * * One of the strongest men in the Ponikowski Cabinet is M. Michalski, the Minister of Finance, who is accomplishing miracles in rehabilitating Poland's finances. Marked reduction in note issues and extensive economies through elimination of non-essential Government bureaus, which will result in the saving of billions of marks annually, were reported by the Minister. The value of the mark was rising. * * * Minister of War Sosnkowski presented a bill on Jan. 10 providing for a peace-time army of 250,000, deemed by him necessary in view of Poland's lack of strategical boundaries, exclusive of the Carpathians in the south. As soon as Russia and Germany were actually on a peace footing, he said, the Polish Army might be reduced. * * * The Alcohol law passed by the Diet on Jan. 28 bans the sale of beer containing over 2½ per cent. of alcohol.

RUMANIA

After the brief interlude of the Také Jonesco Ministry, which was formed on the retirement of General Averesco, the Liberal Party, absent from power since 1919, was restored to ascendancy under the leadership of Premier Ion Brătianu, who also retains the Portfolio of War. * * * The members of the Liberal Cabinet are as follows:

VINTILA BRĂTIANU, Minister of Finance.
M. VIATOIANU, Minister of the Interior.
M. DUCA, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
M. SASSO, Minister of Industry.
M. ANGELESCO, Minister of Public Instruction and temporarily of Commerce.
M. CONSTANTINESCO, Minister of Agriculture.
M. BANU, Minister of Public Worship and temporarily of Public Works.
M. MARZESCU, Minister of Labor.
M. FLORESCO, Minister of Justice.
M. INCULETZ, Minister for Bessarabia.
M. NESTOR, Minister for Bukovina.
M. ZIGREA, Minister for the Minorities.
M. MOSCUT, Minister of Transport.
M. COSMA, Minister for Transylvania.

One of the most important items in the program of the new Cabinet is public economy. For this the Foreign Minister, M. Duca, set the pace by abolishing six legations at minor European capitals and the legation at Cairo.

RUSSIA

The famine situation in Russia continued to occupy the front rank of national problems. The American Relief Administration toward the end of January had reached the point where it could save children dying from hunger in Saratov, the worst famine district. With the \$20,000,000 appropriation by Congress in its hands, it began to lay plans for an extension of its work to adult feeding. Colonel Haskell, who heads the famine relief work in Russia, declared on Jan. 13 that his organization would exercise the same control

over adult feeding as it had done in the case of the starving children. Subsequently, Colonel Haskell stated that by March 5,000,000 adults and 2,000,000 children would be sustained on American grain. The question of railway transportation was serious, but he thought the Russian railroad system would be adequate to the task.

Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, publicly expressed in Moscow toward the end of January, his and Russia's full appreciation of the "grandiose relief" being extended by the United States to the famine sufferers, which, he said, "has found a deep-felt echo in Russia." Director Walter L. Brown, European Director of the American Relief, stated that 150,000 tons of food would reach Russia monthly. In addition to large supplies to be purchased in the United States by the Soviet Government itself, an additional pledge by the Soviet Ukrainian Republic to purchase to the value of \$2,000,000 was signed in London on Feb. 2. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen declared in Geneva on Jan. 26 that 15,000,000 persons must die of starvation unless greater efforts were made to cope with the situation. At least 19,000,000 were suffering, he said.

The seriousness of the famine situation, despite all relief measures, led the Soviet Government to adopt a measure which indicates that the internal struggle has but just begun. The Central Executive Committee on Feb. 9 resolved to empower the Minister of Justice to seize the wealth of all religious bodies and sects for famine relief. Archbishop Yevdokim of Novgorod had just issued an appeal to all true believers to "lend to the Lord" their possessions to aid those dying of starvation, adding that even church wealth should be sacrificed in this time of terrible need. Until the famine gave the Soviet Government this opportunity it had made no attempt at expropriation, though it had done all in its power to discredit the Church, whose influence notwithstanding, on the Russians—the most religious people in the world—has steadily grown. Considerable mystery surrounds the action of the Archbishop in yielding up the Church's treasures to its bitterest foe. The decree extends also to Moslem mosques and Jewish synagogues.

The Ukrainian delegation to Angora left Incoboli, on the Black Sea, on Jan. 2 bearing the Turco-Ukrainian treaty concluded with Mustapha Kemal. Under this treaty, the Ukrainian and Turkish Nationalist Governments mutually recognize each other's sovereignty and boundaries, and agree to protect each other's rights on the Black Sea and its tributaries, and in the straits. * * * The Congress of Oppressed Far Eastern Peoples opened in Moscow on Jan. 21.

SANTO DOMINGO

Horace G. Knowles, former United States Minister to Santo Domingo, in an address before the Foreign Policy Association in New York, on Jan. 28, said: "I charge that the United States either formed a scheme or took part in one whereby the Dominican people were to be deprived of the right to elect a President. A corrupt deal was proposed in the United States Legation in Santo Domingo City to a man

accused of improper action at or some time prior to the occupation, whereby he would use his influence and improper force to bring about the election of another man for President who was proposed in the American Legation and was present at the time the deal was made. The United States used its armed force to coerce duly elected members of the Dominican Government to vote against their will and conscience for that man as President. None of the reasons given for American intervention was true. In violating the territory and seizing the Government, coercing, oppressing and ruling its people, our Government is violating all the essentials and ideals of democracy."

SCOTLAND

A manifesto was forwarded on Jan. 15 by The Scottish Home Rule Association to the British Government, offering congratulations on the Irish settlement, and demanding that immediate attention be given to a measure of self-government "suited to the needs and circumstances of Scotland and satisfactory to the Scottish people."

SIBERIA

The power of the "White" Government of Vladivostok, or the Priamur Government, as it is sometimes called, seems to be growing. On Jan. 30, Francis B. Kirby, a member of a British engineering concern in Vladivostok, and the author of an article on the Far Eastern Republic at Chita, which appeared in the June (1921) CURRENT HISTORY, p. 476, cabled the editors of this magazine as follows:

"A momentous change in the trend of events has occurred in the evolution of the Vladivostok Government, which, cleansed of Semenov influences, is seriously taking root in the Maritime region. The influence of the Vladivostok Government now extends a hundred versts beyond Khabarovsk, in which area the population is genuinely sympathetic, owing to the successful, conscientious efforts to restore order and rehabilitate public services, although terribly handicapped financially. * * * Chita's authority is crumbling before the White advance, owing to the fact that the population is sick of communism despite superior odds."

The capture of Khabarovsk by the Vladivostok forces and that of Tsitsihar by the Japanese have now been followed by the taking of Blagoveshchensk, capital of the Amur Province, according to Moscow advices dated Jan. 20. Information received by the Chita delegation in Washington early in February was to the effect that the Japanese were reinforcing their garrison in the neighborhood of Vladivostok, 500 soldiers having recently arrived. The Priamur Government was preparing "a new offensive against Chita from Khabarovsk as a base. The Chita authorities continued to charge the Japanese with complicity with Merkulov, head of the Priamur Government, in his attempt to overthrow the Far Eastern Republic, the alleged object being to find further pretexts for keeping the Japanese forces in Siberia. This both the Japanese and the Vladivostok authorities

have denied. The negotiations between Japan and Chita at Darlen (Dalny) continue, but the deadlock caused by the refusal of the Chita representatives to discuss economic questions until the Japanese consent to withdraw has so far been unresolved. The Japanese have accused the Far Eastern negotiators of "insincerity," pointing to official utterances at Chita to confirm this view. A curious phase of the situation is seen in the protest sent by Vladimir S. Kolesnikov, Foreign Minister of the Priamur Government in Washington on Jan. 20, to the Japanese Government, declaring against the granting of any forest, land, fishing or other concessions to the Chita delegates, against the delivery of any arms or the facilitating of any attempt of Chita to chastise and beat back the Vladivostok forces. Such concessions, rightly belonging to the Vladivostok Government, would not be recognized, said the protest. * * * Chita advices by wireless to Moscow at this time state that the Vladivostok Government had leased the Ussuri Railway line from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk to Japanese business interests.

SOUTH AFRICA

Rhodesia wants to join the Union of South Africa, but authoritative opinion in the Orange Free State is opposed to its admission at the present time, preferring that the Rhodesians should first have a few years' experience in governing themselves before joining the Union, with its two European races, its bi-lingual systems (English and Dutch) and other many-sided and intricate problems. * * * General Christian De Wet, Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces in the war of 1899, died at his home in Dewetsdorp on Feb. 3. After the Boer War, during which he eluded capture by the British forces for many months, he became a member of the first Parliament of the Orange River colony in 1907 and after the outbreak of the great war he headed a rebellion against the Union of South Africa, which was suppressed by General Botha, and De Wet was captured, convicted of treason in June, 1915, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, but released after six months. * * * A strike in the South African Rand mines, which sadly interfered with the production of the world's gold supply for several weeks, appeared to be reaching a climax early in February. Heavy dynamite explosions occurred on Feb. 9 between Pterex and Anzie and two electric cable standards were blown up. Three violent explosions near the Kleinfontein railway station were also reported. Several arrests were made. The Right Rev. W. J. Carey, Bishop of Bloemfontein, who was appointed only last year and was a naval Chaplain during the war, suggested that two employees be elected annually to the Boards of Management, assuring fair play to the workers. A moderate section repudiated their leaders and selected delegates to ask Premier Smuts to consider the appointment of an arbitration court. The Premier consented to receive them, but their opponents locked up the delegates until they promised not to visit the Premier. A large meeting of miners on Feb. 5 requested the mem-

bers of Parliament then in Pretoria to proclaim a Provisional Government and declare a republic. A meeting of 4,000 miners in Johannesburg on Feb. 12 rejected Premier Smuts's plea urging them to return to work, voted in favor of continuing the strike and against taking any further ballots on the question of returning to work.

SPAIN

The battle royal between the army juntas (military committees) and Señor de la Cierva, the Minister of War under the Maura Cabinet (see February CURRENT HISTORY) led to a Cabinet crisis early in January. The Cabinet resigned on Jan. 11, following the presentation by Señor de la Cierva to the King of a decree tantamount to dissolution of the juntas. When the King refused to take action Señor Maura and his entire Cabinet laid down their portfolios. Intense excitement was caused in Madrid over this situation, brought about by the juntas' violent attacks upon de la Cierva for the policy followed by him in the campaign in Morocco, notably his refusal to take dictation from them in regard to the choice of those in command. Stirred by the gravity of the event, the King consulted a wide range of party opinion. Meanwhile, it became more and more evident that the junta leaders feared to bring down on themselves the 'reprobation of the whole nation by continuing the fight for supremacy with the civil authorities, and the Infantry Committee, which was the main beligerent, found itself deserted by the other military groups. On Jan. 16 the crisis was resolved by the King's summoning Señor Maura and informing him that the consensus of party opinion was in favor of his recall, with his entire Cabinet. Señor Maura resumed office, but only after receiving the submission in writing of the committee still recalcitrant. This dramatic dénouement of the five days' crisis means that the civil power has won predominance, at least for the time being, over the military elements, which have been the cause of ten changes of government since 1917. * * * The military operations in both the eastern and western zones of Morocco still remain favorable to the Spanish forces. The River Kert, west of Melilla, was crossed Jan. 9, and Anual and Abaran were expected to fall soon. The operations in the western zone, aimed to link the line from the Mediterranean to the border of the French zone, were progressing favorably, though attended by hard fighting over a most difficult terrain. Rais Ull, the chief foe of the Spaniards, who holds many Spanish prisoners, both officers and men, was reported at the end of January to have asked again for terms of surrender. There is no doubt that Spain will be glad to end the campaign if it can. So far it has cost Spain many thousands of lives, vast expenditures of money and much national prestige.

SWEDEN

In King Gustaf's address at the opening of the Riksdag in January, he cited the work of the

Washington disarmament conference as a most promising sign of better times. He praised its efforts as aiding toward the same end as the League of Nations. In emphasizing the economic troubles which Sweden shared with the rest of Europe, he said that only through the co-operation of all nations could the international problem of the world's reconstruction be worked out. To enable Sweden to take her part in its solution he requested the Riksdag's co-operation, his Majesty being forced by Sweden's industrial depression to ask for appropriations to relieve unemployment. There would be no increase in property and income taxes, he announced, but the tobacco tax would be increased and the Riksdag might have to draw on the State's reserve funds.

The Swedish Government extended the suspension period of gold payments, relieving the Swedish Riksbank of the obligation of redeeming bank notes with gold until March 31, and probably conserving the country's metals pending the receipt of revenues from increased taxes. American bankers with Stockholm connections say that Sweden is financially better off than her Scandinavian neighbors and that the Government has the situation firmly in hand. * * * Sweden's exceptionally cold Winter has tied up much shipping in her ice-locked ports and harbors, stopped the ferries from Trelleborg to Sassnitz, Prussia, and made it extremely difficult to keep up connection with Denmark. On Feb. 6 the steamer *Gladiator*, a powerful ice-breaker, arrived at Stockholm from Reval, Esthonia. It had sprung a leak under the ice pressure and had a narrow escape before it could deliver its consignment of Russian Soviet gold. It brought from Reval thirty-five to forty tons of gold, amounting to nearly 120,000,000 kroner, consigned by the Soviet Government to two Swedish banks; this was the largest amount of gold ever delivered in the Swedish capital. Most of it was to be forwarded to Western European countries. Up to Jan. 18 it had been reported that the Soviet Government had deposited in Sweden, all told, about £9,000,000, which would probably be exhausted in April.

The Swedish Red Cross relief expedition, under M. Ekstrand, was settled in the Samara district the last week in January, distributing 17,000 rations a day. M. Ekstrand telegraphed an urgent appeal to Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting for a dispatch of further provisions, as 40,000 rations a day were needed in the district. He reported cases of madness and cannibalism.

Trade treaty negotiations between Sweden and Soviet Russia, after repeated failures, culminated Feb. 9 in agreement between the Swedish and Russian delegates to proposals for a commercial treaty providing as a safeguarding measure for examination and adjustment by a German expert trade commission of certain agreements lately concluded in Russia.

Stockholm is successfully operating local schools for hundreds of unemployed, serving a free meal daily to each jobless pupil—prominent professors, architects and engineers are donating their services as lecturers.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Government has started the preparatory survey for the construction of a canal connecting the Rivers Rhine and Rhône. The canal would issue from the Rhône near Geneva and traverse the Lakes of Neuchâtel and Bièvre before joining the Rhine, after coinciding for a distance with the course of the River Aar, at Coblenz. It is asserted that the potential electric power that will be derived from the sluices of the projected canal alone will pay for the enormous expenses of construction. * * * The lace and embroidery industry of Switzerland, one of the most important export trades, is showing a marked decline, owing to unsettled economic conditions the world over and the increase of costs of labor and raw materials. * * * The children of ex-King Charles of Hungary, with the exception of the Archduke Robert, now convalescing at Zurich after an operation for appendicitis, have left Switzerland on their way to join their parents in their Madeira exile.

TIBET

After a residence of eleven months in Lhasa, Mr. Bell, head of the British Mission to Tibet, returned to India and related some unique experiences. Mr. Bell was the first white man to attend the ceremony of initiation of new officials at the great festival of the Tibetan New Year. He was also invited by the monks to act as arbitrator in one of their quarrels with the army, which in the past had given rise to terrible massacres. Mr. Bell found that the Dalai Lama read the Indian newspapers, closely followed events in the outside world, and was a capable ruler. He further reported the Tibetans as contented and prosperous, but with an instinctive dislike for foreigners.

TURKEY

The Angora Assembly, in the middle of January, elected as Commissar for Public Works Fevzi Bey, Deputy for Diarbekir, and as Commissar for Defense, General Kiazim Pasha, formerly in command of the Ismid front. Both these men were regarded as extremists. Yusef Kemal Bey, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

[American Cartoon]



—Stockton (Cal.) Record

Shall We Permit This to Continue?
He Who Treads Upon the Constitution Shows
Disrespect to the American Flag

telegraphed his regrets to M. Aristide Briand, whose resignation as Prime Minister caused a good deal of anxiety in Angora. * * * On Feb. 3 a returned member of the French Mission to Angora said in an interview in Paris that Mustapha Kemal Pasha's anxiety for a settlement of the Angora understanding with France was emphasized by the daily dwindling of his ranks and the exhaustion of his treasury. Over 1,000 Nationalist functionaries had been paid nothing since July, 1920, and tribal chieftains had contributed only enough gold to pay for food for the army. Consequently, the Angora police winked at crimes, including the looting of stores, whose stocks, however, were so reduced, that, unless the Allies reach a settlement, Kemal would face a general strike and the possible desertion of his followers to Constantinople.

PUBLIC OPINION ON DISARMAMENT

AMERICAN public interest in the success of the Washington conference was revealed by a statement published on Jan. 17 by the Committee of General Information of the Advisory Committee to the American delegation. Up to Jan. 15 the committee had received opinions of the work of the conference from 13,878,671 people. These communications included 10,093,845 pleas for Divine guidance. More than 1,000,000 people reported themselves in favor of open sessions. Some 11,642,685 voiced their belief that the delegation should use its own judgment

in deciding how far world disarmament or limitation of armament should go; 271,926 favored limitation with "benevolence and liberality"; only 29,919 demanded complete disarmament. There were 12,798 who declared against any limitation, while 11,647 advised caution, and 8,454 demanded an increase in naval strength. Protests against alliances and ententes with Europe were received from 11,369; on the other hand, appeals for an association of nations were made by 1,098,905.

SLESVIG'S REUNION WITH DENMARK

BY H. BOLLEMOSE

To the Editor of Current History:

In your magazine for December, 1921, there is an article about the reunion of the northern part of Slesvig with Denmark. Marius Hanssen writes (p. 476), "The Annexationists raised the cry of the old 'Ejderpolitiken'; and on p. 477, "In contrast with * * * stood a few fanatical Nationalists and Annexationists at home, who wanted Slesvig annexed as far south as the Ejder River, regardless of the free plebiscite."

It was not only a few fanatical Nationalists and Annexationists that disagreed with H. P. Hanssen's policy; but, as the voting in the council of the Voting Society of North Slesvig, in December, 1919, shows, a strong minority, very little smaller than the majority, there favored Mr. Hanssen and his work. Those Slesvig Danes who differed from him were called the Flensburg Group. This included T. Grau, the leader, and N. G. Gotthardsen, who, with H. T. Hanssen, were the three Danish candidates to the German Reichstag in 1912.

The foundation on which the present German-Danish boundary is fixed was laid at a meeting of the council of the Voting Society of North Slesvig. This meeting was held Nov. 16-17, 1918, in Aabenraa. H. P. Hanssen proposed that North Slesvig, down to the present boundary, should vote as a unit for Germany or Denmark, and if there should be a Danish majority (a foregone conclusion), the whole district should go to Denmark, even if everybody knew that there was a German majority in the town of Tönder and perhaps other parts of northwestern North Slesvig. This was considered a natural division that could not be broken up. Later there was to be held a separate plebiscite in a yet undecided area south of North Slesvig, which afterward became the Second Zone. On the other hand, the Flensburg Group, through N. G. Gotthardsen, proposed that a plebiscite should be held over the whole of Slesvig, but by districts. The Supreme Council of the Allies would

then divide Slesvig in accordance with the result of the vote, as was done later in the case of Silesia. The foregoing information is taken from H. P. Hanssen's own book, "Graensespørgemalet" ("The Boundary Question"), and I will leave it to American readers to decide for themselves as to whether any one has a right to call the men of the Flensburg Group, who disagreed with H. P. Hanssen, fanatical Nationalists and Annexationists.

True, after the vote in the Second Zone had given the Germans a majority, the Flensburg Group tried to get that district internationalized for fifteen years. But that was not a disagreement with the principle of self-determination. It was the principle used later in Upper Silesia, which for fifteen years will be ruled by a mixed commission. The plan was not accepted, and the Second Zone, including Flensburg, is now a part of Germany.

It is hard to understand what is meant by the statement that the case would have been lost if Mr. Hanssen had not foreseen the necessity of dividing Slesvig into three zones. On the contrary, he succeeded in eliminating Zone 3, South Slesvig. Even if there had been no zones in Slesvig, as the Flensburg Group desired, and if there had been a German majority in Slesvig as a whole, Denmark would have got the northern part, where there was a large Danish majority. Thus in Upper Silesia, where there is a German majority, Poland gets part of the country.

The article states that Flensburg has an adult population of 40,000, of which only 1,500 voted for restoration. The fact is that Flensburg contains over 60,000 inhabitants, of which 19,416 voted for Germany on March 14, 1920, and 7,589 voted for Denmark. Flensburg had a Danish majority when the Prussians conquered the town in 1864; then it became more and more Germanized. But since the end of the war, the Danish sentiment has been so strong a growth that the leading German, the Mayor of the city, Mr. Todsén, some

time ago warned his countrymen that it was possible to lose Flensburg as a German city.

Finally, a few words about the Germanization of South Slesvig. The whole population there, with the exception of a very few immigrant Germans, is of pure Danish origin, exactly the same kind of people as the Danish-speaking, Danish-feeling natives of North Slesvig. But for various reasons the people of South Slesvig have adopted the German language and therewith, in a way, German sympathies; even though the Prussians never have been popular there. Yet even in South Slesvig the native people are here and there learning to see that they are living on old Danish

soil, and that Denmark is their mother country. For example, take the case of Detlef Thomsen, a farmer of the most southerly part of Slesvig. He was elected after the war a member of the German Reichstag, as a German, of course. Then, by studying Danish history, he became convinced that he was living in an old Danish land, and that he was really a Dane; therefore he wanted all Slesvig to go back to Denmark. He sacrificed his public position for his convictions and resigned his seat in the Reichstag. This case and many others prove that the time may come when all South Slesvig will wish to be reunited with Denmark.

Kelowna, B. C., Canada, Jan. 24, 1922.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN CHILE

BY ERNESTO MONTENEGRO

North American editor of *El Mercurio*, Chile

THE Latin-American countries look to the United States not only as a great purchaser and producer of commodities, but even more eagerly as a source of inspiration for their political and social reforms. That this interest is beginning to be reciprocated by the more enlightened elements of the Northern Republic is evidenced by the numerous items on reform movements in Latin-American countries that find their way into the American press. The prohibition movement in Chile is an instance in point. For many years there has been a steadily increasing propaganda in Chile for the repression of alcoholism. This movement found expression some thirty years ago in a National Temperance League, and ten years later in the passage of a bill for the taxation and control of alcoholic beverages.

The law is now undergoing a thorough revision in Congress according to a carefully worked out plan, which was formulated in the course of lengthy discussions between representatives of the opposing interests, with the Government sitting at the meetings. In order to appreciate the spirit and the letter of the new bill, it

should be remembered that the factors which influence the problem in Chile are quite different from those which the American reformer has had to deal with. In the first place, there is a great disproportion in the relative value of the wine industry in Chile as compared with that in the United States. The real importance of this element of the problem may be understood by comparing it with the problem which the State of California had to solve when prohibition was imminent.

For many years Chile has had a surplus of wine, which for one reason or another has been unable to find a market abroad. The two main causes for this lack of demand are the want of standard qualities in the export product itself and the artificial obstacles in the form of tariff duties levied by neighboring countries. The lack of adequate reciprocity treaties is still a serious obstruction in this regard. At the same time it must be borne in mind that Chile has more than 500,000,000 pesos invested in vineyards alone and about 200,000,000 in machinery and buildings. Furthermore, the production of fine types of wine has been for more than sixty years

the pride of our great landowners, to such an extent that our historical family names are forever identified with certain wines.

This overproduction has served, of course, as a stimulus to an abnormal national consumption, putting it within easy reach of all. On the other hand, the problem of alcoholism in Chile resembles that of countries like France, rather than that of Northern Europe or the United States, where hard liquors are the prevailing evil. For, it seems to me, even though the wine habit and the whisky habit have no other difference than the quantity needed to produce intoxication, there are more hopes of effecting a national cure of a wine-drinking nation by slowly diminishing the alcoholic content of the less strong beverage.

The Chilean Government does not aim at a more profitable exploitation of drinking by means of a heavier tax; neither does it aim at a summary enforcement of prohibition. The whole spirit of the law can be summed up in the homeopathic formula: *Similia similibus curantur*. The project as it is presented is to limit the production of brandy to 2,000,000 litres for the first year, and to reduce this amount 10 per cent. at every vintage for five successive years; this means that by 1926 the production will be reduced to 1,000,000 litres for human consumption. The vineyards of the country are to be taxed according to their acreage, regardless of the amount they produce, and at the same time a different scale of taxation is to be introduced, based on the quality of the product in each zone. Two other very important measures are stipulated in the bill. One is the establishment of local prohibition in the nitrate region, leaving only to the ports far distant from the working districts the privilege of receiving and consuming a limited quantity of alcoholic drinks; the other forbids the sale of liquor in the mining districts of Central and Southern Chile, where several American plants are situated, and in the Magellan territory, where the wool and meat industries are located.

The influence of the reformers in shaping the bill is plainly visible in the provisions for social uplift and economic compensation. For instance, 50 per cent. of the taxes on vineyards will be devoted to the buying of bonds for the reimbursement of wine growers who decide to uproot their vines and try

a new agricultural venture. The distillers who wish to abandon their business will also be compensated and their plants turned over by the Government to industrial purposes. There will be a substantial subsidy for the production of industrial alcohol such as can be used for motive power.

The other 50 per cent. of the taxation on vineyards will be used for temperance propaganda, for stimulating the exportation of standardized wines and for research work to improve the methods of production of fuel alcohol. The fruit industry will also receive protection from the same source in the form of subsidies for the exportation of the natural product as well as for its manufacture into non-alcoholic beverages.

One of the most significant features of the Chilean prohibition movement is that it has succeeded in engaging the active cooperation of many labor societies, among them the longshoremen of the northern ports, who in some instances have opposed the unloading of liquor shipments. To many observers this attitude appears to have been inspired by religious and temperance workers from the United States, although to more cynical onlookers the sabotage had all the earmarks of a demonstration staged by the manufacturers of more poisonous beverages in the very ports where the demonstrations were held.

At any rate, it looks as if Chile, the Latin-American country where the liquor interests are most powerful, will have the honor of leading in a South American movement toward prohibition.

Correcting an Injustice to the Reuter Agency

In February CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in an article by Burnet Hershey on Hugo Stinnes, this sentence appeared: "He [Hugo Stinnes] controls the Reuter Bureau, The Associated Press of Germany." CURRENT HISTORY wishes to express to its readers and to the Reuter Agency its regrets and apologies for this unfortunate error. The long-established Reuter News Agency is an English organization of the highest repute, and is not in any way associated with Hugo Stinnes or with any other German or German organization.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY.

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